

Biogr. C. 62^m / 3

THE
LIVES
OF
THE PURITANS.

VOL. III.

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OF
THE PURITANS.

VOL. III.

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HUGHES, PRINTER, MAIDEN-LANE, COVENT-GARDEN.



THE  
LIVES  
OF  
THE PURITANS:

CONTAINING  
A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THOSE DIVINES WHO  
DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE CAUSE

OF  
Religious Liberty,  
FROM THE REFORMATION UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH,  
TO THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY,  
IN 1662.

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BY BENJAMIN BROOK.

---

IN THREE VOLUMES.

~~~~~  
VOL. III.

He, being dead, yet speaketh.—HEBREWS.

Many of the Puritans were men of great erudition, deep views of religion, and unquestionable piety; and their writings contain a mine of wealth, in which any one, who will submit to some degree of labour, will find himself well rewarded for his pains.—WILBERFORCE.

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London:

PRINTED FOR JAMES BLACK,

YORK-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN.

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1813.

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Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
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LIVES OF THE PURITANS.

JOHN DOD, A.M.—This celebrated divine was born at Shotwich in Cheshire, about the year 1549, was the youngest of seventeen children, and educated in Jesus college, Cambridge; where he continued nearly sixteen years, and was chosen fellow of the house. During his abode in the university, he became thoroughly convinced of his sins, betook himself to deep humiliation, and earnestly sought the blessings of pardon and peace through Jesus Christ; which, to his unspeakable comfort, he at last obtained. While at Cambridge he was particularly intimate with Drs. Fulke, Chadderton, Whitaker, and others, who held their weekly meetings for prayer and expounding the scriptures. In the year 1615, a divine of the same name, and no doubt the same person, was elected proctor of the university.* Having received an invitation to become pastor at Hanwell in Oxfordshire, he left the university, and entered upon the stated exercises of the christian ministry. In this situation he preached frequently, catechized the youth, and united with others in a weekly lecture at Banbury. His labours at Hanwell were numerous, and most extensively useful. It is observed, that hundreds of souls were at this place converted under his ministry.† He was about thirty years old when he first settled at Hanwell, and remained there about twenty years, where he had twelve children by his first wife, the daughter of Dr. Nicholas Bound. After her death he took a second wife, and was married by his old friend Dr. William Gouge.

Mr. Dod's great popularity and usefulness in the above situation, roused the envy of several neighbouring ministers, who, though they seldom preached themselves, would not

* Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 139.

† Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 168, 169.

allow their people to go and hear him; and for the singular crime of multitudes flocking to his ministry, he was several times questioned in the bishops' courts.* In addition to this, being exercised with some other trials, he was induced to consult Mr. Greenham, his excellent father-in-law. This reverend divine, after hearing his complaints, said, "Son, son, when affliction lieth heavy, sin lieth light;" and gave Mr. Dod such suitable advice, that he had abundant cause to bless God for it, and found it of excellent use all the rest of his days. However, he was at length suspended from his ministry at Hanwell by Dr. Bridges, bishop of Oxford. Being driven from his affectionate and beloved people, he preached a short time at Fenny Compton in Warwickshire, then accepted an invitation to Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire. In the latter situation he was treated with peculiar kindness by Sir Erasmus Dryden, a gentleman of great learning and piety; but he did not continue long without molestation. For, upon the complaint of Bishop Neile,† he was silenced by the archbishop.‡

Though this excellent divine was cast aside, he did not remain idle. When his efforts of public usefulness were set aside, he went about from house to house, giving private instructions; and by his pious discourse and holy deportment, he was nearly as useful as when he enjoyed his public ministry.§ He was particularly desirous of a more pure reformation of the church, and therefore united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."|| He continued under the above suspension several years. But on the accession of King James, Sir Richard Knightly procured him his liberty; and he renewed his ministerial labours at Fausley in Northamptonshire, where he continued, in great reputation and usefulness, all the rest of his days.

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 170.

† Bishop Neile of Durham and Bishop Andrews of Winchester, attending upon King James, had the following conversation with him: His majesty, always intent upon his prerogative, asked the bishops, "My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?" The Bishop of Durham readily answered, "God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils." Upon this the king turned, and said to the Bishop of Winchester, "Well, my lord, what say you?" "Sir," replied the bishop, "I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases." The king answered, "No put offs, my lord; answer me presently." "Then, sir," said he, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it." This pleasantry afforded great entertainment to the company.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 185. Edit. 1778.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 170.

§ Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 181. || Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

Here, also, he felt the iron rod of the prelates; and, as in the three former situations, he was for a time suspended from his public ministry.*

Mr. Dod was a pattern of patience. He bore his numerous trials with great meekness of spirit and holy resignation to the will of God. He used to say, "Sanctified afflictions are spiritual promotions." In the sixty-third year of his age, he laboured under extreme bodily affliction, and was brought to the very brink of the grave: but when the physician, who gave a check to his complaint, told him he had then some hope of his recovery, the good old man replied, "You think to comfort me by what you say; but you make me sad. It is the same as if you had told one who had been sorely weather-beaten at sea, and was expecting to enter the desired haven, that he must return to sea, to be tossed by fresh winds and waves." Having a comfortable assurance of heaven, he was desirous to leave the world, and to "be with Christ." And as he enjoyed much divine consolation in his own mind; so, in numerous remarkable instances, he administered the same to others.

This venerable divine used to say, "I have no reason to complain of any crosses, because they are the bitter fruit of my sin. Nothing shall hurt us but sin; and that shall not hurt us, if we can repent of it. And nothing can do us good but the love and favour of God in Christ; and that we shall have if we seek it in good earnest. Afflictions are God's potions, which we may sweeten by faith and prayer; but we often make them bitter, by putting into God's cup the ill ingredients of impatience and unbelief. There is no affliction so small but we shall sink under it, if God uphold us not: and there is no sin so great but we shall commit it, if God restrain us not. A man who hath the spirit of prayer hath more than if he hath all the world. And no man is in a bad condition, but he who hath a hard heart and cannot pray."

During the civil wars,† when some of the king's party came to his house, and threatened to take away his life, this heavenly divine, with holy confidence replied, "If you do, you will send me to heaven, where I long to be; but you

* Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 181.

† The first ill blood between King Charles and his subjects, which afterwards led to all the horrors of civil war, was occasioned by the severe proceedings in the high commission court, and the cruel censures in the star-chamber; in both of which the court clergy were allowed too much power.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 372.

can do nothing except God give you leave." When they broke open his chests and cupboards, and carried away what they pleased, his only complaint was, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.* When they came a second time, he was confined to his bed by sickness; but though they cut away the curtains from his bed, and took the pillow-cases from under his head, he uttered not a murmuring word.* Coming a third time, and having taken most of the linen and household stuff, and brought them into the room in which the good old man sat warming himself by the fire; he, during their absence to search for more, took a pair of sheets, and put them under the cushion on which he sat, greatly pleasing himself, after they were gone, that he had plundered the plunderers, and, by a lawful robbery, saved so much of his own property.†

Mr. Dod was exceedingly beloved, though not without his enemies. These, out of malice, stigmatized him *Faith* and *Repentance*; because he was constantly recommending these two things. He was a person of great moderation; and when he was questioned about subscription and the ceremonies, he was always equally ready to give his opinion, and cautious in giving his advice. He urged all who desired his opinion upon these points, to take heed against being influenced by the example or arguments of others, but to look to God and his holy word for direction. He used to ask them whether they could suffer in that cause *alone*, if all others were dead. Though he was a strict nonconformist, and bore his share of sufferings in the cause, he was of a most liberal spirit, and loved all who loved Christ.

As old age and afflictions came upon him, he usually compared himself to Sampson when his hair was cut; saying, "I rise in the morning as Sampson did, and think I will go forth as at other times; but, alas! I soon find an alteration: I must stoop to old age, which hath clipt my hair, and taken away my strength. But I am not afraid to look death in the face. I can say, death, where is thy sting? Death cannot hurt me. To a wicked man death is unwelcome; but to a child of God, who hath laboured and suffered much, death is welcome, that he may rest from his labours." During his last sickness he was exercised with most grievous pains, but was eminently supported and comforted in the exercise of faith and patience. He wrestled hard with Satan, and at last overcame. He longed to be with Christ, and his desire was

* Clark's Lives, p. 174, 175. † Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 220.

granted. His last words were, *I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ*. He finished his course, and received the crown of righteousness, in the year 1645, aged ninety-six years, when his remains were interred in Fausley church.

Dr. Lloyd gives the following account of this venerable divine:—"Mr. Dod," says he, "had no delight in contradiction, nor could he find in his heart to disturb the peace of the church. He was so far from it, that, as I have frequently heard from his grandchild and others, when some thought their dissents ground enough for a war, he declared himself against it, and confirmed others in their allegiance: he professed to the last a just hatred of that horrid rebellion."* The celebrated Archbishop Usher had the highest opinion of him, and said, "Whatever some affirm of Mr. Dod's strictness, and scrupling some ceremonies, I desire that when I die my soul may rest with his." Wood styles him "a learned and godly divine."† Fuller denominates him "patient, humble, meek, and charitable; an excellent scholar, especially in Latin and Hebrew, and exceedingly profitable in conversation. He was a good chymist, to extract *gold* out of other men's *lead*; and however loose were the premises of other men's discourse, piety was always his unforced conclusion."‡ He is classed among the learned writers of Jesus college, Cambridge.§ Echard calls him "a learned decalogist, an exquisite Hebrician, and a most pious and hospitable divine;" and says, "he was highly valued by all good men."|| Granger observes, "that in learning he was excelled by few, and in unaffected piety by none. Nothing was ever objected to this meek and humble man but his being a puritan." His sayings have been often printed, and are still to be seen pasted on the walls of cottages. An old woman in his neighbourhood, he adds, told him, "that she would have gone distracted for the loss of her husband, if she had been without Mr. Dod's sayings in her house."¶

It is recorded of Mr. Dod, that one evening, being late in his study, his mind was strongly impressed, though he could assign no reason for it, to visit a gentleman of his acquaintance, at a very unseasonable hour. Not knowing the design of Providence, he obeyed and went. When he came to the house, after knocking a few times at the door, the gentleman himself came, and inquired whether he wanted him upon any

* Biog. Britan. vol. vii. p. 4269. † Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 758.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 181.—Church Hist. b. xi. p. 220.

§ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 86. || Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 545.

¶ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 370.

particular business. Mr. Dod having answered in the negative, and signified that he could not rest till he had seen him, the gentleman replied, "O, sir, you are sent of God at this very hour; for I was just now going to destroy myself," and immediately pulled the halter out of his pocket, by which he had intended to commit the horrid deed. Thus the mischief was prevented.*

It is observed of Mr. Dod, that a person being once enraged at his close and awakening doctrine, picked a quarrel with him, smote him in the face, and dashed out two of his teeth. This meek and lowly servant of Christ, without taking the least offence, spit out the teeth and blood into his hand, and said, "See here, you have knocked out two of my teeth, without any just provocation; but on condition I might do your *soul* good, I would give you leave to dash out all the rest."† Thus Mr. Dod was not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

Mr. Timothy Dod, ejected in 1662, was his son, and imitated the amiable virtues of his excellent father.‡ Old Mr. Dod was commonly called the Decalogist, because he and Mr. Robert Cleaver, another puritan minister, published "An Exposition of the Ten Commandments," 1635. They also published "The Patrimony of Christian Children;" and were authors of "Ten Sermons to fit Men for the Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper." Mr. Dod, it is said, was the author of that singular and well-known little Sermon on the word MALT. Bishop Wilkins passes a high encomium upon his sermons, with those of other learned divines.§

THOMAS LYDIAT, A. M.—This celebrated scholar was born at Alkrington, or Okerton, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire, early in the year 1572, and educated first at Winchester school, then at New College, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. A disposition to learning distinguished him from childhood, in consequence of which his parents, who lived in wealthy circumstances, designed him for a scholar, and placed him at the university under the tuition of Dr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Marten. He signalized himself by intense application to his studies, and became almost a prodigy in good literature, especially in logic, mathematics, astronomy,

* Flavel's Works, vol. iv. p. 399. Edit. 1797. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 470.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 30.

§ Discourse on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

the learned languages, and divinity. His desire to enter upon the ministerial function was opposed by a defective memory and an imperfection of utterance; and, as the statutes of the college required him, after a certain time, to enter upon those studies more immediately connected with the clerical profession, or resign his fellowship, he chose the latter, and retired to a small patrimonial property at his native place. He there, during seven years, employed himself in completing literary designs which he had formed while resident at the university; and he first made himself known to the learned world by publishing, in 1605, a work entitled, "*Tractatus de variis Annorum Formis.*" Of this he published a defence, in 1607, against the arrogant censures of Joseph Scaliger; and he ventured directly to attack that proud dictator of literature in his "*Emendatio Temporum ab Initio Mundi huc usque Compendio facta, contra Scaligerum et alios,*" 1609. This learned work was dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales, who appointed him his chronologer and cosmographer, and would no doubt have been a liberal patron to him, as he was to men of science in general, had not his auspicious commencements been cut short by an untimely death.

At the above period, Dr. Usher, afterwards the celebrated archbishop, being on a visit to England, became acquainted with Mr. Lydiat, whom he persuaded to accompany him to Ireland, where he procured him apartments in Dublin college. A community of studies was doubtless the principal inducement for Usher to desire his company; and it is highly probable that he derived assistance from him in his own chronological labours.* Mr. Lydiat is said to have continued about two years in Ireland, though the time cannot be exactly ascertained. It appears, however, from letters in Parr's Collection, that he was in Ireland in 1610, and that he was returned to England in August, 1611. From the same authority we also learn, that there had been a design of settling him in the public school at Armagh. He had many friends, among whom were the lord deputy, and the chancellor of Ireland, who jointly promised to do great things for him; but were prevented by his coming to England, and returning no more to that country.†

There is a circumstance connected with Mr. Lydiat's visit to Ireland which is involved in considerable obscurity. It is asserted in the notes to the life of Usher,‡ that soon after

* Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 402.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 46. ‡ Biog. Britan. vol. vi. p. 4067.

his return he entered into the conjugal connexion, and married Usher's sister; for which fact the only authority given is, the alleged subscription of "your loving brother-in-law" to some of Usher's letters. In reality, however, these letters are only signed "your loving friend and *brother*," which last appellation Usher bestows upon others of his correspondents: nor is there found, either in the letters between them, or in the several lives of the primate, the least hint of such connexion. Indeed, it is not apparent from any recorded incidents of Mr. Lydiat's life that he was married at all. Yet, on the other hand, Mr. Henry Briggs, in a letter to Usher, dated in 1610, says, "I pray you salute from me your brother, Mr. Lydiat," which expression can scarcely imply any thing else than a real relationship, for he was not then a clergyman. In that case, however, he must have been married before his return to England.*

Whatever schemes might have been formed for his settlement in Ireland, they were rendered abortive by his acceptance, though not without much hesitation, of the rectory of Okerton, of which his father was patron. Though he entered upon the pastoral office with considerable reluctance, he sedulously performed its duties, and continued in this situation, with some interruptions, to the end of his days. During the first twelve years, he wrote and preached more than *six hundred* sermons on the harmony of the Gospels. In the mean time he was also employed in several works of profound erudition, but which were probably limited to a few readers; for, instead of producing any pecuniary compensation to their author, they sunk all his patrimony in the expense of printing. Being, moreover, involved in the debts of a near relation for whom he had unadvisedly become a surety, he was arrested and thrown into prison at Oxford, whence he was removed to the King's-bench. The confinement of such a man was undoubtedly felt as a disgrace to letters; and by the contributions of Sir William Boswell, an eminent patron of learned men, of Usher, Laud, and some others, he at length obtained his liberation. The famous Selden, who frequently extended his bounty to literary merit in distress, absolutely refused to lend his aid on this occasion, in resentment of a slight offered him by Lydiat, who, in some annotations which he published on the Arundel Marbles, had mentioned him with no other epithet than that of "an industrious author." Whatever offence there might be in

* Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 403, 404.

this want of civility, Selden would certainly have shewn a greater and more pious mind in forgiving it.*

Mr. Lydiat, soon after he was restored to liberty, presented a petition to King Charles, requesting his protection and patronage in an intended voyage to the East, for the purpose of collecting valuable manuscripts. The project displayed his zeal for the service of learning, but the ensuing political troubles prevented any attention being paid to his application. Though he was a man of low stature, and rather insignificant in appearance, he was a person of a great mind and of uncommon learning. He puzzled the learned Christopher Clavius, the whole college of mathematicians, and even that *Goliath* of literature, Joseph Scaliger himself; who, when he found himself outstripped, scornfully stigmatized Mr. Lydiat with being a *beggarly, beardless priest*. He was, nevertheless, highly esteemed by the most learned men at home and abroad. Sir Thomas Chaloner and other celebrated scholars, with those mentioned above, were among his familiar acquaintance. The virtuosi beyond sea were pleased to rank him with the celebrated Lord

* Mr. John Selden was sometimes styled "the great dictator of learning of the English nation," whom Grotius, his antagonist, calls "the glory of his country;" and Sir Matthew Hale, "a resolved and serious christian." He was a man of as extensive and profound erudition as any of his time; and was thoroughly skilled in every thing relating to his own profession of the law; but the principal bent of his studies was to sacred and profane antiquity. The greater part of his works are on uncommon subjects. Like a man of genius, he was not content with walking in the beaten track of learning, but was concerned to strike out new paths, and enlarge the territories of science. Towards the close of life, he owned, that, out of the numberless volumes he had read and digested, nothing stuck so close to his heart, or gave him such solid satisfaction, as the single passage of Paul in his epistle to Titus, ii. 11—14. He died in the year 1654; when the celebrated Archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon, and, without scruple, declared "that he himself was scarcely worthy to carry his books after him." Mr. Selden was author of many learned publications, among which was "The History of Tithes;" for which, in 1618, he was convened before the high commission, and required to subscribe a degrading recantation. Afterwards, at an audience of King James, at the time when Montague was preparing a confutation of this work, the worthless and arbitrary monarch sternly forbade him to make any reply, saying, "If you or any of your friends shall write against this confutation, I will throw you into prison." He was a valuable member of the long parliament, and one of the lay members who sate with the assembly of divines. In their debates he spoke admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. Sometimes, when they cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, "Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves," which they would often pull out and read, "the translation may be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signifies thus and thus;" and so would silence them.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 228.—*Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher*, p. 26, 287.—*Eclectic Review*, vol. viii. p. 204.—*Whitlocke's Mem.* p. 71. Edit. 1732.

Bacon and Mr. Joseph Mede; and when they found that he had no higher preferment, they said that Englishmen did not deserve such great scholars, since they made so little of them. "Though they have wronged his memory," says Fuller, "who have represented him as an anabaptist; yet he was disaffected to the *discipline* and *ceremonies* of the church;"* on which account he is, with justice, classed among the puritans.

Mr. Lydiat, though opposed to the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, was a man of loyal principles, and discovered his zeal in the royal cause; for which, upon the commencement of the civil war, he was a considerable sufferer from the parliament's army. His own statement to Sir William Compton, governor of Banbury castle, affirms that his rectory was four times pillaged, and himself reduced to so great a want of common necessities, that he could not change his linen for a quarter of a year, without borrowing a shirt. He was also twice carried away to prison, and was cruelly used by the soldiers for refusing their demands of money, for defending his books and papers, and for his bold speeches in favour of the royal cause. From this and other circumstances, it appears that his manners were not conciliating, and that, to a scholar's ignorance of the world, he joined the bluntness of an independent character. Of his confident and sanguine disposition, a judgment may be formed from a passage in one of his letters to Usher. After expressing a hope that his learned friend would in the end assent to the truth of what he had delivered concerning the beginning and conclusion of Daniel's seventy weeks, and all the dependencies thereon, he says, "For certainly, how weak soever I, the restorer and publisher thereof, am, yet it is strong and will prevail; and, notwithstanding mine obscure estate, in due time the clouds and mists of errors being dispersed and vanished, it will shine forth as bright as the clear sun at noon-tide."†

This learned man finished his painful life, and died in indigence and obscurity at Okerton, April 3, 1646, aged seventy-four years.‡ Though he obtained considerable reputation among learned men at home and abroad; yet his fame is so far obliterated, even in his own country, that it is probable few English readers have known to whom Dr. Johnson refers in his "Vanity of Human Wishes,"

* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 338.

† Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 407.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 46—48.

where, as a warning against the enthusiastical expectations of the young scholar, he says,*

If dreams yet flatter, once again attend;
Hear Lydiat's life, and Galilio's end.

Wood says, "he was a man possessed of some excellencies; yet he set too high a value on his own performances, and for many years spent an idle and obscure life."† Echard denominates him "a man of a great soul and incomparable learning, particularly in mathematics, antiquities, languages and divinity;" and adds, "that he was admired by the greatest scholars of the age."‡ Kennet styles him "that master of astronomy and mathematics, who, besides his admired works in print, left twenty-two volumes of manuscripts, as rarities, in the hands of Dr. John Lamphire."§ Mr. Lydiat's remains were interred by the side of his father and mother in the chancel of Okerton church, where a monumental inscription was afterwards erected, of which the following is a translation:¶

Sacred to the MEMORY
of THOMAS LYDIAT, rector of Okerton,
an accomplished divine and mathematician,
whose tomb was erected
at the expense of New College, Oxford,
in memory of so great a scholar.
He was born in 1572,
and died in 1646.

His WORKS.—1. Tractatus de variis annorum formis, 1605.—2. Plectio Astronomica de naturâ coeli & conditionibus elementorum, 1605.—3. Disquisitio physiologica de origine fontium, 1605.—4. Defentio tractatus de variis annorum formis contra Josephi Scaligeri objectionem, 1607.—5. Examen Canonum Chronologiae Isagogicorum, 1607.—6. Explicatio temporum ad initio mundi huc usque, compendio facta, contra Scaligerum & alios, 1609.—7. Explicatio & additamentum argumentorum in libello emendationis temporum compendio factæ, de nativitate Christi & ministerio in terris, 1613.—8. Solis & Lunæ periodus, seu annus magnus, 1620.—9. De anni solaris mensurâ Epistola Astronomica, ad Hen. Savilium, 1620.—10. Numerus aureus melioribus lapillis insignitus factusq; Gemmeus, &c., 1621.—11. Canones Chronologici, nec non series summorum magistratuum & triumphorum Romanorum, 1675.—12. Letters to Archbishop Usher, printed in his Life, 1686.

* Aikin's Lives, p. 408.

† Wood's Hist. et Antiq. l. ii. p. 149.

‡ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 565.

§ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 764.

¶ Wood's Hist. et Antiq. l. ii. p. 149.

WILLIAM TWISSE, D. D.—This illustrious divine was born at Spenham-Land, near Newbury, in Berkshire, about the year 1575, and educated first at Winchester school, then in New College, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He spent sixteen years at the university; and, by a most intense application, obtained an extraordinary knowledge of logic, philosophy, and divinity. His profound erudition appeared in his public lectures and learned disputations, but especially in correcting the works of the celebrated Bradwardine, then published by Sir Henry Savile. He took his various degrees with universal applause. He was an admired and popular preacher, and greatly followed both by the collegians and townsmen.

He continued in his beloved pursuits at the university, till his brilliant talents and profound literature excited very public attention. His uncommon fame reached the court of King James, who chose him to be chaplain to Lady Elizabeth, then about to leave her native country and go to the Palatine. He cheerfully complied with the appointment, and accompanied the pious young princess to the foreign court; and, to moderate her grief, and administer comfort to her troubled mind, upon her painful separation from her friends, he expounded some portion of scripture to her every day. He dwelt much upon the great uncertainty of life, and the importance of a suitable preparation for death; and, from his appropriate instructions and admonitions, she derived that signal advantage by which she was enabled to endure the greatest adversity with undaunted courage. This amiable princess was exercised with many trials very soon after her arrival. For, presently after she was crowned Queen of Bohemia, she was forced to flee from the country and to live an exile all the rest of her days. She bore these tribulations with christian magnanimity. This is represented as the effect of the doctor's excellent instructions, who taught her, "That Divine providence ordereth all the estates and conditions of all men, according to his own good pleasure, and for the eternal advantage of his people:" as, Rom. viii. 28. "We know that all things work together for good, to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose."* He did not, however, continue very long at the court of the Palatine, but was called back to England. His return was the occasion of deep regret both to the prince and princess, which was particularly expressed at the

* Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 13. 14.

time of his departure. Upon his arrival in his native country, he took his final leave of the court, and devoted himself to those profound studies by which he published to the world those learned works which will be the admiration of learned and pious men to the latest posterity.

Dr. Twisse, about the same time, became curate of Newbury, near the place of his birth; where, by his exemplary life and useful preaching, he gained a most distinguished reputation. In this retired situation, which was exactly suited to his wishes, he lived in great peace and comfort; and being secluded from the world, his time was wholly devoted to his studies and the spiritual advantage of his flock. He never sought after worldly riches, or aspired after ecclesiastical preferment, but modestly refused them when they were offered. He, indeed, often congratulated himself that he was in so low a condition, and so little exposed to the alluring temptations. He often professed how greatly he was indebted to divine goodness, for having placed him in so mean and obscure a place, where he was preserved from aspiring after worldly preferment. No man ever sought more industriously to obtain ecclesiastical promotion than he sought to avoid it. Hence, when he was offered the provostship of Winchester college, and warmly entreated to accept it, he as warmly contended against it, though it was a post of considerable pecuniary interest. He preferred his studies, and the ministry of the word, to any idle or honourable post; and worldly interest had but little influence on his mind. Also, when the Bishop of Winchester laid a prebend at his feet, he politely thanked his lordship, but modestly declined accepting it. The Earl of Warwick promised to confer upon him a more valuable living than that of Newbury, which at first he agreed to accept, provided the people of his charge could be furnished with a suitable pastor. He accordingly waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his favourable approbation, and was kindly received. His lordship granted all that he requested, and observed, that he would make mention of him to the king as a pious and learned divine, and *no puritan*. Dr. Twisse was, however, sagacious enough to see the snares that were laid for him; and therefore, without making any further application, he returned to Newbury, resolving not to exchange his curacy for any other situation. Also the states of Friesland invited him to the professor's chair in the university of Franeker; and he was pressed to accept a professor's place at Oxford; but he refused them both. He

was more concerned for his beloved studies, and ministerial usefulness, than for all the splendour and emolument of a university.

Upon the publication of the Book of Sports, our learned divine refused to read it, and ventured to declare his opinion decidedly against it: he, nevertheless, escaped better than many of his brethren, who, for so doing, were suspended from their ministry, driven out of the kingdom, or cast into prison. He was a person of great moderation, yet as decidedly against the use of the superstitious ceremonies as the encouragement of profane sports.* His refusal to read the book did not pass unnoticed at court; but when King James heard of it, he commanded the bishops not to molest him. His majesty, indeed, very well knew, that, though Dr. Twisse lived in low circumstances, and in an obscure situation, his fame was so great in all the reformed churches, that their lordships could do nothing against him which would not be a public reproach to themselves. It was, after all, no small disparagement to them, and to the church to which they belonged, that so eminently pious and learned a divine should live without preferment. The celebrated Dr. Prideaux said, "The bishops do very little consult their own credit, in not preferring Dr. Twisse, though against his wishes, to some splendid ecclesiastical dignity; by which, though they despair of drawing him to their party, they might take off, or mollify, the popular envy, and not hear themselves exposed to scorn by the curate of Newbury." During the civil wars, Prince Rupert, coming to Newbury, entertained our divine very courteously, and made him many honourable promises, if he would turn against the parliament, write in defence of the royal cause, and live among the king's party: but Dr. Twisse very wisely and politely declined the royal invitation.†

He obtained uncommon celebrity from the books which he published, especially upon points of controversy. Here his talents and erudition were employed upon his favourite subjects without restraint, and with extraordinary success. Among his antagonists were Dr. Thomas Jackson, Mr. Henry Mason, and Dr. Thomas Godwin, who was a person of great learning, especially in antiquities; but is said to have been more fit to instruct grammarians than to contend with a logician like Dr. Twisse. He next encountered Mr. John Goodwin, the celebrated advocate for Arminianism, whom

* Mede's Works, p. 845, 846.

† Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 14—17.

he is said to have refuted with great learning and judgment. His next contest was with Mr. John Cotton, a divine whom he highly esteemed, and whom he treated with great gentleness. He learnedly refuted Dr. Potter's "Survey of the New Platform of Predestination."* He treated Dr. Heylin according to his deserts, in defence of the morality of the sabbath. He also successfully contended with the famous Arminius and others, in defence of the doctrines of grace. His answers to Dr. Jackson and Arminius, and his "Riches of God's Love," when first published, were all suppressed by the arbitrary appointment of Bishop Laud.†

In the year 1640, Dr. Twisse was chosen one of the sub-committee, to assist the committee of accommodation appointed by the house of lords to consider the innovations introduced into the church, and to promote a more pure reformation.‡ In the year 1643, he was nominated, by an order of the parliament, prolocutor to the assembly of divines. On account of his great modesty, he repeatedly declined the appointment, but was at length prevailed upon to accept the office. The learned assembly was opened July 1, 1643, when Dr. Twisse preached to both houses of parliament, in Henry the seventh's chapel. "In his sermon," says Fuller, "he exhorted his learned auditory to a faithful discharge of their duty, and to promote the glory of God and the honour of his church; but he was sorry that they wanted the royal assent. He hoped, however, that in due time it might be obtained, and that a happy union would be procured between the king and parliament."§

Dr. Twisse, on account of his age and manifold infirmities, was not able to attend upon the concerns of the assembly; but, in a few months, was taken ill, falling down in the pulpit to rise no more. He had been long grieved to behold the disagreement between the king and the parliament, which, he said, would prove fatal to both; and he often wished that the fire of contention might be

* Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. i. p. 68.

† About the same time, Dr. George Downham, bishop of Derry in Ireland, published a book against the Arminians; upon which, Bishop Laud procured the suppression of all the copies sent to England; and, not satisfied with this, he caused a letter to be sent to Archbishop Usher, commanding the same proceeding against the book in Ireland. The pious and learned primate tamely yielded to the superior power of this arbitrary prelate; issued his warrant for the seizure of all the remaining copies of Downham's work; and signified that he should "take order that nothing should be hereafter published contrary to his majesty's sacred direction."—

Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 171, 172.

‡ Kingdom's MS. Collec. p. 200.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 199.

extinguished, though it were at the price of his own blood.* When he fell down in the pulpit, he was carried to his lodgings and laid upon his bed, where he languished about a twelvemonth. During his long illness, multitudes of persons resorted to him, who witnessed his exemplary faith and patience. In the civil wars, he had been driven from his curacy and the people of his charge, at Newbury, and deprived of all his property by the royal forces; so that, in the time of his sickness, when certain persons were deputed from the assembly to visit him, they reported, "that he was very sick, and in great straits." The parliament, having taken his case into consideration, passed an order, December 4, 1645, for one hundred pounds to be given him out of the public treasury.† Nearly the last words that Dr. Twisse uttered, were, "I shall at length have leisure enough to follow my studies to all eternity;" and died July 20, 1646, aged seventy-one years. The whole house of commons, and the assembly of divines, paid their last respects to his memory by following, in one sorrowful procession, his mortal remains to the grave; when Dr. Robert Harris preached his funeral sermon from Joshua, i. 2., *Moses my servant is dead*. He was buried in Westminster abbey, where his body quietly rested till the restoration, when the *humane*, the *liberal*, and the *enlightened* Charles ordered his bones to be dug up, together with the bodies of many other persons, eminent in church and state, and thrown into a pit digged on purpose in St. Margaret's church-yard.‡ The

* Clark's Lives, p. 17.

† Whitlocke's Mem. p. 189.

‡ One of those illustrious persons, whose body suffered this shameful indignity, was the valiant Admiral Blake, whose name was a terror to the enemies of Britain; who raised the naval reputation of his country to a higher pitch than any of his predecessors, and whose services to the English nation will be a monument of his renown as durable as time. The following is a list of some of the persons to whose bodies this malevolence was offered, on the 12th and 14th of September, 1661. Others would probably have shared the same fate; but the thing was so indecent, and drew so general an odium on the government, that a stop was put to any further proceedings:

Elizabeth Cromwell, mother of
Oliver, lord protector,
Elizabeth Claypole, her daughter,
Robert Blake, admiral,
John Pym, esq. M. P.
Dr. Isaac Dorislaus,
Sir William Constable, colonel,
Edward Popham, admiral,
Richard Dean, admiral,

William Stroud, esq. M. P.
Humphrey Mackworth, colonel,
Dennis Bond, esq.
Thomas May, esq. the historian,
John Mildrum, colonel,
Colonel Boscawen,
Doctor William Twisse, prolocutor,
Stephen Marshall, presby. divine,
William Strong, indepen. divine.

Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 80.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 826.

refined barbarity and contemptible meanness of these proceedings, might have been expected amongst untutored savages, rather than from a monarch bred up in all the refinements of the English court.

Though Dr. Twisse died in necessitous circumstances, the parliament, after his death, voted a *thousand* pounds to be given to his children, out of the public treasury;* but, on account of the national confusions, it is doubtful whether it was ever paid. Mr. Clark says, "he was much admired for his great learning, subtle wit, exact judgment, great integrity, pleasing behaviour, and his exemplary modesty, piety, humility and self-denial."† Fuller denominates him, "a divine of great abilities, learning, piety, and moderation.‡ Wood says, "his plain preaching was esteemed good; his solid disputations were accounted better; but his pious life was reckoned best of all." The most learned of his adversaries confessed that there was nothing extant more accurate and full upon the Arminian controversy, than what is contained in his works. All writers against Arminianism have made honourable mention of his works, and have acknowledged him to have been the mightiest man in those controversies that the age produced.§ He was succeeded at Newbury by Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, who was afterwards ejected in 1662.||

HIS WORKS.—1. A Discovery of Dr. Jackson's Vanities, 1631.—2. Vindiciæ Gratiae, Potestatis et Providentiæ Dei, 1632.—3. Dissertatio Scientiâ Mediâ tribus libris absolutâ, 1639.—4. Dissertationes, 1639.—5. Of the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, 1641.—6. A Treatise of Reprobation, in Answer to Mr. John Cotton, 1646.—7. Animadvertiones ad Jacobi Arminii Collat. cum Frank. Junio et Joh. Arnold Corvin, 1649.—8. De Predestinatione et Gratia, 1649.—9. The Doubting Conscience Resolved, 1652.—10. The Riches of God's Love unto the Vessels of Mercy, consistent with his absolute hatred or reprobation of the Vessels of Wrath, 1653.—11. Two Tracts in Answer to Dr. H. (Hammond) 1653.—12. The Synod of Dort and Ares reduced to Practice, with an Answer.—13. The Scriptures Sufficiency to determine all matters of Faith.—14. The Christian Sabbath defended against the crying Evil of these Times of the Antisabbatarians of our Age.—15. Fifteen Letters, published in Mede's Works.—He also left numerous manuscripts behind him.

* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 321.

† Clark's Lives, p. 13, 14, 18.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 96.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 40, 41.

|| Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 290.

JEREMIAH BURROUGHS, A. M. — This very amiable divine was born in the year 1599, and educated at Cambridge, but was obliged to quit the university, and afterwards the kingdom, on account of nonconformity. After he had finished his studies at the university, he entered upon the ministerial work, and was chosen colleague to Mr. Edmund Calamy at Bury St. Edmunds.* In the year 1631, he became rector of Titshall, in the county of Norfolk; but upon the publication of Bishop Wren's articles and injunctions, in 1636, he was suspended and deprived of his living.+ He sheltered himself for some time under the hospitable roof of the Earl of Warwick;‡ but, on account of the intolerant and oppressive proceedings of the ecclesiastical rulers, the noble earl at length found it was impossible to protect him any longer; and shortly after, to escape the fire of persecution, he fled to Holland, and settled at Rotterdam, where he was chosen teacher to the congregational church, of which Mr. William Bridge was pastor.§ After his suspension, he is charged with attempting to bribe the bishop's chancellor, by an offer of forty pounds; and going beyond seas, and returning disguised in a soldier's habit, with many libellous pamphlets, when, it is said, the sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him for nonresidence.|| Of this circumstance, however, Mr. Edwards gives a very different account. He says, "that Mr Burroughs, for some speeches spoken against the Scotch war, in company not to be trusted, for fear fled in all haste to Rotterdam;" at which he very much stumbled.¶ Mr. Burroughs, in his animadversion upon this misrepresentation, observes as follows: "Had Mr. Edwards been willing to have conferred with me about this, as I desired, before he printed, I should have so fully satisfied him about my going out of the kingdom, that he could never have stumbled, nor have caused others to stumble. How does he know there were speeches delivered, for fear of which I fled? It may be there was only an accusation. In his bold assertion there is held forth to the world, at least some indiscretion in me, that I should speak words of a high

* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 5.

† Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 138.

‡ This noble person was a great friend and patron of the persecuted puritans, and one of their constant hearers. He was not content with only hearing long sermons in the congregation, but would have them repeated in his own house.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 116.

§ Edwards's Antapologia, p. 18, 19.

|| Wren's Parentalia, p. 95.

¶ Edwards's Antapologia, p. 16.

nature, in company not to be trusted. I am so fully clear in that business, that I wiped off before my lord of Warwick whatsoever might have seemed indiscretion, not by mine own assertion only, but by the testimony of two gentlemen, being all the company, besides the accuser, who were present while we discoursed of that matter. The truth is, there were no such speeches; there was only some *accusation* of speeches. What man can free himself from accusation?" This ungenerous accuser afterwards recanted, and expressed his great sorrow for having aspersed the character of our pious and worthy divine.*

Mr. Burroughs replies to the charge that he fled in all haste to Rotterdam, by saying, "It was four or five months after this accusation before I went to Rotterdam. Had not the prelatical faction been incensed against me, for standing out against their superstitions, I should have ventured to have stood to what I had spoken, for all I said was by way of query, affirming nothing. I knew how dangerous the times then were. I knew what the power of the prelatical party at that time was, who were extremely incensed against me. A man's innocency, then, could not be his safety. A mere accusation was enough then, to cause me to provide for my security. I was, by Bishop Wren, deprived of my living in Norfolk, in which, I believe, I endured as great a brunt as almost any of those who stayed in England; though Mr. Edwards is pleased to say, we fled that we might be safe upon the shore, while our brethren were at sea in the storm. I believe neither he, nor scarcely any of our presbyterian brethren, endured a harder storm at sea, than I did before I went out of England. Yet, I bless God, he stirred up noble friends to countenance and encourage me in my sufferings; for which I will not cease to pray that the blessing of God may be upon them and their families. For some months I lived with my lord of Warwick, with whom I found much undeserved love and respect, and was in the midst of as great encouragements to stay in England, as a man deprived, and under the bishop's rage, could expect; when I set myself in as a serious a manner as ever I did in my life, to examine my heart about my staying in England; whether some carnal respects, that countenance I had from divers noble friends, the offers of livings, did not begin to prevail too far with me. My spirit was much troubled with these thoughts, Why do I still linger in England, where I cannot with peace enjoy

* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 18, 21. Edit. 1646.

what my soul longs after? Did I not formerly think, that if ever God took me clearly from my people, I would hasten to be where I might be free from such mixtures in God's worship, without wringing my conscience any more? Why do I, therefore, now stay? Am I not under temptation? God knows these were the sad and serious workings of my spirit, and these workings were as strong as ever I felt them in my life.

"While I was thus musing," says Mr. Burroughs, "thus troubled in my spirit, and lifting up my heart to God to help me, and set me at liberty, leaning upon my chamber window, I spied a man, in a citizen's habit, coming in the court-yard towards my chamber; and upon his coming near, I knew him to be formerly a citizen of Norwich, but, at that time, one of the church at Rotterdam. When this man came near to me, he told me that he came lately from Rotterdam; and that he was sent there by the church to give me a call to join with Mr. Bridge in the work of the Lord, in that church. When I heard him say this, I stood awhile amazed at the providence of God; that, at such a time, a messenger should be sent to me upon such an errand. My heart, God knows, exceedingly rejoiced in this call. I presently told the man I saw God much in it, and dared not in the least to gainsay it. My heart did much close with it; yet I desired to see the hand of God a little further. I required him to return my answer to the church, with a desire, that, as most of them knew me, they should give me their call under their own hands; then there would be nothing wanting, but I should be theirs; and thus we parted."*

Mr. Burroughs, having vindicated his own character against the aspersions of his adversaries, further observes, that, "after this I hoped all would blow over, when my lord of Warwick, falling sick in London, sent for me, and I came up to him and continued with him about three weeks, going freely up and down the city. My lord knew all the business, and made no question but all was over. Being now, as I hoped, set free from my accuser, the messenger from Rotterdam came to me again, with an answer to what I had desired, shewing me how the church there had assembled, and had sent a call to me in writing, under the hands of the elders, with many other hands, in the name of the church; on which we agreed upon the day when, and the place

* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 18-21.

where, we should meet in Norfolk, to make a full conclusion and prepare for our voyage.*

Our divine has thus favoured us with a circumstantial account of his invitation to Rotterdam. Upon his arrival, he was cordially received by the church; and he continued a zealous and faithful labourer several years, gaining a very high reputation among the people. After the commencement of the civil war, when the power of the bishops was set aside, he returned to England, says Granger, "not to preach sedition, but peace; for which he earnestly prayed and laboured."†

Mr. Burroughs was a person highly honoured and esteemed, and he soon became a most popular and admired preacher. After his return, his popular talents and great worth presently excited public attention, and he was chosen preacher to the congregations of Stepney and Cripplegate, London, then accounted two of the largest congregations in England. Mr. Burroughs preached at Stepney at seven o'clock in the morning, and Mr. William Greenhill at three in the afternoon. These two persons, stigmatized by Wood as notorious schismatics and independents, were called in Stepney pulpit, by Mr. Hugh Peters, one the *morning star*, the other the *evening star of Stepney*.‡ Mr. Burroughs was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and was one of the dissenting brethren, but a divine of great wisdom and moderation. He united with his brethren, Messrs. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, and Sydrach Sympson, in publishing their "Apologetical Narration," in defence of their own distinguishing sentiments. The authors of this work, who had been exiles for religion, to speak in their own language, "consulted the scriptures without any prejudice. They considered the word of God as impartially as men of flesh and blood are likely to do, in any juncture of time; the place they went to, the condition they were in, and the company they were with, affording no temptation to any bias." They assert, that every church or congregation has sufficient power within itself for the regulation of religious government, and is subject to no external authority whatever. The principles upon which they founded their church government, were, to confine themselves in every thing to what the scriptures prescribed, without paying any regard to the opinions or practice of men; nor to tie themselves down so

* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 22.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 193, 194.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 113.

strictly to their present resolutions, as to leave no room for alterations upon a further acquaintance with divine truth. They steered a middle course between Presbyterianism and Brownism: the former they accounted too arbitrary, the latter too rigid; deviating from the spirit and simplicity of the gospel.* These are the general principles of the *independents* of the present day.

Mr. Burroughs, in conformity with the above principles, united with his brethren in writing and publishing their "Reasons against certain Propositions concerning Presbyterian Government."† In the year 1645, he was chosen one of the committee of accommodation, and was of great service in all their important deliberations.‡ He was a divine of great piety, candour, and moderation; and during their debates, he generously declared, in the name of the independents, "That if their congregations might not be exempted from the coercive power of the classis; and if they might not have liberty to govern themselves in their own way, so long as they behaved themselves peaceably towards the civil magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, or go to some other part of the world, where they might enjoy their liberty. But," said he, "while men think there is no way of peace but by forcing all to be of the same mind; while they think the civil sword is an ordinance of God to determine all controversies in divinity; and that it must needs be attended with fines and imprisonment to the disobedient; while they apprehend there is no medium between a strict uniformity and a general confusion of all things: while these sentiments prevail, there must be a base subjection of men's consciences to slavery, a suppression of much truth, and great disturbances in the christian world."§

After his return from exile, he never gathered a separate congregation, nor accepted of any parochial benefice, but continued to exhaust his strength by constant preaching, and other important services, for the advantage of the church of God. He was a divine of a most amiable and peaceable spirit; yet he had some bitter enemies, who, to their own disgrace, poured upon him their slander and falsehood. Mr. Edwards, whose pen was mostly dipped in gall, pours upon him many reproachful and unfounded reflections. He charges Mr. Burroughs, and some others, with having held a

* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 620.

† Reasons of Dissenting Brethren, p. 40, 133, 192.

‡ Papers of Accom. p. 13.

§ Burroughs's Vindication, p. 30.—Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 286.

meeting with one Nichols, a man of vile and dangerous sentiments: whereas Mr. Burroughs thus declared, "I know no such man as this Nichols. I never heard there was such a man in the world, till I read it in Mr. Edwards's book. I, to this day, know of no meeting about him, or any of his opinions, either intended, desired, or resolved upon; much less that there was any such meeting."* What he thus declared under his own hand, he afterwards proved from the most correct and substantial evidence, casting all the reproach upon the false statement of his bitter adversary.†

This peevish and bigotted writer, indeed, warmly censures Mr. Burroughs for endeavouring to propagate his own sentiments upon church discipline; and even for pleading the cause of a general toleration. But our pious divine, with his usual christian meekness, repelled the foolish charges, proved his own innocence, and exposed the rancour of his enemy.‡ Being charged with conformity in the time of the bishops, he says, "Though I did conform to some of the old ceremonies, in which I acknowledge my sin; I do not cast those things off as inconvenient or discountenanced by the state only, but as sinful against Christ; yet I think there can hardly be found a man in that diocese where I was, that was so eyed, who conformed less than I did, if he conformed at all. As for the new conformity, God kept me from it; and my sin in the old makes me be of a more forbearing spirit towards those who now differ from me. I see now what I did not; and I bless God I saw it before the times changed: and others, even some who scorn at new light, must acknowledge they see now what a while since they saw not. Why then should they or I fly upon our brethren, because they see not what we think we see? O, how unbecoming is it for such who conformed to old and new ceremonies, now to be harsh and bitter in the least degree against their brethren, who differ from them, when *they* differ so much from what they were not long since themselves! Some of them know I loved them as brethren, when they conformed to what I could not, but was suspended for refusing it. Let me have the same love from them as brethren, though I cannot now conform to all they now do."§

Mr. Edwards and old Mr. John Vicars were his most bitter and furious enemies. The latter he addressed in the

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 25. Third Edit.—part ii. p. 71.

† Burroughs's *Vindication*, p. 5—8.

‡ Edwards's *Antapologia*, p. 216.—*Gangræna*, part i. p. 78. ii. 86.—*Burroughs's Vindication*, p. 5—12.

§ *Ibid.* p. 17, 18.

language of meekness and conciliation, as follows: "I reverence, and teach others to reverence old age; but," says he, "it must know there are many infirmities attending it; and is fitter for devotion, than for matters of contention. If Mr. Vicars had told me some experience of the work of God upon his soul, or of the good providence of God towards his people and himself, I should have diligently observed it, and, I hope, I might have got good by it. But, oh, how unbecoming old age is that spirit of contention which appears in his books! If he think those places he has cited will serve his turn, surely his skill in presbytery is not great. My pen was running into a hard expression, but I will not provoke the old man: yet I must be plain with him. How uncomely is it for an old professor of piety and religion, to be found jeering and scorning at piety and religion? Who would have thought that ever Mr. Vicars should have lived to that day? The chief scope of his book is to cast dirt upon the apologists. Certainly the spirit of the man is much altered from what he once seemed to be. Is it becoming the gravity and wisdom of old age to charge his brethren publicly, of unworthy double dealing, and of unfaithfulness? The Lord, I hope, will cause Mr. Vicars to see cause to be humbled for this."*

When Mr. Burroughs and his brethren were stigmatized as schismatics, he discovered his great mildness and forbearance. "I profess, as in the presence of God," says he, "that upon the most serious examination of my heart, I find in it, that were my judgment presbyterial, yet I should preach and plead as much for the forbearance of brethren differing from me, not only in their judgment, but in their practice, as I have ever done. Therefore, if I should turn presbyterian, I fear I should trouble Mr. Edwards and some others more than I do now: perhaps my preaching and pleading for forbearance of dissenting brethren would be of more force than it is now."†

Dr. Grey, who has called our divine "an ignorant, factious, and schismatical minister," has certainly imitated too much, in rancour and misrepresentation, the example of his predecessors.‡ Mr. Baxter, who knew his great worth, said, "If all the episcopalians had been like Archbishop Usher; all the presbyterians like Mr. Stephen Marshall; and all the independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, the breaches of the church would soon have been healed." The last subject

* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 24, 25.

† Ibid. p. 14.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 91.

Mr. Burroughs preached upon, which he also published, was his "Irenicum," or an attempt to heal the divisions among christians. His incessant labours, and his grief for the distractions of the times, are said to have hastened his end. He died of a consumption, November 14, 1646, in the forty-seventh year of his age. Granger says, "he was a man of learning, candour, and modesty, and of an exemplary and irreproachable life."* Fuller has classed him among the learned writers of Emanuel college, Cambridge.† Dr. Williams says, that his "Exposition of Hosea" is a pleasing specimen, to shew how the popular preachers of his time applied the scriptures, in their expository discourses, to the various cases of their hearers.‡ He published several of his writings while he lived, and his friends sent forth many others after his death, most of which were highly esteemed by all pious christians.

His WORKS.—1. Moses's Choice, 1641.—2. Sion's Joy, a Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, at their public Thanksgiving, Sept. 7, 1641—1641.—3. An Exposition of the Prophecy of Hosea, 1643.—4. The Lord's Heart opened, 1643.—5. A Vindication of Mr. Burroughs, against Mr. Edwards his foul aspersions, in his spreading Gangræna, and his angry Antapologia: concluding with a brief Declaration what the Independents would have, 1646.—6. Irenicum, to the Lovers of Truth and Peace, 1646.—7. Two Treatises: The first, of Earthlymindedness; the second, of Conversing in Heaven and Walking with God, 1649.—8. An Exposition upon 4, 5, 6, and 7th Chapters of Hosea, 1650.—9. An Exposition upon 8 and 9th Chapters of Hosea, 1650.—10. The rare Jewel of Christian Contentment, 1650.—11. Gospel Worship, 1650.—12. Gospel Conversation, 1650.—13. The Evil of Evils: or, the exceeding Sinfulness of Sin, 1654.—14. The Saints Treasury, 1654.—15. Three Treatises, of Hope, of Faith, and of the Saints Walk by Faith, 1655.—16. Reconciliation, or Christ's Trumpet of Peace, 165.. 17. The Saints Happiness, 1660.—18. A Treatise of Holy Courage in Evil Times, 1661.—19. True Blessedness consists in Pardon of Sin, 1668.—20. Four useful Discourses, 1675.

FRANCIS CORNWELL, A. M.—This person was educated at Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards beneficed at Orpington in Kent. During the intolerance of Archbishop Laud, having refused to wear the surplice, to kneel at the sacrament, and use the sign of the cross in baptism, he was cast into prison. His companion in Maidstone gaol was Mr. Wilson of Otham, near that place. About this time, he

* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 193.

† Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 147.

‡ Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 433.

espoused the sentiments of the baptists, and became a zealous advocate in the cause. In 1643, he publicly avowed his principles, and wrote in defence of them. In 1644, in a visitation sermon preached at Cranbrook in Kent, from Mark vii. 7, before the ministers of those parts, he took the liberty of freely and fully declaring his sentiments upon the subject of baptism. This very much startled some of the clergy present, and offended others. The matter was, therefore, debated among them, and the arguments in favour of antipædobaptism were strongly urged by Mr. William Jeffery of Seven-oaks, who had baptized Mr. Cornwell, and to whom he referred them. The debate was carried on till Mr. Christopher Blackwood, one of the ministers, desired them to desist at that time; for he had taken down the sermon in short-hand, and would return an answer in print, which he hoped would be to the satisfaction of them all. His advice being adopted, it was agreed to postpone, for the present, the discussion of the question, to re-examine the point in dispute, and to bring their collections together at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight. In the mean time, Mr. Blackwood, as our author observes, studied the question with great diligence and close attention. The impression made on his mind was very different from what was expected. As he studied the subject, he began to suspect his own opinions; presently changed his sentiments; and, when they met, he produced his arguments *against* infant baptism. His papers being left with the ministers for their examination, and waiting some time, and receiving no answer to his arguments, he published them with corrections and enlargements.*

Mr. Cornwell, soon after this, withdrew from the established church. He disapproved of national and parochial churches; and taught, that a church ought to consist of such only as professed repentance from dead works, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and were baptized by immersion, and upon their believing, which he thought was the pattern of the first churches in Judea. He soon gathered a church in Kent, which was formed upon this plan, and to which he was pastor to the day of his death. He was succeeded in the same place and office by his son. It reflects great honour on Mr. Cornwell's memory, that he was a zealous opposer of persecution and an imposed uniformity. He wrote against the ordinance of parliament that was made

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 344—347.—Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 632—634.

to silence all preachers who had not received episcopal or presbyterian ordination, or who should preach any thing contrary to the articles of faith, and the directory of public worship, set forth by the assembly. He maintained, that all who prohibited any minister from preaching the gospel freely, acted like the Jews of old, who cast the blind man out of the temple, for confessing that Jesus was the Christ.*

HIS WORKS.—1. A Vindication of the Royal Commission of King Jesus, 1643.—2. A Description of the Spiritual Temple; or, the Difference between the Christian and Antichristian Church, 1646.—3. A Conference between Mr. John Cotton and the Elders of New England, 1646.—4. Two Queries worthy of Consideration.

THOMAS COLLIER was a minister of the baptist persuasion, a person of great diligence, moderation and usefulness, and a sufferer in the evil times in which he lived. Edwards denominates him a great sectary, and a man of great power among them; who had emissaries under him, whom he sent abroad into various parts of the country. He preached some time in the island of Guernsey, where he had many converts; but his cruel persecutors would not allow him to enjoy peace. They banished him and many of his followers from the place, and cast them into prison at Portsmouth; but how long they remained under confinement, we are not informed.† On account of his incessant labours and extensive usefulness, he is represented by his adversaries as having done much hurt at Lymington, Hampton, Waltham, and all along the west country. “This Collier,” says my author, “is a great sectary in the west of England, a mechanical fellow, and a great emissary, a dipper, who goes about Surrey, Hampshire, and those counties, preaching and dipping. About a fortnight ago, on the Lord’s day, he preached at Guildford in the meeting-place, and to the company of one old Mr. Close, an independent minister, who hath set up at Guildford, and done a great deal of mischief, having drawn away many of the well-meaning people from the ministry of other godly ministers. There this Collier exercised; and it was given out in the country, that he was a rare man; and the people came from the towns about to hear him. This fellow, in his circuit, at an exercise where he was preaching to many women for rebap-

* Crosby’s Baptists, vol. i. p. 348, 349.

† Edwards’s Gangræna, part iii. p. 41.

tization and dipping, made use of that scripture to that purpose: *And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man,*" &c.*

In the year 1645, Mr. Collier came forwards in vindication of his sentiments, and published a work, entitled, "Certain Queries, or Points now in Controversy, Examined;" in which, after vindicating his own views of christian baptism, he maintains, that magistrates have no power whatever to establish church government, or to compel any persons by any human power, to observe the government of Christ. In discussing the power of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters, he gives his advice to the parliament to use their utmost endeavours to promote a further reformation of the church; for the attainment of which, he recommends them "to dismiss that assembly of learned men, who are now called together to consult about matters of religion; because he cannot conclude that God hath any thing for them to do; and he knows no rule in the book of God for such an assembly. He also recommends them to go forwards in subduing their antichristian enemies, so far as by civil law they had power. He then concludes by recommending the parliament to give the kingdom to the saints; by which is meant," says he, "not only an external kingdom, but the spiritual kingdom and government of the church of Christ."†

The year following, two of Mr. Collier's letters, addressed to his religious friends, were intercepted, and published to the world. As they discover his piety and usefulness, and contain a sufficient answer to all the impious clamour of Mr. Edwards's scurrilous pen, it will be proper to insert them. The first, dated from Guildford, April 20, 1646, is addressed "To the Saints in the order and fellowship of the gospel at Taunton;" the preamble to which is, "Your dear brother, Thomas Collier, desireth the increase of grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ;" and is as follows:‡

"Dear brethren and sisters,

"I have not had an opportunity of writing unto you until now, although my spirit hath been up to the Lord for you continually. The Lord hath manifested his presence with me exceedingly in my journey. I desire the Lord to raise up your hearts in thankfulness. He hath gathered saints in Pool by me. Fourteen took up the ordinance at once; there is like to be a great work; and I confirmed

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 122.

† Ibid. part iii. p. 27—29.

‡ Ibid. p. 51.

the churches in other places. I am not yet got so far as London; but I shall, I expect, to-morrow. Dearly beloved, my desire and prayer to our Father, on your behalf, is, that your souls may be satisfied with his fulness, that you may live above, and then you shall not want comfort. My exhortation to you is, to wait upon the Lord, in his own way, and not to look forth into the world. There is bread enough in your Father's house, where he hath promised his presence. Though you seem to want gifts, yet you shall not want the presence of your Father, your Jesus, if you wait upon him. There are two brethren I suppose will visit you from Hampton; brother Sims and brother Row, whom I desire you to receive as from the Lord. The unlimited power of the presbyterians is denied them, of which you shall hear more shortly. I desire to be remembered to all my kind friends with you, and at present rest

"Your dear brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,
"THOMAS COLLIER."

In a note to the above letter, Mr. Collier says, "I shall see you as speedily as possible." His second letter breathes the same pious feelings, and is also addressed "To the Saints in the order and fellowship of the gospel." It is dated from London, May 2, 1646, and is as follows:*

"My dear ones in the Lord Jesus,

"I salute you, desiring Him who is our head and husband, our life and liberty, our all and in all, to gather up our souls more abundantly into the glorious unity and fellowship of the Son of God; that you may not live upon these lower things, which are but instruments to convey light and love unto us: I mean, even ordinances, or the like; which indeed are but as a shell without the kernel, further than we enjoy Christ in them. My dear ones, you are in my heart continually, and my desire is to be with you as soon as possibly I can, to impart some spiritual gifts unto you, and to enjoy fellowship in Jesus Christ with you. But what is this? you are upon the heart of Christ; nay, engraven upon his hand, and shall be had in everlasting remembrance before him. I am much in haste at present, the post coming forth of town, only I have sent you these few lines, and two books here enclosed, as a remembrance of my love. I desire to be remembered to all my dear friends with you, and at present rest and remain

"Your dear brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,
"THOMAS COLLIER."

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 52.

Mr. Collier was author of several other pieces, in addition to the one we have mentioned, which were probably on the controversies of the day. But at what place or places he afterwards preached, or when he died, we are not informed.

PHILIP TANDY was a minister in the established church, but afterwards joined the brethren of the separation, and espoused the sentiments of the baptists, observing the *seventh* day as the christian sabbath. He was remarkably zealous to promote his own views of divine truth, and appears to have been a person of great abilities and piety. Edwards denominates him "a great sectary," who had been at York and in the northern parts, propagating his sentiments. While he was in the north, he held a disputation concerning his opinions, with a pious and learned minister of York. The debate was carried on by letters, in one of which Mr. Tandy remarks as follows: "Let us lay aside tradition, custom, the reputation of learning, and all selfish respects; and let us speak and write so as knowing that we must shortly give an account to Jesus Christ for all that we build, whether it be hay or stubble, gold or wood. For my part, I am confident, that, within a few years, I shall see him whom my soul loveth, and much will it go to my heart, if I either oppose a truth, or maintain an error. Sir, let us look about us: the vail is not yet taken off. In something most good men have been blinded. It may be in this for one. It is good to be tenderly jealous. Pardon me, that I thus exhort you. I see so many temptations that strongly invite even godly men to contend for pædobaptism, and so far do I see, also, into the mystery of antichrist's sitting in the temple of God as God, that I cannot but give a caution to the godliest man upon earth, who undertakes the defence of this practice." Mr. Tandy undertook, in his next letter, to vindicate his own views of baptism and the fourth commandment concerning the sabbath; to which the minister mentioned above wrote a large and full reply, in which, it is said, he confuted him in all the particulars contained in his letter.* It does not appear at what place Mr. Tandy preached, or when he died, but he was living in the year 1646.

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 54—59.

THOMAS MOORE was a zealous and active preacher among the separatists during the civil wars. Edwards calls him "a great sectary and manifestarian," who, in his opinion, did much hurt in Lincolnshire, in some parts of Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. He obtained great fame at Boston, Lynne and Holland, at which places he had many followers, who accompanied him from place to place, attending upon his ministry. He did not confine his labours to buildings that were consecrated; but, without distinction of places, he preached in houses, and in all places wherever the people were disposed to assemble. It is observed, that he and his followers refused to keep days of public fasting and thanksgiving, in the time of civil wars; "because," says my author, "they will not give thanks to God for one man killing another." On account of his opinions and practice, he was shamefully persecuted by the presbyterian ministers and others of a bigotted, party spirit. At Boston he was questioned by Colonel King, governor of the town, when he was cast into prison for keeping a conventicle in the night season. It does not, however, appear how long he remained under the malice and power of his persecutors, nor what afterwards became of him, only he was living in the year 1646.*

JOHN DURANCE was a zealous and popular preacher of the independent denomination. Edwards says, "he was formerly an apprentice to a washball-maker in Lombard-street, London, and afterwards became a preacher without being ordained; yea, after preaching some years, he presumed, without ordination, to baptize and administer the Lord's supper." This was certainly a dreadful crime in the opinion of this bigotted writer. He often preached at Sandwich in Kent, but lived at Canterbury, where he gathered a separate church, and dispensed the word and ordinances of the gospel. The author mentioned above, with a view to reproach his memory, gives the following curious account of him: "There is one Master Durance, a preacher at Sandwich in Kent, a bold conceited man, and an independent, who, since the beginning of this parliament, was a washing-ball maker, or seller of washing-balls, here in London, but now turned preacher; and being never ordained minister, hath consecrated himself to be one of the priests of the high places. Among many high affected strains of new light, and strange expressions, which

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 86. iii. 80.

the man uses in his sermons and prayers, to get himself the name of such a rare man, these are some: he prayed to the Trinity to take care of these three kingdoms; God the Father to take care of one, God the Son of the second, and God the Holy Ghost of the third kingdom." This author charges Mr. Durance with having prayed publicly in the church at Sandwich, "that the king might be brought up in chains to the parliament." He also observes, that, after his preaching at Canterbury, he hath the use of a great room near the cathedral, where many resort to him, and "he takes occasion to build them up in independency." Although he preached regularly every week at Canterbury and Sandwich, he would have done the same also at Dover; but he was opposed by the *godly ministers* of the town, who wrote up to London against him, and, by this means, prevented him from going thither. This shews his great zeal and diligence, and their extreme bigotry and intolerance. Mr. Edwards, one of the most bitter enemies to toleration, further charges him with saying, after the surrender of Oxford to the parliament, "that, notwithstanding this, there would be no peace till there was a general liberty of conscience in England." A dreadful crime was this in the eyes of this bigotted writer! Mr. Durance lived in one of the prebendaries houses in Canterbury; and, after preaching on the Lord's day in one of the churches, he preached and administered the ordinances of the gospel to his own church, in his own house, in the evening. How long he continued in this situation, or when he died, we are not able to learn; but he was living in the year 1646.*

JOHN BATCHELOR was a divine of the independent denomination, who lived some time at Rotterdam in Holland, where he was probably driven by the Laudian persecution. Several of his letters, dated from this place in September, 1641, expressive of the liberal sentiments of the independents, were afterwards printed.† He soon after returned to his native country, and became a chaplain in the army; on which account, and on account of his views of church government, Edwards has classed him among "the notorious sectaries, and those who smell of the army."‡ He was an avowed advocate for liberty of conscience, and a universal toleration, for which he has incurred the hot displeasure and indignation

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 124, 144. iii. 96, 97.

† Edwards's *Antapologia*, p. 39. ‡ *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 266.

of this censorious writer. About the year 1643, he was appointed, with several other learned divines, one of the licensers of the press, for books in divinity. In this office he discovered his generous sentiments, by giving his public sanction to all publications which were founded on the broad and liberal principles of christian freedom and a toleration of all parties. This was sure to incur the indignant censure of Mr. Edwards, who gives the following amusing account of him :

“ Master Batchelor,” says he, “ is the licenser-general of books, not only of independent doctrines, but of books for a toleration of all sects, and against pædobaptism.”* What a shocking crime was this in the opinion of this bigotted and intolerant writer ! In another place he says, “ There is one Master John Batchelor, licenser-general of the sectaries’ books, and of all sorts of wicked opinions, who hath been a man-midwife to bring forth more monsters begotten by the devil, and born of the sectaries, within this three last years, than ever were brought into the light in England by all the former licensers, the bishops and their chaplains, for fourscore years. He hath licensed books pleading for all sorts of sectaries : as, seekers, antinomians, anabaptists, antiscipiturists, arians, antitrinitarians, questionists, and all blasphemers. This is apparent by his licensing that late wicked pamphlet, called, ‘ Some modest and humble Queries concerning a printed Paper, entitled, ‘ An Ordinance presented to the Honourable House of Commons.’

“ This Master Batchelor hath licensed several pamphlets for a *toleration*; yea, not only for a limited toleration of some sects and opinions, as anabaptists and independents; but for a *universal* toleration of all consciences and opinions, as may be seen in Walwin’s book licensed by him : yea, he hath licensed unlicensed books printed before he was born, as a pamphlet, entitled, ‘ Religious Peace,’ made by one Leonard Busher, and printed in 1614; wherein there is a pleading for a toleration of papists, jews, and all persons differing in religion; and that it may be lawful for them to write, dispute, confer, print and publish, any matter touching religion. That the wickedness of Master Batchelor may the more appear, I desire the reader to observe these following particulars :—He gives not a bare *imprimatur* to this book of Busher’s, but gives his *imprimatur* with a special recommendation in these words : ‘ This useful treatise, entitled, Religious Peace, long

* Gangræna, part i. p. 22.

since presented by a citizen of London to King James and the high court of parliament then sitting, I allow to be reprinted; and so to some of Saltmarsh's books, Smoak in the Temple; Groans for Liberty; Reasons for Unity; Love and Peace. In the reprinting Busher's book for general toleration, he made some material alterations, and wrote in the margins of such places in the book where some special passages were for toleration, that they should be printed in a larger letter, no doubt that the reader might better observe them."

This intolerant author also adds; "John Batchelor treads in the steps of some licensers who went before him. The man hath justified and acquitted the former licensers, Dr. Baker, Dr. Bray, Dr. Hayward, Dr. Weeks, and the rest of that race, who, in the point of licensing, were saints to him. He hath licensed such books and things, that I am confident none of them durst have done, for fear the people would have risen up and torn them in pieces; and certainly the people would never have borne with such books in the bishops' days. If any man, before the sitting of this parliament, had written or licensed such books, he would without doubt have been questioned and proceeded against by this parliament. This Batchelor is such a desperate licenser, that nothing now in that kind can stick with him, having swallowed down those wicked 'Queries' upon the ordinance against heresies and blasphemies; and," says my author, "I am afraid that if the devil himself should make a book, and give it the title, 'A Plea for Liberty of Conscience, with certain Reasons against Persecution for Religion,' and bring it to Mr. Batchelor, he would license it, not only with a bare *imprimatur*, but set before it the commendations of a *useful treatise*, a *sweet and excellent book*, making for love and peace among brethren."*

Such are the reproaches cast upon our divine, who was greatly celebrated for christian moderation, liberty of conscience, and free inquiry. He was living in 1646; but where he preached, or when he died, we have not been able to ascertain.

JOHN GREENE had a principal hand in raising a baptist congregation in Crutched-friars, London, in the year 1639, and was chosen to the office of minister.† He was by trade

* Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 102—105.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 26, 42.

a felt-maker or hat-maker, but he became a zealous and popular preacher. In the year 1641, there was published a quarto pamphlet, entitled, "The Brownists' Synagogue; or, a late Discovery of their Conventicles, Assemblies, and places of meeting; where they preach, and the manner of their praying and preaching; with a relation of the names, places, and doctrines of those which do commonly preach. The chief of which are these: Greene, the felt-maker; Marler, the button-maker; Spencer, the coachman; Rogers, the glover: which sect is much increased of late within this city. A kingdom divided cannot stand." In this work, Greene and Spencer are called the two *arch-separatists*, and are said to be "accounted as demi-gods, who were here and every where." It shews the manner of their worship, which we extract, because it gives some idea of the spirit of the times, and proves that the voice of slander could not attribute any improper conduct to them in their public assemblies. "In the house where they meet," it is said, "there is one appointed to keep the door, for the intent to give notice, if there should be any insurrection, warning may be given them. They do not flock together, but come two or three in a company; and all being gathered together, the man appointed to teach stands in the midst of the room, and his audience gather about him. The man prayeth about the space of half an hour; and part of his prayer is, that those which come thither to scoff and laugh, God would be pleased to turn their hearts; by which means they think to escape undiscovered. His sermon is about the space of an hour, and then doth another stand up, to make the text more plain; and at the latter end he entreats them all to go home severally, lest the next meeting they should be interrupted by those which are of the opinion of the wicked. They seem very steadfast in their opinions, and say, rather than turn, they will burn."*

During the above year came forth another pamphlet, entitled, "New Preachers, New;" in the epistle to which, the writer, addressing Mr. Greene, says, "Do not these things come from proud spirits, that he, (Mr. Spencer,) a horse-keeper, and you, a hat-maker, will take upon you to be ambassadors of God, to teach your teachers, and take upon you to be ministers of the gospel in these days of light. Consider, I pray you, that our Lord would not have had the ass, (Matt. xxi. 3,) if he had not stood in need of

* Brownists' Synagogue, p. 5, 6.

him. Now the truth is, the church hath no need of such as you, an unlearned, self-conceited hat-maker. It is true, that, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the popish priests and friars being dismissed, there was a scarcity for the present of learned men; and so some tradesmen were permitted to leave their trades, and betake themselves to the ministry; but it was necessity that did then constrain them so to do. But thanks be to God, we have now no such necessity; and therefore this practice of you and your comrades casts an ill aspersion upon our good God, that doth furnish our church plentifully with learned men; and it doth also scandalize our church, as if we stood in need of such as you to preach the gospel. This you call preaching, or prophesying; and thus, as one of them told the lords of the parliament, that they were all preachers; for so they practise and exercise themselves as young players do in private, till they be by their brethren judged fit for the pulpit, and then up they go, and, like mountebanks, play their part.—Mr. Greene, Mr. Greene, leave off these ways: bring home such as you have caused to stray. It is such as you that vent their venom against our godly preachers, and the *divine* forms of prayers; yea, against all set forms of prayers: all is from antichrist; but that which you preach is most divine; *that* comes fresh from the Spirit: the other is an old dead sacrifice, composed (I should have said killed) so long ago, that now it stinks. It is so old, that in the year 1549 it was compiled by Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Goodricke, Doctor Scip, Doctor Thirlby, Doctor Day, Doctor Holbecke, Doctor Ridley, Doctor Cox, Doctor Tailor, Doctor Haines, Doctor Redman, and Mr. Robinson, archdeacon of Leicester; but what are all these? They are not to be compared to John Greene, a hat-maker; for he thinketh what he blustereth forth upon the sudden, is far better than that which these did maturely and deliberately compose." It is not at all wonderful, that, when the church had lost its power to persecute nonconformists, those who still retained the spirit of persecution should indulge in this kind of defamation and ridicule.

However, during this year, Mr. Greene, together with several of his brethren, was complained of to the house of commons, for lay-preaching. He was convened before the house, when he was reprimanded, threatened to be severely punished, if he did not renounce the practice, and then dismissed;* but whether he obeyed their orders, or still

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 265, 270.

continued to exercise his talents in preaching, we are not able to learn.

Mr. Edwards, in reproaching all who dissented from his presbyterian bigotry, observes of Mr. Greene, that he was one of the first mechanics, who, presently after the meeting of the long parliament, preached publicly in the churches in London; and that afterwards, in the year 1644, he accompanied Colonel Hemstead to Trinidad. After his return, he statedly preached in Coleman-street, once on the Lord's day, and once on a week day; where, in the year 1646, to use the words of our author, "there is so great a resort and flocking to him, that yards, rooms, and house are all so full, that he causes his neighbours' conventicles, and others, to be oftentimes very thin, and independents to preach to bare walls and empty seats, in comparison of this great rabbi."* Crosby mentions one Mr. John Green, who survived the restoration, and who endured cruel persecution with the rest of his brethren; but it does not appear whether this was the same person.†

JOHN PRICE was a zealous preacher among the independents, during the civil wars. Edwards styles him "an exchange-man, a beloved disciple of Mr. John Goodwin, and one of his prophets; who used to preach for him when he had any book to answer, or some libertine tractate to set forth." He then gives the following account of him: "This Master Price contents not himself to preach only in London, but I hear that he was lately at Bury St. Edmunds; that he there preached in a house, and maintained certain dangerous and heretical opinions; as, that men might be saved who were not elected, and that if men improve nature well, God will surely give them grace. So that it seems this exchange-man sells other wares besides independency and separation, and does with feigned words make merchandize of men's souls." This scurrilous writer adds: "Master Price was also at a meeting here in London, where some of several sects, seekers, antinomians, anabaptists, brownists, independents, met with some presbyterians, to consider how all these might live together, notwithstanding their several opinions; and he was, as all the sectaries were, for a *general toleration*; and they agreed together like buckle and thong, only the presbyterians were not satisfied."

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 248, 249.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 82.

In the year 1646, Mr. Price published several pamphlets on the controversies of the day. One was written in defence of independency; two others were replies, one to the City Remonstrance, the other to a Vindication of the Remonstrance. In politics he seems to have been of republican principles, ascribing the supreme power of the kingdom to the house of commons; and this is all that we know of him.*

Mr. SYMONDS was beneficed at Sandwich in Kent, during the civil wars; styled by Edwards, "a great independent, and a great sectary." If we are to give credit to this writer, he was of a high and imperious spirit, and, in his views of church discipline, remarkably rigid and severe.† He relates of him what he calls "a merry story," which is as follows: While he was at Sandwich, a person came to him to be catechized; but, instead of performing the duty of his office, he sent him to a mechanic of the town to do it for him; and when he was expostulated with, and asked why he had done so, he replied, "that one goose might best teach another to eat." The author applies and improves this story by adding, "so merry are our most demure independents."‡

The following account of Mr. Symonds we give in the words of this writer. "There is one Mr. Symonds, a great sectary," says he, "who came to London since the wars, and preached at little Alhallows, Thames-street, and at the Tower, where I have been informed, that he hath preached several strange things: as, for *toleration*, and liberty for all men to worship God *according to their consciences*, and in favour of *antipædobaptism*. Also preaching once at Andrew's, Undershaft, for Mr. Goodwin, he preached high strains of antinomianism: as, that Christ was a legal preacher, and lived in a dark time, and so preached the law, but afterwards the gospel came to be preached. Afterwards, preaching at Lawrence Poultny, on the day of thanksgiving for taking Sherborn castle, he spake of the great victories the saints, meaning the independents, had obtained; and yet the parliament was now making laws against these saints. As at London he hath preached thus; so since he left London, this last summer, he preached at Bath before the General strange stuff, viz. against presbytery, saying it was a limb of anti-christ, pleading for liberty of conscience, and for those who

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 160, 161.

† Ibid. p. 108, 109.

‡ Ibid. p. 76.

would not have their children baptized till they came to years of understanding, and for weavers and ignorant mechanics preaching; when he spake of these men's gifts, and their having the Spirit, before learned men and men bred at universities, with a great deal of this stuff. It is a sad thing, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, that valiant and well-affected gentleman, should have such kind of chaplains and preachers upon all occasions to preach before him. I have spoken the more of this Mr. Symonds, because I hear he is nominated one of the itinerary preachers of Wales; that so the country and ministers may be aware of him; and that the assembly, when he comes to be approved of, may do their duties, and not let him pass so easily as they did Mr. Cradock.*

From this curious narrative it appears that Mr. Symonds was of the baptist persuasion; and it is further observed, that he was approved and appointed by the house of commons to preach in Wales. He was living in the year 1646; but was a different person from Mr. Joseph Symonds, pastor of the church at Rotterdam in Holland, a brief memoir of whom is given in the next article.†

JOSEPH SYMONDS was some time the worthy assistant of Mr. Thomas Gataker, at Rotherhithe, near London; but afterwards he became rector of St. Martin's, Ironmongers'-lane, in the city. Having espoused the sentiments of the independents, he forsook the church of England, left his benefice, and went to Holland. After his departure, Archbishop Laud, in the year 1639, pronounced against him the sentence of deprivation, by which the good man lost his living, after he had given it up.‡ Mr. Symonds having sacrificed his benefice, to escape the storm of persecution, settled at Rotterdam, where he was chosen pastor to the English church, in the place of Mr. Sydrach Sympton. In this situation, his deportment and his doctrine were particularly conciliatory, and his labours eminently useful.§ Mr. Edwards, to reproach his sentiments and to cloud his memory, says, "that his independent church at Rotterdam was overgrown with anabaptism; and that he wrote to his friends in England, saying, he was so pestered with anabaptists, that he knew not what to do."|| Mr. Robert Park, afterwards one of

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 241, 242. † Ibid. p. 131, 243.

‡ Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 559.

§ Baillie's *Dissuasive*, p. 84, 175.

|| Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 16.

the ejected nonconformists, was his assistant in the pastoral office.* It appears that he was living in the year 1646, and still pastor of the church at Rotterdam. Though he was an independent, Edwards styles him "one of the most moderate and modest of that way."† Several pieces, written by a person of the same name, occur in the Sion and Bodleian catalogues.‡ Though pastor of a church in a foreign land, he was sometimes called to preach before the parliament, as appears from one of his sermons afterwards published with this title, "A Sermon lately preached at Westminster, before sundry of the Honourable House of Commons, 1641: By Joseph Symonds, late minister in Ironmongers'-lane, London, now pastor of the Church at Rotterdam."

HENRY BURTON, B. D.—This painful sufferer for nonconformity was born at Birdsall in Yorkshire, in the year 1579, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he took his degrees, and was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. His first public employment was that of a tutor to the sons of Lord Carey at Leppington, who, in 1625, was created Earl of Monmouth, and whose lady was governess to Prince Charles in his infancy. It was probably owing to the interest of this honourable person, that he was made clerk of the closet to Prince Henry, and, after his death, to Prince Charles. In the year 1623, he was appointed to attend the young prince to Spain; but, for reasons unknown, he was set aside, even after part of his goods were shipped.§ On that prince's accession to the crown, he expected no less than to be continued in the clerk's office; but his majesty giving that place to Neile, Bishop of Durham, Mr. Burton is said to have been so highly disgusted, that he warmly expressed his resentment on all occasions, particularly by railing against the bishops. "The vapours of ambition fuming in his head," says Clarendon, "he would not think of less than still being clerk of the closet. Being thus disappointed, and, as he called it, despoiled of his right, he would not in the greatness of his heart, sit down with the affront, but committed two or three such weak and saucy indiscretions, as caused an inhibition to be sent him, that he should not presume to come any more to court." The principle of

* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 355.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 243.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 5.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 152.

these weak and saucy indiscretions, as they are called, was, that in April, 1623, he presented a letter to King Charles, remonstrating against Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud, his majesty's constant attendants, as being much inclined to popery; which was certainly too true. "From that time," adds the noble historian, "he resolved to revenge himself upon the whole order of bishops; and so turned lecturer, and preached against them, being endowed with malice and boldness, instead of learning and any tolerable parts."*

The above slanderous accusation is founded in ignorance, or prejudice, or both, as will appear to all who will only read his works with impartiality. Indeed, Mr. Burton afterwards affirmed his right to the above office, and that Bishop Neile cast him out through envy; and added: "but this was ordered by the special providence of my God, who would not suffer me to rise high at court, lest I should have been corrupted with its preferments."† From what he has published to the world, he appears to have been furnished with considerable parts, and to have been no mean scholar. He was courageous in the cause of truth, and a man of a warm spirit; which led him, on certain occasions, to discover some degree of heat and indiscretion. The oppressions and cruelties of the prelates were sufficient to make a wise man mad. But that he resolved to revenge himself upon them, and turned lecturer for that purpose, is easily asserted, but not easily proved. Indeed, the charge of his turning *lecturer* at all, is certainly incorrect; for in the above year he was presented to the rectory of St. Matthew's, Friday-street, London.

Mr. Burton was a person of a most heroical spirit, and never feared the appearance of an enemy, as appears from the account he gave of himself. Speaking of his various citations before Laud, his courage was such, that he says, "I was not at any time before him, but methought I stood over him, as a schoolmaster over his scholars: so great was the goodness of God towards me. Being convened before the high commission for my book, entitled, 'Babel no Bethel,' Harsnet Archbishop of York, having run himself out of breath with railing against me and my book; and saying, that I had dedicated my book to the parliament, to incense them against the higher powers, (meaning the king,) I answered, 'No, my lord, I am none of those who divide the king and parliament, but I pray God unite them together!'"

* Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 158.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 814.

† Burton's Narration of his Life, p. 2. Edit. 1643.

He afterwards describes the prelatical innovations and usurpations, and how he set himself to oppose them, saying, "I more and more disliked the prelates' usurpations, and tyrannical government, with their attempts to set up popery. Therefore I purposely preached upon the second chapter to the Colossians, crying down all will-worship and human inventions in God's service. I began in my practice, as in my judgment, to fall off from the ceremonies. Only I watched for an occasion to try it out with them, either by dint of arguments, or force of law, or by the king and his council, resolving either to foil my adversaries, though I had no great hope of success; or, at least discover the mystery of iniquity and hypocrisy, which, like a white vail, they had cast over all their foul practices. This discovery I took to be of no small importance. I saw how every day they got ground in the hearts of the simple and credulous, as if all they did was to maintain the protestant religion; when under that specious colour, the withered whore of Babylon came in naked at the first, till at length she began to shew her painted face in her superstitions, altar-service, and other garbs. And as they laboured to undermine and overthrow the true protestant religion, and set up popery; so they did not seek less to overthrow the civil state, with its good laws, and just liberties of the subject, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government."* What degree of truth is contained in these strictures on the character and proceedings of the ruling prelates, those who are conversant with the history of the times will easily determine; and this will in part appear in the course of the present narrative.

Mr. Burton was a great sufferer in the cause of nonconformity. He felt the shocking intolerance and cruelties of the ruling prelates, especially those of Bishop Laud. In the year 1626, he was convened before the high commission, when he would have received the censure of the ruling ecclesiastics, had not the judges interposed and granted a prohibition, which they might do according to law, by which he was at that time rescued from his cruel oppressor.† Mr. Burton having published a book entitled, "The Baiting of the Pope's Bull; or, an Unmasking of the Mystery of Iniquity, folded up in a most pernicious Breave or Bull, sent from the Pope lately into England, to cause a Rent therein, for his Re-entery," 1627; though the book was wholly against the pope and his dangerous bull, and was licensed by

* Burton's Narration, p. 8, 9.

† Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 155.

Dr. Goad, he was called before the council by the instigation of Laud, who spoke vehemently against the book, calling it a libel. Afterwards, he published another work against popery, entitled, "The Pouring out of the Seven Vials," 1628; for which he was prosecuted in the high commission by this prelate, and the book suppressed. And when he published his book, entitled, "Babel no Bethel," wholly against the church of Rome, this prelate employed his pursuivant to apprehend him; committed him to the Fleet, refusing bail when offered, contrary to the petition of right; suspended him from his benefice; and suppressed the book.* About the same time; his "Trial of Private Devotions," 1628, against Dr. Cosins; and his "Plea to an Appeal, in refutation of divers Arminian and Popish Errors broached by Mountague in his *Appello Cæsarem*," were both called in and suppressed, by the severity of this intolerant ecclesiastic.†

How long Mr. Burton remained under the above suspension, and a prisoner in the Fleet, we have not been able to learn. He was afterwards released. This, however, was to him only the beginning of sorrows. November 5, 1636, he preached two sermons at his own church in Friday-street, from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22, *My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change, &c.* in which he laid open the late innovations in doctrine, worship, and ceremonies, and warned his hearers against them. Dr. Laud, now archbishop of Canterbury, hearing of this, caused articles to be exhibited against him in the high commission, and summoned him to answer them, out of term, before Dr. Duck. On his appearance, he was charged with having "spoken against turning communion tables into altars, against bowing to them, against setting up crucifixes, against saying the second service at the altar, and against putting down afternoon sermons on the Lord's day." Enormous crimes, indeed, were these! He was, moreover, charged with having said, "that ministers might not safely preach upon the doctrines of grace without being troubled for it; and that the ministers in Norfolk and Suffolk were suspended for nonconformity to the rites and ceremonies, imposed upon them contrary to the laws of the land."

* It is curious to observe, that while Mr. Burton was treated thus for writing *against* popery, one Chowney, a fierce papist, published a book in *defence* of popery, for which he was neither punished nor even questioned; but was permitted to dedicate his work to Laud, who favoured it with his loyal and episcopal patronage!!—*Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 21.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 185.

These charges amounting, it is said, to *sedition*, he was required to answer upon his oath, and so to become his own accuser: but he refused the oath; and, instead of answering, appealed to the king. Notwithstanding his appeal, within fifteen days he was summoned, by the direction of the archbishop, to appear before a special high commission at Doctors' Commons; when, in his absence, he was suspended from his office and benefice, and attachments were given out to apprehend him.*

Under these oppressive proceedings, Mr. Burton kept himself close shut up in his own house; and, to give an impartial public a fair opportunity of deciding upon his case, he published his sermons, entitled, "For God and the King; the Summe of two Sermons preached on the fifth of November last, in St. Matthewes, Friday-street, 1636;" with "An Apologie for an Appeale," addressed to the king, the lords of the council, and the learned judges.† The pursuivants of the high commission not daring to break open Mr. Burton's doors, the archbishop and the bishop of London, with several others, drew up a warrant to one Dendy, a sergeant at arms, to apprehend him.‡ By virtue of this warrant, Dendy, accompanied by the sheriff of London, and various other armed officers, went the same evening to Mr. Burton's house in Friday-street, and between ten and eleven o'clock at night, violently broke open his doors, took him into custody, and seized his books and papers, as many as they pleased. The next day, instead of being brought before the lords, as the warrant expressed,

* Burton's Apologie for an Appeale, p. 4, 15.—Prynne's Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny, p. 14. Edit. 1641.

† Mrs. Burton his wife, venturing to present copies of these sermons to several of the lords in parliament, was committed to prison for her pains.—*Ibid.*

‡ The following is a copy of the warrant:—"To Edward Dendy, esquire, one of his majesty's sergeants at arms. These shall be to will and require you to make your immediate repair to any place where you shall understand of the present being of Henry Burton, clerk, and having found him, to take him into your custody, and to bring him forth with and in your company (all delays and excuses set apart) before us, to answer to such matters as shall be objected against him. And you are further, by virtue hereof, to require and charge all mayors, sheriffs, justices, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and all others, his majesty's officers and loving subjects, to be aiding and assisting unto you in the full and due execution of this service, whereof neither they nor you may fail at your perils. And this shall be unto you and them a sufficient warrant. Dated at the star-chamber, the first of Feb. 1637.

" W. Cant.

Henry Vaine,

Arundall and Surry,

" Guil. London.

Tho. Coventry,

J. Coke."

Ibid. p. 14, 15.

he was, by another warrant, and without any cause assigned, committed close prisoner to the Fleet.*

During Mr. Burton's close confinement, two anonymous publications came forth, the one entitled, "A Divine Tragedy, containing a Catalogue of God's late Judgments upon Sabbath-breakers;" the other, "News from Ipswich," discovering the innovations and severities of the prelates, especially Bishop Wren of Norwich. These were supposed to have been written by Mr. William Prynne, the lawyer. Dr. John Bastwick, a physician, having published a book, entitled, *Apologeticus ad præsules Anglicanos*, and a pamphlet, called, "The New Litany;"† these three, Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne, and Dr. Bastwick, now confined in prison, were prosecuted in the star-chamber, for "writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books against the hierarchy, and to the scandal of the government." This was the substance of the indictment. They had warmly reflected upon the bishops, taxed them with inclinations to popery, and exclaimed against the severity and injustice of the proceedings of the high commission. The persons then in power were of too impatient and revengeful a temper to let such reflections and invectives go unpunished.‡

When the three defendants had prepared their answers to the indictment, they could not obtain counsel to sign them, through fear of the prelates; upon which they petitioned the court to receive them from themselves, which was rejected. However, Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick, having no other remedy, left their answers at the office, signed by their own hands, but were, nevertheless, proceeded against *pro confesso*. Mr. Burton prevailed upon Mr. Holt,

* The following is a copy of this second warrant:—"To the warden of the Fleet or his deputy. These are to will and require you to receive into your custody, the person of Henry Burton, clerk, sent herewith unto you, and to keep him a close prisoner in the Fleet, not suffering any one to speak with him until further order, whereof you may not fail at your perils, and this shall be your warrant. Dated from Whitehall, the second of Feb. 1637.

"W. Cant. Arundall and Surry, T. Jermyn and Jo. Coke,
"Guil. London, Pembroke and Mountgomery, Fra. Windebanke."

Prynne's Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny, p. 16. Edit. 1641.

† In the indictment against the three prisoners, it is said, that Dr. Bastwick had signified in his "Litany," in the name of his wife, who was great with child, that he was desirous of father William's holiness (meaning Laud) and William London, the principal governor of the treasury, being godfathers to his child, not doubting that he should procure the whore of Babylon, with whom they had so long committed fornication, to be god-mother.—*Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. xxxiii. p. 229, 230.

‡ *Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 680. Edit. 1778.

a learned and an aged benchman of Gray's-inn, to sign his answer; but the court, instead of receiving it, even when signed, ordered the two chief justices to expunge what they deemed unfit to be brought into the court. Accordingly, they struck out the whole answer, consisting of forty sheets of paper, except a few lines at the beginning, and a few more at the end: and because Mr. Burton would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was, in like manner, proceeded against *pro confesso*.*

The three prisoners were brought to the bar June 14, 1637, when they offered to defend their several answers at the peril of their lives; but the court, finding them not filed on record, would not receive them. The prisoners at the bar cried aloud for *justice*, and that their answers might be read; but, however reasonable their request, it was peremptorily denied. During the trial, Prynne and Bastwick having been examined, the learned judges came next to the case of Mr. Burton, which was as follows:

Lord Keeper. Mr. Burton, what say you?

Burton. My good lords, your honours, it should seem, do determine to censure us, and take our cause *pro confesso*, although we have laboured to give your honours satisfaction in all things. My lords, what have you to say against my book? I confess, I did write it; yet did I not say any thing out of intent of commotion or sedition. I delivered nothing but what my text led me to, being chosen to suit with the day, namely, the fifth of November.

L. Keeper. Mr. Burton, I pray stand not naming texts of scripture now: we do not send for you to preach, but to answer to those things which are objected against you.

Burton. My lord, I have drawn up my answer, to my great pains and charges; which answer was signed with my counsel's hand, and received into the court according to the rule and order thereof. And I did not think to have been called this day to a censure, but to have had a legal proceeding by way of bill and answer.

L. Keeper. Your answer was impertinent.

Burton. My answer, after it was entered in the court, was referred to the judges, but by what means I do not know; and what cause your lordships had to cast it out, I know not. But after it was approved of and received, it was cast out as an impertinent answer.

Lord Finch. The judges did you a good turn, to make it

* Prynne's *Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 14—18, 40—43.

impertinent; for it was as libellous as your book: so that your answer deserved a censure alone.

L. Keeper. What say you, Mr. Burton, are you guilty or not?

Burton. My lord, I desire you to peruse my book, not only here and there, but every passage of it.

L. Keeper. Mr. Burton, time is short. Are you guilty, or not guilty? What say you to that which was read? Doth it become a minister to deliver himself in such a railing and scandalous way?

Burton. In my judgment, and as I can prove it, it was neither railing nor scandalous. I conceive, that a minister hath a larger liberty than always to go in a mild strain. I being a pastor of my people, whom I had in charge, and was to instruct, I supposed it was my duty to inform them of those innovations that are crept into the church, as likewise of the danger and ill consequences of them. As for my answer, ye blotted out what ye would, and then the rest, which made best for your own ends, you would have to stand; and now for me to tender only what will serve for your own turns, and renounce the rest, were to desert my cause; which, before I will do, or desert my conscience, I will rather desert my body, and deliver it up to your lordships to do with it what you will.

L. Keeper. This is a place where you should crave mercy and favour, Mr. Burton, and not stand on such terms as you do.

Burton. Wherein I have offended through human frailty, I crave pardon of God and man. And I pray God, that, in your sentence, you may so censure us that you may not sin against the Lord.*

Thus, while Mr. Burton and his fellow-prisoners desired to say more for themselves, they were interrupted, and commanded silence; when the following dreadful sentence was passed upon them: "That Burton shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical benefice, degraded from his ministerial function and degrees in the university, as Prynne and Bastwick have been from their professions of law and physic;† they

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 17. Edit. 1745.

† Mr. Prynne having published his "*Histrio-Mastix*," a book against plays, masquerades, &c. it gave great offence to Archbishop Laud, who, in the year 1633, procured a sentence against him in the star-chamber, "That he should be disabled from the practice of the law, be degraded from his degree in the university, be set in the pillory, have both his ears cut off, his book burnt by the common hangman, to pay a fine of *five thousand pounds*, and to be imprisoned during life;" which sentence was rigorously

shall be fined each *five thousand* pounds; they shall stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Prynne hath already lost his ears, by sentence of the court in 1633, the remainder of the stumps shall be cut off, and he shall be stigmatized on both his cheeks with the letters S. L. for a *sedition libeller*; and they shall suffer perpetual imprisonment, in three of the remotest prisons of the kingdom, namely, in Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster castles." Previous to the execution of this terrible sentence, Mr. Burton's parishioners sent a petition to the king, signed by a great number of hands, humbly entreating his pardon and liberty. It was presented by two of them, who were immediately committed to prison for their pains.* And, June 30th, the sentence was executed upon the three prisoners, the hangman sawing off the remainder of Prynne's ears, rather than cutting them.†

These three men were of the three most credible professions, and not of the meanest character in their several faculties. Nevertheless, they are called by many bigotted historians, these *fellows*, these *pillory-men*, these stigmatized scoundrels: when, in fact, the truly stigmatized, as our author observes, were their persecutors, who really deserved the punishment which these injured gentlemen suffered. Their crime, if any they were guilty of, was not against any law of the land, but the tyrannical oppressions of the prelates.‡

On passing the above sentence, Archbishop Laud made a long and laboured speech, to clear himself from the charge of *innovations*, with which he was branded by the puritans. Though Laud was the chief prosecutor of these unfortunate sufferers, and his hand was first put to their numerous warrants, he made, in this speech, the following declarations: "I can say it clearly and truly, as in the *presence of God*,
"I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermost of what
"I am conscious, but with a *single heart*, and with a *sincere*
"intention for the good government and honour of the

executed. At the same time, Dr. Bastwick having published his *Elenchus Papismi et Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium*, against the papists, declaring he intended nothing against our bishops, but only those of Rome, he was, nevertheless, sentenced in the high commission, "to fine a *thousand* pounds, to be excommunicated, debarred the practice of physic, his book to be burnt, and to be imprisoned till he made his recantation."—*Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 18, 21.

* Strafforde's Letters, vol. ii. p. 57. Edit. 1739.

† Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 382.—Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 61.

‡ Clarendon and Whitlocke Compared, p. 53.

“church,* and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and “religion of Christ, professed, established, and maintained “in this church of England.” Was the conscience then of this reverend prelate become so callous, that, by continued acts of cruelty and oppression, he had lost all feeling for his fellow-creatures? In the conclusion of the above speech, still addressing the lords who constituted the court, he even adds:—“I humbly give you all *heartly thanks* for your *just* “and *honourable censure* upon these men, and your *unanimous* “*dislike* of them!”† No one will for a moment dispute their unanimous dislike of them; but whether this, as well as the *just* and *honourable censure* put upon them, was deserving the *heartly thanks* of a learned and pious archbishop, will certainly be questioned. An impartial writer very justly observes, that as the punishment of these men was exorbitant, and disproportionate to the offence, it was then, and hath been ever since, looked upon by all merciful and unprejudiced persons with horror and detestation.‡

The morning when the prisoners were to suffer their heavy sentence, Mr. Burton being brought to the Palace-yard, Westminster, and beholding the pillory, he said, “Never was my wedding-day so welcome and joyful to me as this day is; and so much the more, seeing I have so noble a captain, who hath gone before me with so undaunted a spirit, that he saith of himself, ‘I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair.’ The Lord God will help me; therefore, I shall not be confounded. Shall I be ashamed of a pillory for Christ, who was not ashamed of a cross for me?” Then being put in the pillory, he addressed the immense crowd of spectators, saying, “Good people, I am brought hither to be a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men. And though I stand here to undergo the punishment of a *rogue*; yet, unless it be the property of a *rogue* to be a faithful servant of Christ, and a loyal subject to the king, I am clear from any such charge. But if to be Christ’s faithful servant, and the king’s loyal subject, deserve such kind of punishment as this, I glory in it, and bless God my conscience is clear. I bless God, who hath accounted me worthy of these sufferings.

* The character given of his grace by Lord Clarendon, very much accords with the good opinion he had of himself. “No man,” observes the noble historian, “was ever more plentifully replenished with a good conscience, and most sincere and worthy intentions, and a man of immense virtue.”—*Clarendon’s Hist.* vol. i. p. 51.

† Laud’s Speech annexed to *Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 67—84.

‡ *Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 682.

I bless God, I am full of comfort." With a grave and cheerful countenance he added: "I was never in such a pulpit before. Little do you know what fruit God is able to produce from this dry tree. Through these holes (meaning the pillory) God can bring light to his church. My conscience, in the discharge of my ministerial duty, in admonishing my people to beware of the *creeping in of popery*, and in exhorting them unto a dutiful obedience to God and the king, was that which first occasioned my sufferings. The truth which I have preached, I am ready to seal with my own blood, and this is my crown both here and hereafter." When he was delivered out of the pillory, and again brought upon the scaffold, the executioner cut off his ears in a most barbarous manner;* during which, and while the blood was streaming in every direction, he manifested the greatest constancy and composure of mind, saying, "Be content; blessed be God, it is well;" and much more to the same purpose.† Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick had this part of their sentence executed at the same time and place.

The day preceding the execution of the above sentence, it was decreed in the star-chamber, "That Henry Burton shall be sent to Lancaster castle, William Prynne to Carnarvon castle, and John Bastwick to Launceston castle, and there suffer perpetual imprisonment, and not be allowed any use of pen, ink, or paper, or any other book than the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and certain books of devotion; and no person to have access to them." Accordingly, July 26th, Dr. Bastwick was taken from the Gatehouse; the day following, Mr. Prynne was taken from the Tower; and, July 28th, Mr. Burton was taken from the Fleet; and, their sores not being cured, were conveyed to their respective places of confinement. As they passed out of the city, vast multitudes of people came forth to witness their departure, taking their final and sorrowful farewell. As Mr. Burton passed from Smithfield to Brown's-well, a little beyond Highgate, it is said that no less than one hundred thousand persons were collected to witness his departure, and that his wife, going along in a coach, had great sums of money thrown to her as she passed along.‡ But the liberty given to Mr. Burton and his fellow-sufferers to speak in the pillory; and the affection

* His ears were pared so close, that the temporal artery being cut, the blood gushed out in torrents upon the scaffold. The sight of this awakened the compassion and cries of an immense concourse of people.—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. xi. p. 155.—*Strafforde's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 85.

† Prynne's *Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 46—60.

‡ *Strafforde's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 114.

and compassion of the populace, were highly offensive to Laud's proud spirit; as appears from his letter to Wentworth, dated August 28, 1637: "What say you to it," observes the intolerant prelate, "that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those spread in written copies about the city; and that when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else?—And I hear Prynne was very much welcomed, both in Coventry and West-Chester, as he passed towards Carnarvon."† A writer of some eminence observes, that nature seemed to have designed Laud for the office of an inquisitor. He was fierce and unrelenting in his

* Strafforde's Letters, vol. ii. p. 99.

† Mr. Prynne, on his way from London to Carnarvon, spent the Lord's day at Coventry; where he twice attended divine service at church, and several persons, his friends, visited him at the inn, his conductors having received no orders to the contrary. Archbishop Laud hearing of this, immediately sent a messenger to Coventry, to bring the mayor and six others up to London, and convened them before the council-table. Though most of them never spoke to Mr. Prynne, they were obliged to a continued attendance for some time, and put to two or three hundred pounds expense, when they were reprimanded and dismissed. On Mr. Prynne's arrival at Chester, Mr. Calvin Brewen and some others visited him at the inn, assisted him in the purchase of some necessary furniture for his chamber at Carnarvon, and manifested certain other acts of kindness towards him. But by the direction of Laud, pursuivants were sent with warrants to apprehend them, and bring them before the high commission at York; when some were fined three, and some five hundred pounds, and forced to enter into bonds of three hundred pounds each, not only to abide by the further appointment of that court, but to make such public acknowledgment in the cathedral of Chester, and before the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, in the town-hall, as the commissioners should prescribe. Also, these pious high commissioners hearing that there were five paintings of Mr. Prynne, in the possession of his friends in Chester, they not only prosecuted the poor painter, but sent forth two warrants, first to deface the paintings, then to burn them. Accordingly, the inoffensive paintings were apprehended and defaced, and then publicly burnt at the high-cross in Chester, in the presence of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens. It is curious further to observe, that the Bishop of Chester, who took an active part in these barbarous proceedings, out of enmity to Mr. Prynne, called his crop-eared horse by the name of Prynne. Thus the angry and revengeful prelates, not glutted by the severe sentence obtained against Mr. Prynne, pursued and grievously oppressed those who, as he was conveyed to prison, shewed him any acts of civility. Mr. Prynne's servant was also severely prosecuted in the high commission, and sent from prison to prison, only for refusing to accuse his master. The archbishop, who was leader in all these barbarous proceedings, and whom Granger considers eminent for sincere and ardent piety, seemed destitute of the feelings of humanity. — *Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 92—108.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 280.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 153.

disposition, void of mercy and compassion, and grudged those whom his rage and despotic power had reduced to very great extremities, even the pity and relief of friends. What worse character can exist? Who can be more justly odious to every man, than a vain mortal armed with power, and using it to wreak his vengeance on his foes? Ought not the memory of such wretches to be treated with a proper indignation? These are certainly strong expressions; but how much truth they contain is left with the candid reader to judge.

While the three prisoners were on their way to their distant places of confinement, the tyrannical archbishop, not content with the order sent along with them, procured a fresh one, dated July 30, 1637, which was sent after them, and by which he obtained a more severe imprisonment. In this order there appeared, however, one clause in favour of the prisoners, that, during their close imprisonment, his majesty would give them allowance of their *food*. The whole order was as follows: "Whereas Henry Burton is, by the late
 " sentence of the high court of star-chamber, to be committed
 " to the goal, in the castle of Lancaster, and there to be kept
 " close prisoner. Their lordship's conceiving that the said
 " Burton cannot be in a common goal kept so close a
 " prisoner as by the said sentence is intended; upon con-
 " sideration thereof, do hereby will and require the constable
 " or other chief officers of the said castle of Lancaster, and his
 " deputy or either of them, to suffer the sheriff of the county
 " of Lancaster, or the keeper of the said goal, still to use
 " such room or chamber without the said goal, and within the
 " said castle, as shall be most fit and convenient to keep the
 " said Burton a close prisoner there: and that none of the
 " other prisoners, or any other person or persons, be permitted
 " to come into the said castle to confer or in any way to
 " converse with the said Burton, such only excepted as are
 " to take care of his safety, or to attend the said Burton to
 " give him daily sustenance and relief. And the said Burton
 " is not to be permitted to have the use of any pen, ink, or
 " paper, or any book or books save only the Bible, the Book
 " of Common Prayer, and such other *canonical books*, as he
 " shall desire for his comfort and devotion, and which are
 " consonant to the religion professed in the church of
 " England. In regard of which close imprisonment, his
 " majesty will give allowance for his diet, for all which this
 " order shall be a sufficient warrant unto the said constable,

* Harris's Life of Charles I. p. 231, 232.

“ or other chief officer of the said castle of Lancaster, and to
 “ his deputy, and the goaler aforesaid.”* Though this order
 might seem to make some atonement for the numerous
 severities inflicted upon them, and be intended to blind the
 eyes of the people; instead of receiving his majesty’s favour,
 not one of them, through the influence of the reverend
 prelates, received one penny of the royal bounty; and if
 their friends and keepers had not been more charitable than
 their lordships, they would soon have perished in their
 prisons.

Great numbers of persons, who pitied these unhappy
 sufferers, having resorted to the places where they were con-
 fined, the relentless archbishop, to add afflictions to the
 afflicted, and to deprive them of all possibility of receiving
 comfort or relief from their wives, relations, or friends, pro-
 cured an order for their perpetual banishment and close im-
 prisonment, in the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly.
 This order, now before me, is much the same as that which
 followed them to their other places of confinement, only it
 contains this additional severity: “ That no letters or writings
 “ be permitted to be brought to the said prisoners, nor from
 “ them, to any person or place whatsoever. And that the
 “ wives of the said Burton and Bastwick (Prynne not being
 “ married) shall not be permitted to land on any of the said
 “ islands; and if they or either of them shall be found so
 “ offending, such offender or offenders shall forthwith be
 “ committed to prison. And that in conveying the said
 “ prisoners to the said islands, no person whatsoever, besides
 “ those who have the care and charge of them, shall be per-
 “ mitted to speak with them.” What greater cruelty ever
 appeared in the Spanish Inquisition, or among the barbarities
 of the Algierians? According to the above order, Mr. Burton,
 contrary to his sentence in the star-chamber, and without
 any cause shewn, was removed from the castle of Lancaster
 to Castle-cornet in the island of Guernsey; where he arrived
 December 15, 1637, and was shut up in a low, narrow, dark
 room, almost suffocated for want of air, and no one allowed
 to see or speak to him. Dr. Bastwick was also removed
 from the castle of Launceston to the castle on the island of
 Scilly; and Mr. Prynne from Carnarvon to the castle of
 Montorgueil in Jersey, where they were shut up close pri-
 soners.†

These oppressive and illegal proceedings, however gratify-

* Prynne’s Prelates’ Tyranny, p. 84.

† Ibid. p. 61—98.

ing they might be to the spirit of Archbishop Laud, will rouse the pity and indignation of every generous and pious mind. The learned Mosheim, in allusion to these shocking severities, observes, "That a violent spirit of animosity and persecution discovered itself through the whole of Laud's ecclesiastical administration. This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods, that prudence employs to make unpopular schemes go down. He carried things with a high hand. When he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation. He loaded the puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction."*

The three prisoners remained in the above remote islands, under most severe usage, till the year 1640. During this period, Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Bastwick, as widows forcibly divorced from their husbands, often petitioned his majesty, and the lords of the council, for liberty to visit them, or that they might reside on those islands where they were imprisoned, or that they might be shut up in close prison with them. But, by the sovereign power and influence of Laud, their petitions were all rejected. Though the archbishop could never be prevailed on to forgive the three sufferers, he said, "He humbly beseeched God *to forgive them.*" One of the prisoners, however, obtained some mitigation of his afflictions. For, upon the petition of Sir Thomas Jermin, governor of Jersey, being presented to the king, in behalf of Mr. Prynne, he was allowed to attend divine service, and receive the sacrament in the castle, and to walk with his keeper in the gardens. But as soon as the unmerciful archbishop heard of the royal indulgence, he fell into a violent rage, and sent a messenger for one Mr. Hungerford, who had been employed in procuring it, and convened him before the council.†

In the above year, the prisoners were called home by order of the parliament. For, November 7th, Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Bastwick having presented petitions to the house of commons, in behalf of their husbands, complaining of their heavy sentence in the star-chamber, the house immediately ordered, "That their said husbands shall be forthwith sent for, in safe custody, by a warrant of the house, directed to the governors of the islands where they are pri-

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. p. 393.

† Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 110.

soners, and to the captains of the castles there; that the cause of their being detained may be here certified."* This warrant is dated November 7, 1640. A petition was also presented in behalf of Mr. Prynne, when the house gave a similar order for his return.

Mr. Burton and Mr. Prynne coming in the same vessel, arrived at Dartmouth on the 22nd of November, where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and joy. In the whole of their journey to the metropolis, they were attended with a marvelous conflux of people, and not only their charges borne with great magnificence, but liberal presents given them. This kind of treatment they met with all the way, great numbers of people meeting them at their entrance into all the towns through which they passed, and waiting upon them some distance out, with wonderful acclamations of joy. As they approached the metropolis, the road betwixt Brentford and London was so full of coaches, horsemen, and persons on foot, come to meet them, and congratulate them on their safe arrival, that it was with difficulty they could ride one mile an hour. As they entered London, there was so immense a concourse of people, that they were nearly three hours in passing from Charing-cross to their lodgings in the city. The numerous crowds who escorted them into the city, in token of their great joy, carried lighted torches before them, strewed the road with herbs and flowers, put rosemary and bays in their hats, and, as they went along, with loud acclamations for their deliverance, shouted, *Welcome home, welcome home! God bless you, God bless you: God be thanked for your return.*†

On November 30th, being two days after his arrival in London, Mr. Burton appeared before the house of commons, and, December 5th, presented his petition to the house, entitled, "The humble Petition of Henry Burton, late Exile, and close Prisoner in Castle-cornet, in the Isle of Guernsey." In this petition he gives a sketch of his numerous and painful sufferings, and concludes by recommending his case to their impartial consideration; but the whole is too long for our insertion.‡ On the presentation of the petition, with many others of a similar kind, the house appointed a committee for their examination; and on the 12th of March following,

* Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 112.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 20.—Nelson's Collec. vol. i. p. 499.

† Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 113, 114.

‡ Ibid. p. 127—130.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 78, 79.

Mr. Rigby delivered their report to the house, when the house passed the following resolutions :

1. " That the four commissioners, Dr. Duck, Dr. Worral, Dr. Sams, and Dr. Wood, proceeded unjustly and illegally in suspending Mr. Burton from his office and benefice, for not appearing upon the summons of the first process.

2. " That the breaking up Mr. Burton's house, and arresting his person without any cause shewed, and before any suit depended against him in the star-chamber, and his close imprisonment thereupon, are against the law and the liberty of the subject.

3. " That John Wragg hath offended in searching and seizing the books and papers of Mr. Burton, by colour of a general warrant dormant from the high commissioners ; and that the said warrant is against law and the liberty of the subject ; and that sergeant Dendy and alderman Abel have offended in breaking open the house of Mr. Burton, and ought respectively to make him reparation for the same.

4. " That Mr. Burton ought to have reparation and recompence for the damages sustained by the aforesaid proceedings of Dr. Duck and others, who suspended him from his office and benefice.

5. " That the warrant from the council-board, dated at Whitehall, February 2, 1637, for committing Mr. Burton close prisoner, and the commitment thereupon, is illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject.

6. " That the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Arundal and Surrey, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Sir H. Vane, Sir J. Coke, and Sir Francis Windebank, do make reparations to Mr. Burton for his damages sustained by this imprisonment."

The 24th of the same month, Mr. Burton's case being again brought before the house, it was further resolved :

1. " That the sentence in the star-chamber against Mr. Burton is illegal, and without any just ground, and ought to be reversed, and he ought to be freed from the fine of £5000, and the imprisonment imposed upon him by the said sentence, and to be restored to his degrees in the university, orders in the ministry, and to his ecclesiastical benefice in Friday-street, London.

2. " That the order of the council-board for transferring Mr. Burton from the castle of Lancaster to the isle of Guernsey, and his imprisonment there, are against law and the liberty of the subject.

3. " That the said Mr. Burton ought to have reparation

and recompence for the damages sustained by the said imprisonment, loss of his ears, and other evils sustained by the said unjust and illegal proceedings.*

On the 20th of April, the house of commons voted Mr. Burton to receive *six thousand* pounds for his damages sustained, but the confusions of the times prevented the payment of the money. And by an order of the house, dated June 8, 1641, he was restored to his former ministry and benefice in Friday-street.† Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick also presented their petitions to the house, when their cases were taken into consideration, and the house passed similar resolutions in their favour.‡

On Mr. Burton's restoration, he formed a church after the model of the independents; and he appears to have greatly prospered in his public ministry. Wood represents him as severe in the exercise of church discipline; that he would admit none to the Lord's supper besides members of his own church, or any to baptism besides the children of such; that he challenged a power of examination into the lives and conversation of members, casting out whom he pleased, and not admitting them till they gave satisfaction to the church; and that he would not administer the Lord's supper at *Easter*.§ But this author further observes, that towards the close of his life, he became more moderate; and he lived till after the beheading of his old master, King Charles I. Herein,

* Prynne's *Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 139—141.—Rushworth's *Collect.* vol. v. p. 207, 213.—Nelson's *Collec.* vol. i. p. 787, 794.

† Prynne's *Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 145.

‡ Mr. Prynne was afterwards chosen member of the long parliament. He was a man of a courageous spirit, and boldly stepped forwards to correct every enormity in church and state. He was, perhaps, one of the hardest students that ever existed. He was called one of the greatest paper-worms that ever crept into a library. Wood supposes that he wrote a sheet for every day of his life, computing from the time of his arrival to man's estate to the day of his death. He says, "his custom was, when he studied, to put on a long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes, serving as an umbrella to defend them from too much light; and seldom eating a dinner, would every three hours, or more, be mounching a roll of bread, and now and then refresh his exhausted spirits with ale." This voluminous writer was author of about *two hundred* books, which he gave, in forty volumes folio and quarto, to the public library of Lincoln's-inn. On the restoration of Charles II., some one asked the king what must be done with Prynne, to make him quiet. "Why," said his majesty, "let him amuse himself with writing against the catholics, and in poring over the records of the Tower." To enable him to do the latter, Charles made him keeper of the records of the Tower, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year. He died October 24, 1669.—*Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 311—327.

§ *Ibid.* p. 460.

however, he is mistaken; for Mr. Burton was buried January 7, 1647, aged sixty-eight years.*

The memory of this zealous and faithful servant of Christ has suffered the reproach and contempt of most of our bigotted historians; but, from the foregoing narrative, his manifold and painful sufferings stand as a monument of disgrace to the government under which he lived, and especially as a lasting reproach to Archbishop Laud.† Some, indeed, have not been ashamed to assert, that his heavy sentence, with that of his fellow-sufferers, was *just* and *necessary*.‡ But, says Granger, “The punishment of these men, who were of the three great professions, was *ignominious* and *severe*. The indignity and severity of their punishment gave general offence; and they were no longer regarded as criminals, but confessors.”§

His WORKS, in addition to those already mentioned. — 1. A Censure of Simony, 1624.—2. Israel's Fast, or Meditations on the seventh Chap. of Joshua, 1628.—3. Truth's Triumph over Trent, or the great Gulph between Sion and Babylon; that is, the irreconcilable Opposition between the Apostolic Church of Christ and the Apostate Synagogue of Antichrist, in the main and fundamental Doctrine of Justification, 1629.—4. The Law and the Gospel reconciled against the Antinomians, 1631.—5. The Christian's Bulwark, or the Doctrine of Justification, 1632.—6. Exceptions against Dr. Jackson's Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes, 163.—7. Jesu Worship Confuted: or, certain Arguments against Bowing at the Name of Jesus, proving it to be Idolatrous and Superstitious, and so utterly unlawful: With Objections to the contrary fully Answered, 1641.—8. The Sounding of the two last Trumpets: or, Meditations on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh Chapters of Revelation, 1641. — 9. The Protestation Protested; or, a short Remonstrance shewing what is principally required of all those who take the last Parliamentary Protestation, 1641.—10. England's Bondage and Hopes of Deliverance, a Sermon preached before the Parliament, 1641.—11. A Narration of his own Life, 1643.—12. A Vindication of Independent Churches, in Answer to Mr. Prynne, 1644.—13. Parliament's Power for Laws in Religion, 1645.—14. Truth Vindicated against Calumny, in a brief Answer to Dr. Bastwick's two books, entitled, ‘Independency not God's Ordinance,’ 1645.—15. Truth shut out of Doors; or, a brief Narrative of the Occasion and Manner of Proceeding of Aldermanbury parish in shutting their Church-door against him, 1645.—16. Truth still Truth, though shut out of Doors, 1646.—17. Conformity's Deformity, in a Dialogue between Conformity and Conscience, 1646.—18. Relation of Mr. Chillingworth.

* Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. b. xiv. p. 22.

† The portraits of Archbishop Laud and Mr. Burton, both whole lengths, were published in one print. The prelate is represented as vomiting up his own works, and Mr. Burton holding his head. The print is extremely scarce and curious.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 152.

‡ Vernon's *Life of Heylin*, p. 91. Edit. 1682.

§ *Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 192, 193.

HENRY WILKINSON, B. D.—This worthy divine was born in the vicarage of Halifax, Yorkshire, October 9, 1566, and educated in Merton college, Oxford. He was a near relation to Sir Henry Savile, by whose favour he was elected probationer fellow of the college; and in the year 1601, he became pastor of Waddesdon in Buckinghamshire, where he continued in the laborious and faithful exercise of his ministry forty-six years. He married the only daughter of Mr. Arthur Wake, another zealous puritan divine, by whom he had six sons and three daughters. She was a person of most amiable character, and they lived together in mutual affection upwards of fifty years. He was a man of considerable learning and piety, and being an old puritan, says Wood,* was elected one of the assembly of divines. But it is said that he spent most of his time among his parishioners, by whom he was exceedingly beloved and revered.

Mr. Wilkinson was author of "A Catechisme for the use of the Congregation of Waddesdon," oftentimes printed. Also "The Debt-book; or, a Treatise upon Rom. xiii. 8. wherein is handled the civil debt of money or goods," 1625; and several other articles. The celebrated Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Margaret professor at Oxford, and ejected at the restoration, was his son.† Mr. Neal very much confounds the one with the other.‡ Mr. Wilkinson died at Waddesdon, March 19, 1647, aged eighty-one years. His mortal remains were laid in the chancel of his own church, where, against the south wall, was a monumental inscription erected, of which the following is a translation :§

HENRY WILKINSON,
forty-six years the faithful pastor of this church,
was born the ninth day of October, 1566,
and died the nineteenth day of March, 1647.

He married SARAH
the only daughter of ARTHUR WAKE
of *Sawey Forest* in the county of *Northampton*,
with whom he lived in holy concord fifty-three years,
and by whom he had nine children,
six sons and three daughters.

The remains of the aforesaid SARAH WILKINSON,
who lived to the age of seventy years,
were laid by the side of her husband,
leaving us an example
of a most upright and holy life,

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 59.

† Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 241.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 54.

§ Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 213, 214.

and a reputation scarcely to be exceeded.

JOHN WILKINSON, son of the above,

who died December 18, 1664,

aged sixty-one years,

was also interred

near them.

THOMAS COLEMAN, A. M.—This learned and pious divine was born in the city of Oxford, in the year 1598, and educated in Magdalen college, in that university. Having entered upon the ministerial work, he became vicar of Bliton in Lincolnshire; but he was persecuted, and afterwards driven from the place for nonconformity. On the commencement of the civil wars, he fled for refuge to London, was made rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, and chosen one of the assembly of divines. He frequently preached before the parliament; and, October 15, 1643, when both houses took the covenant, he preached before the lords, giving some explanation of it. He observed on this occasion, "that by prelacy, as used in the covenant, was not meant all episcopacy, but only the form therein described."* In 1644, he was appointed one of the committee of examination and approbation of public preachers. The year following, in the grand debate of the assembly, concerning the divine right of the presbyterian mode of church government, he gave his opinion against it; and openly declared, both in the assembly and from the pulpit, that if the divine right of presbyterianism should ever be established by public authority, he was apprehensive it would prove equally arbitrary and tyrannical as the prelacy had been. He therefore proposed that, under present circumstances, the civil magistrate should have the power of the keys till the nation should be brought into a more settled state.†

Mr. Coleman was of erastian principles respecting church government; but he fell sick during the above debate; and some of the members waiting upon him, he desired they would not come to any conclusion till they had heard what he had further to offer upon the question. But his complaint increasing, he died in a few days, and the whole assembly paid the last tribute of respect to his memory by attending his funeral solemnities, March 30, 1647. Wood says, "he was so accomplished an Hebrean, that he was commonly denominated *Rabbi Coleman*;" and adds, "that he behaved

* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 49.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 261.

both modestly and learnedly in the assembly.”* Fuller styles him “a modest and learned divine, equally averse to presbytery and prelacy.”†

From the eminent talents, learning, and moderation of this excellent divine, we might suppose that even bigotry itself would lie dormant; but this unhappy temper, ever influenced by party principles, and to promote a party interest, will break through all difficulties, to blacken the memory of real worth. Mr. Coleman, in common with many of his brethren, is the subject of public calumny. The zealous historian, speaking of those divines who preached before the parliament, says, “Another of these brawlers, who seldom thought of a bishop, or the king’s party, but with indignation, was Mr. Thomas Coleman. In one of his sermons, he thus rants against the church of England, and violently persuades the parliament to execute severe justice upon her children. ‘Our cathedrals in a great part are of late become the nests of idle drones, and the roosting places of superstitious formalists. Our formalists and government, in the whole hierarchy, are become a fretting gangrene, a spreading leprosy, an insupportable tyranny. Up with it, up with it to the bottom, root and branch, hip and thigh: destroy these Amalekites, and let their place be no more found. Throw away the rubs; out with the Lord’s enemies, and the land’s. Vex the Midianites; abolish the Amalekites, or else they will vex you with their wiles, as they have done heretofore. Let popery find no favour, because it is treasonable; prelacy as little, because it is tyrannical.’

“This,” our author adds, “was rare stuff for the blades at Westminster, and pleased them admirably well. Therefore they straitly order Sir Edward Aiscough and Sir John Wray, to give the zealot hearty thanks for his good directions, and to desire him by all means to print it; which accordingly he did, and, in requital of thanks, dedicates his fury to their worships; where he falls to his old trade again, very prettily by his art of rhetorick, calling the king’s army partakers with atheists, infidels, and papists; saying, ‘it hath popish masses, superstitious worships, cold forms in the service of God: it is stored with popish priests: it persecutes God’s ministers, painful preachers: it doth harbour all drunken, debauched clergy, or idle, non-preaching, dumb ministry, our ambitious tyrannical prelacy, and the sink and dregs of the times; the receptacle of the filth of the present and former ages, our

* *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 52.

† *Fuller’s Church Hist.* b. xi. p. 213.

spiritual court's-men.' This man's railing," he adds, "pleased the commons so well, that they could think of no man fitter to prate when their wicked league and covenant was taken than he; which accordingly he did to the purpose, tickling their filthy ears with the same strains of malice; impudently affirming, 'That none but an atheist, papist, oppressor, rebel, or the guilty, desperate cavaliers, and light and empty men, can refuse the covenant:' and so concludes with reflection upon the king's party, as idolaters. And for this stuff, Colonel Long must be ordered to give him thanks from the house."*

Admitting the correctness of our author's extracts, there was certainly too much truth in many of Mr. Coleman's remarks, though some of them perhaps require a degree of limitation. It is, however, a certain fact, which many of our zealous historians seem willing to forget, that "their worships, the blades at Westminster," whose "filthy ears were tickled with the preacher's strains of malice," and who thanked him for his sermons, desiring him to print them, even the commons in parliament, as well as the lords, were, according to Clarendon, all members of the established church.† Yet, such is the foul language of the above bigotted and peevish writer, that his prejudices and party feelings appear without restraint, while he pours forth his abundant slander and contempt upon men of the worthiest character.

HIS WORKS.—1. *The Christian's Course and Complaint*, both in the pursuit of Happiness desired, and for Advantages slipped in that pursuit; a Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons on the monthly Fast, Aug. 30, 1643; at St. Margaret's Westminster, 1643.—2. *The Heart's Engagement*, a Sermon preached at St. Margaret's Westminster, at the public entering into the Covenant, 1643.—3. *God's unusual Answer to a Solemn Fast*, a Sermon preached to both Houses of Parliament, at their public Fast, Sep. 12, 1644—1644.—4. *A Brotherly Examination Examined: or, a clear Justification of those Passages in a Sermon, against which Mr. Gillespie did preach and write*, 1646.—5. *A short Discovery of some Tenets which intrench upon the Honour and Power of Parliaments.*—6. *A Modell, &c.*

EPHRAIM PAGET was born in Northamptonshire, in the year 1575, and educated in Christ's college, Oxford. He was the son of Mr. Eusebius Paget, a celebrated puritan divine, and a great sufferer for nonconformity. He was so great a proficient in the knowledge of the languages, that

* Foulis's Hist. of Plots, p. 183, 184.

† Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 184.

upon his admittance into the university, the Greek professor sought his acquaintance, and derived much assistance from him. At the age of twenty-six years, he understood and wrote *fifteen* or *sixteen* languages.* Having completed his studies at the university, he became minister at St. Edmund's church, Lombard-street, London, where he continued many years. While in this situation, he entered into the conjugal state, and married Lady Bord, widow of Sir Stephen Bord, of a worthy family in Sussex. Upon the commencement of the civil wars, he was a great sufferer; and he was so much troubled and molested, says Wood, that, merely for the sake of quietness, he left his benefice in his old age, being then commonly called *old father Ephraim*. He retired to Deptford in Kent, where he spent the remainder of his days in retirement and devotion. He entered upon the joy of his Lord in the month of April, 1647, aged seventy-two years. His remains, according to his last will and testament, were laid in Deptford church-yard.†

Though his name is enrolled among the sufferers in the royal cause, he is with justice classed among the puritans. Many excellent divines, who were dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, and even with episcopacy itself, were nevertheless, during the national confusions, great sufferers on account of their loyal attachment to his majesty and the civil constitution. Their zeal for the king and his cause exposed them to the severity of the opposite party. This appears to have been the case with Mr. Paget. He was decided in his attachment to his majesty's interest and the civil constitution, for which he was a sufferer in those evil times; yet he was opposed to the ecclesiastical establishment, as well as the cruel oppressions of the prelates. Therefore, in the year 1645, being only two years before his death, he united with his brethren, the London ministers, in presenting a petition to the lords and commons in parliament, for the establishment of the presbyterian discipline.‡ He wrote with great bitterness against the independents, baptists, and other sectaries, by which he exposed himself to the resentment of his enemies. "Error and heresy," it is said, "began to take deep root, and to spread far and wide over the face of the earth; he, therefore, set himself to discover them, and root them up, when he published his '*Heresiography*.' Hence sprung his trouble;"

* Paget's *Heresiography*, Pref. Edit. 1662.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 52.

‡ Grey's *Examination*, vol. ii. Appen. p. 87—89.

and it is added, "the enemies of goodness making that the ground of their malice, which he wrote to undeceive and bring them into the way of truth. Upon this he was persecuted, reviled, slandered, and, through false suggestions, suffered even imprisonment itself. He bore up manfully, and suffered patiently whatever their malice could inflict, till at last the Lord in mercy put an end to his misery, and received him to himself."* He was an excellent preacher, and his sermons were as pleasant as they were profitable, drawing the hearts of his auditors, as by a bait of pleasure, to that which is good.†

HIS WORKS.—1. *Christianographie*: or, a Description of the multitudes and sundry sorts of Christians in the world not subject to the Pope, 1635.—2. *A Treatise of the Ancient Christians in Britany*, 1640.—3. *Heresiographie*: or, a Description of the Heresies of later Times, 1645.—4. *The Mystical Wolf*, a Sermon on Matt. vii. 15., 1645.

THOMAS HOOKER.—This excellent divine was born at Marfield in Leicestershire, in the year 1586, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, of which he became fellow. He acquitted himself in this office with such ability and faithfulness as commanded universal admiration and applause. During his abode at Cambridge, he was brought under such deep convictions of sin, that his mind was overwhelmed with extreme horror. The anguish of his soul, under a sense of his sin and desert, was inconceivable. He was ready to exclaim, "While I suffer thy terrors, O Lord, I am distracted." Afterwards, speaking of these mental exercises, he said, "In the time of my distress, I could reason to the rule of duty, and see there was no other way of relief but by submission to God, and by lying at the feet of Jesus Christ, humbly waiting for his favour; but when I applied the rule to myself, and endeavoured to put it in practice, my reasoning failed me, and I was able to do nothing." Having laboured under the spirit of bondage for a considerable time, he received light and comfort, and his mind became powerfully and pleasantly attached to holy and heavenly contemplations. It now became a custom with him, when retiring to rest at night, to select some particular promise of scripture, upon which he meditated during his wakeful hours. In this he found so much improvement and comfort, that he recommended others to adopt the same practice.

* Paget's *Heresiog.* Pref.

† Lloyd's *Memoires*, p. 510.

Mr. Hooker having tasted that the Lord was gracious, resolved to employ his time and his talents in the work of the ministry, when he commenced preaching in London and its vicinity. He soon became celebrated for his ministerial endowments, particularly in comforting persons under spiritual distress. In the year 1626, having been disappointed of a desired settlement at Colchester, he was chosen lecturer at Chelmsford, one Mr. Mitchel being the incumbent. His lectures were soon numerously attended, and a remarkable unction and blessing attended his preaching. A pleasing reformation also followed, not only in the town, but likewise in the adjacent country. By a multitude of public houses in the town, and by keeping the shops open on the Lord's day, the people of Chelmsford had become notorious for intemperance and the profanation of the sabbath. But by the blessing of God, so plentifully poured out upon Mr. Hooker's ministry, these vices were banished from the place, and the sabbath was visibly sanctified to the Lord. His zealous and useful labours, however, were not continued very long. For in about four years his difficulties were so great, on account of his nonconformity, that he gave up his pulpit and commenced teaching school. He could not defile his conscience by the observance of the superstitious ceremonies: he had rather give up his pulpit and his public ministry, which he dearly loved, than sacrifice the "testimony of a good conscience."

Though the best and most delightful employment of this worthy servant of Christ was gone, his *influence* was not lost. This was wholly employed to promote the Redeemer's cause. He engaged the various ministers in the vicinity of Chelmsford, to establish a monthly meeting for fasting, prayer, and religious conference. By his influence, several pious young ministers were settled in the neighbourhood, and others became more established in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. Indeed, so great was his popularity, and so high his reputation, when silenced, that no less than *forty-seven* conformist ministers of his acquaintance, presented a petition to the Bishop of London; in which they testified, "That they knew and esteemed Mr. Hooker to be orthodox in his doctrine, honest in his life and conversation, peaceable in his disposition, and in no wise turbulent or factious." But these powerful mediators could not prevail. Mr. Hooker being stigmatized as a puritan, must be buried in silence. He was bound, about the year 1630, in a bond of fifty pounds, to appear before the high commission; but this

bond, by the advice of his friends, he forfeited, preferring it as a lesser evil to pay so great a sum, than fall into the hands of the ruling prelates, whose tender mercy was cruelty.*

Mr. Hooker, to avoid the storm of persecution, fled to Holland. He had no sooner taken shipping, and the vessel got under sail, than the enraged pursuivants arrived on the shore, but happily too late to reach him. During the passage, the ship was in the utmost danger of being lost; but this holy man, in this perilous situation, exercised an unshaken confidence in God, who sent a remarkable deliverance. In Holland, he preached about two years at Delft, as assistant to Mr. Forbes, an aged and excellent Scotch minister. He was next called to Rotterdam, where he was employed for some time as colleague to the celebrated Dr. William Ames. The greatest friendship and affection subsisted betwixt these two learned divines. The latter declared, that, notwithstanding his acquaintance with many scholars of different nations, he had never met with a man equal to Mr. Hooker, either as a preacher or a learned disputant. He assisted Dr. Ames in composing his celebrated work, entitled, "A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship." But Mr. Hooker not finding Holland agreeable to his wishes, and a number of his friends in England inviting him at this time to accompany them to America, he returned to his native country to prepare for the voyage. He was no sooner come to England, than the bishop's pursuivants were again employed to apprehend him. At one time they were upon the very point of taking him, and even knocked at the door of the chamber in which he and Mr. Samuel Stone were employed in friendly conversation. Mr. Stone went to the door; when the officers demanded whether Mr. Hooker was there. "What Hooker?" replied Mr. Stone. "Do you mean Hooker who once lived at Chelmsford?" The officers answered, "Yes, that is he." "If it be he whom you look for," observed Mr. Stone, "I saw him about an hour ago at such a house in the town: you had best hasten there after him." The officers taking this evasion for a sufficient account, went their way, while Mr. Hooker concealed himself more securely, till he went on board in the Downs. He sailed for New England in the year 1633, when Mr. Stone and Mr. Cotton, both celebrated puritans, accompanied him in the same ship. Mr. Hooker arriving at Newtown,

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 58—61.

afterwards called Cambridge; and being most affectionately received by his old friends, who had gone over the preceding year, he said, "Now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord."

Great numbers soon after following these adventurers from England, Newtown became too narrow for them: accordingly, in 1636, Mr. Hooker, with many of his friends, removed to a fertile spot on the delightful banks of the river Connecticut, which they called Hartford. There he lived all the rest of his days, and was deservedly esteemed "as the father, the pillar, and the oracle of the new colony." As a preacher, he was remarkably animated and impressive; not only his voice, but every feature in his countenance, spoke the ardour of his soul. All was life and reality in his descriptions. His preaching was not that theatrical affectation which is exhibited by men who paint for admiration, but that zeal which is kindled by a coal from God's altar. His moving addresses flowed from his own exquisite relish of divine things, and an impassioned desire of promoting them in the hearts of others. His success, like his services, was very eminent. A profane man, for the purpose of diversion, once said to his companions, "Come, let us go and hear what bawling Hooker will say to us." For the sake of sport, they all went to Chelmsford lecture. Conviction presently seized the mind of this person. The word of God became quick and powerful, and he retired with an awakened conscience. Also, by the subsequent instructions of Mr. Hooker, he became an humble follower of Christ; and afterwards followed this worthy minister to New England, that he might enjoy the benefit of his preaching as long as he lived. At another time, one of his enemies hired a fiddler to play in the church-yard and the church-porch, with a view to disturb him in his sermon; but the design had not the least effect upon Mr. Hooker's mind: he went on with his sermon in his unabated zeal and vivacity. When the man went to the door to hear what he said, his attention was instantly caught; conviction immediately seized his conscience; and at the conclusion of the service, he made his humble confession to Mr. Hooker, and ever after lived a religious life. By the application of his doctrine, he had a surprising talent for reaching and awakening the consciences of his hearers.

This learned divine was remarkable for humility and a holy dependence upon God. This will appear from the following circumstance. Some time after his settlement at Hartford, having to preach among his old friends at Newtown, on a Lord's day in the afternoon, his great fame had collected

together a vast concourse of people. When he came to preach, he found himself so entirely at a loss what to say, that, after a few shattered attempts to proceed, he was obliged to stop, and say, that what he had prepared was altogether taken from him. He therefore requested the congregation to sing a psalm while he retired. Upon his return, as our author observes, he preached a most admirable sermon, holding the people two hours, in a most extraordinary strain both for pertinence and vivacity. After the public service was closed, some of his friends speaking to him of the Lord's withholding his assistance, he meekly replied, "We daily confess that we have nothing, and can do nothing, without Christ; and what if Christ will make this manifest before our congregations? Must we not be humbly contented?"*

Mr. Hooker wished to be abased, and the Lord alone to be exalted. He dreaded outward ease and prosperity, as that which was most likely to bring the Lord's people into spiritual adversity. When at the land's end, taking his final leave of England, he said, "Farewell, England; I expect now no more to see that religious zeal, and power of godliness, which I have seen among professors in that land. Adversity has slain its thousands, but prosperity its ten thousands. I fear that those who have been zealous christians in the fire of persecution, will become cold in the lap of peace."

He was highly celebrated as a man of prayer. He used to say, "Prayer is the principal work of a minister; and it is by this he must carry on the rest." Accordingly, he devoted one day in every month to private prayer and fasting, besides the observance of many such days publicly with his people. It was his settled opinion, that if professors neglect these duties, "iniquity will abound, and the love of many wax cold." His prayers in public were fervent, but not long, and singularly adapted to the occasion. As he proceeded his ardour usually increased; and, as the last step in Jacob's ladder was nearest heaven, the close of his prayer was mostly a rapture of devotion; and "his people," it is said, "were often surprised with the remarkable answers to his prayers."

Though Mr. Hooker's natural disposition was irascible, he acquired a wonderful command of his temper. He was always ready to sacrifice his own apprehensions to the better reasons of others. The meanest of his brethren, and even children, were treated by him with endearing condescension.

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 62, 63.

One instance it may not be improper to mention. A neighbour of his having sustained some damage; when Mr. Hooker meeting a boy notorious for such mischief, warmly accused and censured him. The boy denied the charge, but he continued his angry lecture. "Sir," said the boy, "I see you are in a passion; I'll say no more to you;" and then ran off. Mr. Hooker finding, upon inquiry, that the boy could not be proved guilty, sent for him, and humbly confessed his fault, which, with the good council he gave him, made a deep and lasting impression on the mind of the boy.

Notwithstanding Mr. Hooker's great condescension, he did not in the least degrade or depreciate his holy function. When he mounted the pulpit, he appeared with so much majesty and independence, that it was pleasantly said of him, *He would put a king in his pocket*. Judges, princes, and peasants equally shared in his pointed reproofs and solemn admonitions. He possessed an excellent talent for solving cases of conscience, and set apart one day in the week for any of his people to come to him and propose their scruples and difficulties. Though his own preaching was generally very practical and experimental, he recommended young ministers, when first settled, as well for their own benefit as that of their people, to preach the whole system of divine truth. He had a happy method in the government of the church. He would propound nothing to the church assembly till it had been previously considered by several of the principal brethren; and if at any time he saw an altercation beginning to rise in the church, he would put off the vote till another opportunity; previous to which, he would visit, and generally gain over, those who objected to what appeared the most proper to be adopted. He used to say, "The elders must have a church within a church, if they would preserve the peace of the church."

This holy and heavenly divine desired not to outlive his work. His last sickness was short, and he said little. When his opinion was asked concerning certain important points, he replied, "I have not that work now to perform. I have declared the council of God." One of his brethren observing to him, that he was going to receive his *reward*, "Brother," said he, "I am going to receive *mercy*." Afterwards, he closed his eyes with his own hands, and, with a smile on his countenance, he expired, July 7, 1647, aged sixty-one years.* He was justly styled "the grave, the godly,

* Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 76—78.

the judicious, the faithful, and the laborious Hooker." That peace which he enjoyed in his own mind, through believing in Christ, for the space of thirty years, continued firm and unshaken to the last.* Mr. Henry Whitfield gives the following testimony of his worth: "I did not think," says he, "there had been such a man on the earth, in whom there shone so many incomparable excellencies; and in whom learning and wisdom were so admirably tempered with zeal, holiness, and watchfulness." And for his great abilities and glorious services in both Englands, says Mr. Ashe, he deserves a place in the first rank of those worthies whose lives are preserved.† Fuller has honoured him with a place among the learned writers and fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.‡

His WORKS.—1. The Soul's Implantation into Christ, 1637.—2. The Unbeliever's Preparing for Christ, 1638.—3. The Soul's effectual Calling to Christ, 1638.—4. The Soul's Humiliation, 1640.—5. A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline, 1648.—6. The Doubting Christian drawn to Christ, 1652.—7. The Application of Redemption by the Word, 1656.—8. The Spiritual Rule of the Lord's Kingdom.—9. Farewell Sermon on Jer. xiv. 9. published in Mr. Fenner's Works.—And probably some others.

JOHN SALTMARSH, A. M.—This person was descended from a respectable and ancient family of the same name at Saltmarsh in Yorkshire, and educated in Magdalen college, Cambridge, where he enjoyed the patronage and support of Sir John Metham, his kinsman. He was a person of a fine, active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher; but no friend to bishops and ceremonies.§ About the year 1641, he became minister at Northampton, afterwards at Braisted in Kent, and, at length, was chosen to the office of chaplain in Sir Thomas Fairfax's army; where, to his great honour, he is said to have always preached up peace and unity. He meddled not with matters of discipline, but wholly laboured to draw souls from sin to Christ.|| He afterwards openly declared his sentiments concerning the war, saying, "That all means should be used to keep the king and people from a sudden union; that the war being against popery, should be cherished, as the surest means to engage the people; and that if the king would not, in the end, grant their demands,

* Morton's Memorial, p. 125.

† Mather's Hist. of New. Eng. b. iii. p. 64—68.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 147.

§ Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 212.

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 192.

then to root him out, together with the royal line, and appoint the crown to some other person." These sentiments were laid before the house of commons, and they underwent a particular examination; but it does not appear whether he was sentenced to receive any kind of punishment. During this examination, however, one of the members said, "He saw no reason to condemn Mr. Saltmarsh; for it was better that one family should be destroyed than many."*

Mr. Saltmarsh employed his pen in controversy with several learned divines, among whom was Dr. Thomas Fuller, the historian. This person having preached a sermon on "reformation," which he afterwards published, Mr. Saltmarsh published his animadversions upon it, in which he charged him with several points of popery. Fuller, however, defended his former arguments, in a piece under the title of "Truth Maintained," in which he challenged Saltmarsh to reply; but he declined the contest, giving this reason for it, that he would not shoot his arrows against a *dead* mark, being informed that Fuller was dead. He also engaged in controversy with the celebrated Mr. Thomas Gataker, Mr. John Ley, Dr. John Bastwick, Mr. Thomas Edwards, and others. It is said that the very titles of some of his pieces seemed to have some tincture of enthusiasm, if not of frenzy in them.†

Mr. Edwards, who employs his presbyterian bigotry in reproaching his memory, gives the following account of him:—"There is one Mr. Saltmarsh, a man who hath of late writ many trashy pamphlets, fully stuffed with all kinds of errors, ignorance, and impudence, and hath been well answered and baffled by three learned divines. I am still in his debt for some passages in his "Groans for Liberty," and "Reasons for Unity, Love and Peace," against my first and second part of "Gangræna," and shall say in this third, I purpose to reckon with him once for all, in another tractate. This Master Saltmarsh, the last half year, hath much followed the army: a fit place for him. When Oxford was taken, he was one of those famous preachers who preached at St. Mary's: as fit a man to credit the parliament and the reformation with the university, as his brother Peters. Master Saltmarsh being to preach in the army on a fast-day this summer, made a preface by way of apology, that he preached not for the fast: he would not be understood as preaching upon that occasion, or that his sermon was a fast sermon."

* Whitlocke's Memorial, p. 68.

† Biog. Britan. vol. iii, p. 2053, 2054. Edit. 1747.

This writer also adds: "He hath been at Bath this year, and there, in one of the lesser churches, preached, that, as John Baptist wore a leathern girdle, so his doctrine was leathern doctrine. He would have preached at the great church, but the minister would not give way; whereupon he came to the minister's house, to contest with him about denying him his pulpit; to whom the minister replied, that he had heard of him by Mr. John Ley and Mr. Thomas Edwards, and was fully satisfied concerning him. Besides, he said 'I have heard of one Master Saltmarsh, who, in the time of the former differences between the king and the Scots, viz. before this parliament, made verses to incense the king to war against the Scots, when he went into the north; and that when the late oath, made by the bishops, came forth, went many miles to an archbishop to take that oath upon his knees:' to which Master Saltmarsh replied, he was then in his darkness; and the minister of Bath rejoined, he thought him to be still in the smoak."*

We make no comment upon the above account, but allow Mr. Saltmarsh to speak for himself. In answer to Mr. Edwards, he says, "When I called to you the other day in the street, and challenged you for your unanswerable crime against me in the third part of the last *"Gangræna,"* in setting my name against all the heresies you reckon, which your own soul and the world can witness to be none of mine, and your own confession to me when I challenged you—how were you troubled in spirit and language? Your sin was, as I thought, upon you, scourging you, checking you as I spoke. I told you at parting, I hoped we should overcome you by prayer. I believe we shall pray you either into repentance, or shame, or judgment, ere we have done with you; but, oh! might it be repentance rather! till Master Edwards smite upon his thigh, and say, What have I done?"

"For your anagram upon my name, you do but fulfil the prophecy, They shall cast out your names as evil, for the Son of man's sake. And your book of jeers and stories of your brethren; poor man! it will not long be music in your ears, at this rate of sinning. For the nameless author and his after-reckoning, let all such men be doing; let them rail, revile, blaspheme, call heretics. It is enough to me, that they write such vanity as they dare not own. And now let me tell you both, and all such pensioners to the great accuser of the brethren; fill up the measure of your iniquity, if you

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 113, 114.

will needs perish whether we will or no. I hope I rest in the bosom of Christ, with others of my brethren: rail, persecute, do your worst; I challenge all the powers of hell that set you on work, while Christ is made unto me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. And I must tell you further, that since any of the light and glory of Christ dawned upon me; since first I saw the morning star of righteousness, any of the brightness of the glory in my heart, that heart of mine which once lived in the coasts of Zebulun and Napthali, in the region and shadow of death, I can freely challenge you, and thousands more such as you, to say, write, do, work, print, or any thing; and I hope I shall in the strength of Christ, in whom I am able to do all things, give you blessings for cursing, and prayers for persecutions.*

Mr. Edwards, in answer to this, observes, "That Mr. Gataker had proved his opponent to be a shadow without substance; had taken off the shadows he had cast on many truths of the gospel; had shewed this *new light*, with his *dawnings of light*, to be only a shadow of darkness and death; and had caused this great light to go out in a smoke and snuff." He proceeds in his usual style of raillery, concluding that the former accusations were still unanswered.†

The death of Mr. Saltmarsh was very extraordinary, and is thus related. December 4, 1647, he was at his own house at Ilford in Essex, when he told his wife that he had received a special message from God, which he must deliver to the army. He went to London the same evening, and early on Monday morning, December 6th, to Windsor. When he came to the council of officers, he addressed them as follows: "I am come hither to reveal to you," said he, "what I have received from God. Though the Lord hath done much for you, and by you, yet he hath of late left you, and is not in your counsels; because you have forsaken him. God will not prosper your consultations, but destroy you by divisions among yourselves. I have formerly come to you like a *lamb*, but God hath now raised in me the spirit of a *lion*; because you have sought to destroy the people of God, who have always stood by you in the greatest difficulties. I advise all the faithful to depart from you, lest they be destroyed with you." He then went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the general; and, without moving his hat, said, "I have received a com-

* Saltmarsh's Answer to Edwards, p. 9—11. Edit. 1812.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 293.

mand from God not to honour you at all. I have honoured you so much, that I have offended God; who hath revealed unto me that he is highly displeased with your committing his saints to prison; and that he will not prosper you, nor can I honour you." He next went to Cromwell, to whom he delivered the same message, declaring that the Lord was angry with him, for causing those persons to be imprisoned whom he knew to be faithful in the cause of God. And after recommending him to take some effectual measures for their enlargement, he took his leave of them all, saying, "I have done my errand, and must leave you, never to see the army any more." He went the same night to London; and next day took his leave of his friends in the city, saying, his work was done, and his message delivered, and desired them to take care of his wife. Thursday, December 9th, he left London well and cheerful; and the same evening arrived at Ilford. The day following, he told his wife that he had now finished his work, and must go to his Father. In the afternoon, he complained of the head-ache, desiring to lie down upon his bed, when he rested well through the night. Saturday morning, December 11th, he was taken speechless, and died about four o'clock in the afternoon.* It appears from Mr. Saltmarsh's writings, that he was strongly tinged with the principles of antinomianism.

His WORKS.—1. Practice of Policy in a Christian Life, 1639.—2. Holy Discoveries and Flames, 1640.—3. Free Grace; or, the Flowings of Christ's Blood freely to Sinners, 1645.—4. New Querie, 1645.—5. Shadows flying away, 1646.—6. Dawnings of Light, 1646.—7. Maxims of Reformation, 1646.—8. Reasons for Unity, Peace and Love, 1646.—9. Groans for Liberty, 1646.—10. Beams of Light, discovering the Way of Peace, 1646.—11. Some Queries for the better understanding of Mr. Edwards's last book, called *Gangræna*, 1646.—12. Parallel between Prelacy and Presbytery, 1646.—13. The Divine Right of Presbytery asserted by the present Assembly, and petitioned for accordingly to the H. of Com. in Parliament, with Reasons discussing this pretended Divine Right, 1646.—14. Sparkles of Glory; or, Some Beams of the Morning Star, 1647.—15. Wonderful Predictions, 1648.—16. The Assembly's Petition against his Exception.—17. The Opening of Mr. Prynne's Vindication.—18. Flagellum Flagelli, against Dr. Bastwick.—19. Animadversions on Mr. T. Fuller's Sermon.—20. Several Sermons.

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 192, 193.

HERBERT PALMER, B. D.—This most pious divine was the son of Sir Thomas Palmer, born at Wingham near Canterbury, in the year 1601, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge; but was afterwards chosen fellow of Queen's college, in the same university. He was a man celebrated for genuine piety, and thought to have been sanctified from the womb. In the year 1626, he entered upon his first ministerial exercises in the city of Canterbury, having previously obtained a license from Archbishop Abbot,* authorizing him to deliver a lecture at St. Alphage church, every Lord's day afternoon. In this situation, by his sound doctrine and unblemished deportment, his great usefulness was presently manifest to all. By his zealous and judicious efforts, the corruptions so prevalent among the ecclesiastics of the cathedral, who preferred pompous ceremonies above the power of godliness, were greatly interrupted. This, indeed, soon roused the malice and enmity of the bigotted ecclesiastics. They could not endure the soundness of his doctrine and the holiness of his life, so much opposed to their dead formality, and their unrighteous doings. Though his high birth and numerous friends screened him for a time, articles were at length exhibited against him; but his replies to those articles, it is said, were such, that he was honourably acquitted.†

In the year 1629, upon the complaint of the dean and archdeacon, Mr. Palmer was silenced and his lecture put down, to the great grief of his numerous audience. The charges brought against him were,—“That he read prayers and catechized against the minister's will, and not according to the ecclesiastical canons:—that in the catechizing, he took upon him to declare the king's mind in his instructions:—that he preached a factious sermon in the cathedral, and detracted from its *divine* service:—and that factious persons

* When Archbishop Abbot's mother was pregnant of him, she is said to have had a dream, which proved at once an omen and an instrument of his future promotion. She fancied she was told in her sleep, that if she could eat a jack, or pike, the child she went with would prove a son, and rise to great preferment. Not long after this, in taking a pail of water out of the river Wey, which ran by their house, she accidentally caught a jack, and had thus an odd opportunity of fulfilling her dream. This story excited much conversation, and coming to the knowledge of certain persons of distinction, they offered to become sponsors to the child, which was kindly accepted, and had the goodness to afford many testimonies of their affection to their godson while at school, and after he went to the university. Such were the good effects of his mother's dream.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 3.

† Clark's *Lives* annexed to *Martyrologie*, p. 183—187.

from all the parishes in the city, were his auditors.”* However, by the petition of many of the citizens and gentry, and the honourable testimony of several ministers, concerning his orthodox doctrine and unblemished character, together with the testimony of ten knights and others, presented to the archbishop, he was again restored, and the archdeacon inhibited from his jurisdiction.† It is likewise observed, that all who took an active part in this affair, exposed themselves to the scorn and contempt of the people.‡

Mr. Palmer afterwards removed to the vicarage of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, to which, on account of his amiable character, though a puritan, he was presented by Bishop Laud, receiving his institution February 7, 1632. Laud mentioned this circumstance as an instance of his impartiality, in his own defence, at his trial.§ There Mr. Palmer, as in his former situation, discovered his zealous care and unwearied diligence, in promoting the welfare of his flock. Though he was a man of great learning, he never wished to make it appear. He sought not the applause of men, or any worldly emolument, but the approbation of God, the testimony of a good conscience, and the salvation of souls.

During the above year, he was chosen one of the preachers to the university of Cambridge, and afterwards one of the clerks in convocation. In 1643, he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and afterwards one of the assessors. During the assembly, he was highly distinguished by his excellent talents, his unwearied industry, his great usefulness, and was seldom absent. Upon his removal from Ashwell, he was succeeded by Mr. Crow, afterwards silenced in 1662,|| and he accepted an invitation to Duke’s-place, London. But afterwards, having received a pressing invitation, he became pastor at New Church, Westminster, being succeeded at Duke’s-place by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Young, another worthy puritan. In each of these situations he was highly admired, and his preaching, expounding, catechizing, and other ministerial labours, were abundant. He was always abounding in the work of the Lord. In 1644, he was constituted master of Queen’s college, Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester. He succeeded Dr. Martin, one of Laud’s chaplains, and a man of high principles. Under the peculiar care

* Prynne’s Cant. Doome, p. 372, 373.—Rushworth’s Collec. vol. ii. p. 34.

† Clark’s Lives, p. 187.—Prynne’s Cant. Doome, p. 373.

‡ Heylin’s Life of Laud, p. 201.

§ Clark’s Lives, p. 187.

|| Palmer’s Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 302.

and encouragement of the new master, the college flourished, even to the great admiration of all.* In 1645, he was appointed, by order of parliament, one of the committee of accommodation.†

Mr. Palmer was always firm to his principles. Though he would deny himself when only his own interest was concerned, he was constantly zealous and unmoved in whatever concerned the honour of God and the glory of his kingdom. Therefore, when he was called to preach at the Bishop of Lincoln's visitation, he spoke with great freedom against the existing corruptions of the church, not fearing the consequences, though sensible of his great danger. When the Book of Sports, bowing to the altar, reading part of the service in the chancel, and other innovations, were enjoined, he resolved to lose all, rather than offend God by the encouragement of superstition and profaneness. He constantly and vigorously opposed the superstitious and unrighteous oath of canonical obedience.‡ He was always a most consistent and conscientious nonconformist.

This worthy divine, being highly reputed for learning and piety, was often called to preach before the parliament, for which he has incurred the severe displeasure of certain historians. One of these bitter writers, with an evident design to reproach his memory, has transcribed the following passage from one of Mr. Palmer's dedications addressed to the Earl of Essex, then general to the parliament's army: "God hath put you in his own place: God hath graced you with his own name, Lord of Hosts, general of armies. God hath committed to your care what is most precious to himself, precious gospel, precious ordinances, a precious parliament, a precious people. God hath called forth your excellency as a choice worthy to be a general, and the champion of Jesus Christ, to fight the great and last battle with antichrist in this your native kingdom."§ Another of these writers observes, that, June 28, 1643, "Mr. Palmer made a long-winded tittle-tattle, stult with rebellion and sedition, before the house of commons; at the end of which he found out a pretty device, to have all the cavaliers' throats cut; and all this to be justified by inspiration of Almighty God. 'I humbly entreat you,' said he, 'to ask God's consent first, whether he will spare such or such, or pardon them; and if he will not, you must not.' Probably this politician," adds

* Clark's Lives, p. 187—197.

† Papers of Accommodation, p. 13.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 199.

§ L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 56.

our author, "was very well acquainted with the subtle robber of old, who made the country parson pray for riches, and then took all his gold from him. 'The greatest wickedness in the world,' says he, 'may be perpetrated by this rule of Palmer's, and so religion prove only a piece of policy; yet, was it very fitting for the parliament's actions, which, I suppose, was the cause that they ordered Sir Oliver Luke to give him thanks for his seditious preachment, and to desire him to print it, the better to infect the people.'*" Such scurrility and falsehood, evidently designed to blacken the memory of one of the best of men, only requires to be stated in the author's own words; it can need no other refutation.

During Mr. Palmer's last sickness, he was much engaged in prayer, for himself, for the nation, for the church of God, and for all with whom he stood connected. When his friends recommended him to cast the burden of his pains and sickness upon the Lord, he said, "I should act unworthily, if after I have urged others to cast their burdens upon the Lord, I should not do so myself." As he lived a life of holy devotedness to God, so he died a holy and happy death, in the year 1647, aged forty-six years. His remains were interred in the New Church, Westminster; where he was succeeded by Mr. Rood, afterwards ejected by the act of uniformity.† Mr. Clark says, "he was remarkable for humility, meekness, faith and patience; he possessed a quick apprehension, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and a happy elocution; and he was almost unbounded in acts of liberality, and a most strict observer of the sabbath, not suffering any one of his family to be detained from public worship, by cooking victuals on the Lord's day."‡ Granger styles him "a man of uncommon learning, generosity, and politeness;" and observes, "that he possessed a most excellent character; that he wished for peace during the civil war; and that he spoke the French language with as much facility as his mother tongue."§

His Works.—1. The Principles of the Christian Religion made plain and easy.—2. Of making Religion one's Business.—This last and several other pieces were afterwards published together, entitled, "Memorials of Godliness and Christianity;" the thirteenth edition of which was printed in 1708.—3. Sermons preached before the Parliament, one of which is entitled, "The Necessity and Encouragement

* Foulis's Wicked Plots, p. 183.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 195.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 190—200.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 182, 183.

of Utmost Venturing for the Churches Help, together with the Sin, Folly and Mischief of Self-idolizing, a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons on the Day of the monthly Solemn Fast, 28 June, 1643." Another is entitled, "The Glasse of God's Providence towards his Faithful Ones, held forth in a Sermon to the two Honourable Houses of Parliament, at Margaret's Westminster, Aug. 13, 1644, being an extraordinary Day of Humiliation," 1644.—4. *Vindiciæ Sabbathæ*, assisted by Mr. Daniel Cawdrey.—5. *Scripture and Reason pleaded for defensive Armes*, assisted by several others.

ROBERT BALSOM.—This pious and courageous divine was born at Shipton Montague in Somersetshire, and educated at New-inn-hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became assistant to Mr. Richard Bernard of Batcombe, in his native county; and upon the death of this venerable divine, he removed to Stoke, a village in the same neighbourhood. In this situation, his ministerial labours were attended with wonderful success; and, it is observed, that he scarcely ever preached a sermon that was not instrumental in the conversion of some poor wandering sinner to God. After labouring at Stoke about two years, the confusion of the civil war obliged him to flee for safety; when he took refuge in Warder-castle, which was soon after besieged by the royal forces. Previous to this, he had intended to have gone to London; but through the solicitation of Colonel Ludlow, governor of the castle, he remained in the place during the siege. Upon the treaty of surrender, Mr. Balsom, walking on the roof of the castle, heard three soldiers say, "We have sworn upon the Bible to take away the life of one in the castle." He asked them who they meant, and whether it was the minister. "Yes," said they, "for he is a witch; because the castle has been several times strangely relieved with provisions."

The treaty being ended, and the enemy having entered the castle, Mr. Balsom was immediately seized and confined in close prison, a soldier being confined in the same room, who was hanged the next morning. At midnight the key of the prison was given to the three soldiers, when they presently entered the room; and having opened the door, they pulled off their hats, and stood at some distance, but said nothing. Mr. Balsom expecting they were the men who meant to take away his life, thus addressed them: "Friends, what is your business? Are not you the men who have sworn to take away my life?" With fear and trembling they answered, "We have taken a wicked oath: God forgive us. We will do you

no harm." When he desired them to come forwards, they urged him to make his escape, kindly offering him all the assistance in their power; but this he refused, suspecting they might have some ill design upon him. Though they assured him of their good intentions, and gave him the most evident proofs of it, he still refused to accept their offers, saying, "I will rather endure the utmost that God will suffer them to inflict upon me, than risk the lives of those who have shewed themselves friendly." As an evident token of their esteem, they brought him out to the fresh air, cleaned his room, and so left him.

The next morning a council was called, particularly with a view to determine what should be done with Mr. Balsom; and as they were debating about putting him to death, a captain, being one of the council, stood up, and said, "I will have no hand in the blood of this man;" and went out of the room, and so nothing was done. The prisoner was then carried to Salisbury; and on the very night of his arrival, another council was called, and picked for the purpose, by which he was condemned to be hanged. Having received the sentence of death, the high sheriff waited upon him in prison; who, after much ill language, told him that he must prepare to suffer at six o'clock next morning; assuring him, at the same time, that if he would ask the king pardon, and serve his majesty in future, his life would be spared, and he might have almost any preferment he pleased. Mr. Balsom, being remarkably courageous, and not in the least afraid of death, boldly replied, "To ask pardon when I am not conscious of any offence, were but the part of a *fool*; and to betray my conscience in hope of preferment, were but the part of a *knave*: and if I had neither hope of heaven, nor fear of hell, I would rather die an honest man, than live a fool or a knave." He accordingly rose next morning in full expectation of his doom; and about six o'clock, the officers came to the prison with a view to carry him forth to execution. As he was preparing to go, he heard a post ride in, immediately asking, *Is the prisoner yet alive?* He brought a reprieve from Sir Ralph Hopton, when, instead of death, Mr. Balsom was immediately carried to him at Winchester. As he entered the city, Sir William Ogle, governor of the place, said, "I will feed you with bread and water two or three days, and then hang you." He fell, however, into better hands. For upon his appearance before Sir Ralph Hopton, after some familiar conversation relative to his espousing the

parliament's cause, and the principles on which he acted, he was committed with this charge, "Keep this man safe, but use him well."

Mr. Balsom, after remaining in a state of confinement for some time, was at length, by an express order, next carried to Oxford, and committed prisoner to the castle. Here he set up a public lecture, preached twice every day, and was numerously attended, not only by the prisoners and soldiers, but by courtiers and townsmen. After having been once or twice prohibited, he said, "If you be weary of me, I do not wish to trouble you any longer; you may turn me out of doors when you please. But while I have a tongue to speak, and people to hear, I will not hold my peace." At length, by an exchange of prisoners, he was released. And having obtained his liberty, he was sent for by the Earl of Essex; when he became chaplain in his army, and continued with him during his command.

Mr. Balsom afterwards settled at Berwick, where he was statedly employed in his beloved work of preaching. In this situation he had the strong affections of the people, the smiles of God upon his labours, and the satisfaction of seeing the work of the Lord prosper in his hands. His labours were made extensively useful; but having occasion, after some time, to visit his own neighbourhood, he never returned. For, to the great anguish of his affectionate people, he was taken ill and died, in the year 1647.*

This zealous and faithful servant of God, a short time before his death, wrote a letter to a friend in London, giving him some account of the transactions in the north; and because the sight of it will be gratifying to every inquisitive reader, it will be proper to be inserted. It is dated May 21, 1646, and is as follows:†

"My dear friend,

"Yours was not a little welcome to me, nor am I put to it to send you a requital. The news here is so good, that I can hardly hold my pen for joy. The king's coming to the Scotch army in all probability will prove one of our greatest mercies since the wars began. And never did I hear of any christians carrying themselves so boldly and faithfully in reproving their prince, so humbly before their God, so innocently towards their brethren, so desirously of a settled and well-grounded peace, as the Scots now do. They labour with much earnestness for the king's conversion;

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 179—182.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 73, 74.

tell him plainly of his blood-guiltiness; have sent for out of Scotland the ablest ministers to converse with him; have banished all malignants six miles from his person by proclamation; refused to entertain him with any token of joy; and told him he was a great sinner before God, and that he must give satisfaction to both kingdoms. The malignants droop, who were gathering towards him out of both kingdoms. The French agent, who was active in making a breach, is much discountenanced. The nobles and ministers profess their earnest longing after a happy union, the settling the government of Christ in his church; which being done, they will presently return to peace. The independents themselves stand amazed at their wisdom, resolution, and fidelity: zeal, with humility, doth accompany all their actions. The malignant party, which was much feared, is borne down. The mouths that were so wide, both of independents and malignants, are sewn up: they have not a word to say. And see how the Lord blesses them. All their enemies in Scotland are routed and brought to nothing. The king refuses to proclaim Montrose and his adherents rebels; but the King of kings hath taken the quarrel into his own hand, and utterly dispersed them. I have not time to write the particulars, only to let you know I am

Your assured friend,

R. BALSOM."

THOMAS EDWARDS, A. M.—This very singular person was born in the year 1599, and educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts, and was incorporated at Oxford. One of his name, and apparently the same person, is said to have been of Queen's college, Cambridge, and one of the preachers to the university. For a sermon which he delivered in St. Andrew's church, he was committed to prison, February 11, 1627, where he remained till he entered into bonds for his appearance before his ecclesiastical judges. Upon his appearance at the time and place appointed, he was charged with having uttered in his sermon the following words:—"When there arise any doubts about the way, that thou knowest not well which way to take, if thou art a servant, thou must not go to thy carnal master, to enquire of him: if thou art a wife, thou must not go to thy carnal husband, to ask him: if thou art a son, thou must not go to thy carnal father: if thou art a pupil, thou must not go to thy carnal tutor to ask him; but thou must find out a

man in whom the *Spirit of God* dwelleth: one who is *renewed by grace*, and he shall direct thee." A little after, he said, "If all this be not true, then this book, clapping his hand upon the Bible, is full of falsehoods, and God himself is a liar, and Christ himself a deceiver." He also added, "If the day of judgment were now at hand; if the seals were opened; if the fire were now about my ears, which should burn those that follow not this doctrine, I would testify and teach this, and no other doctrine."

Mr. Edwards, for delivering these sentiments, was repeatedly convened before his superiors; and, March 31, 1628, he was required to make a public revocation of his opinions in St. Andrew's church, where he had delivered his sermon; and the following instrument was afterwards drawn up, testifying his compliance:—"These are to certify, that whereas Mr. Edwards, A. M. late of Queen's college in Cambridge, was required to explain himself, concerning words spoken by him in a sermon preached in the parish of St. Andrew's in Cambridge, as if he had dehorted from consulting carnal tutors, husbands and masters. To this purpose he did explain himself, in the said church of St. Andrew's, April 6, 1628, being the day appointed, to wit, 'He desired not to be mistaken, as if he had preached against obedience to superiors, or hearkening to their advice and counsel, though carnal and wicked; for such might advise well: as the pharisees sitting in Moses's chair, were to be obeyed in their sayings; and that they ought rather to be dutiful to such than others, that they may win them and stop their mouths, 1 Peter, iii. 1. Only if they advise any thing contrary to the word, as to lie, swear, &c. to remember the speech of the apostle, 'It is better to obey God, rather than men.' In witness whereof, I, Thomas Goodwin, then curate of the said church, being present, have subscribed my name, as also we whose names are underwritten, being also there present. Thomas Goodwin, Tho. Ball, Th. Marshall."*

Though Mr. Edwards is said to have been always a puritan in his heart, he received orders according to the form of the established church; and, on his leaving the university, he was licensed, in the year 1629, to preach at St. Botolph's church, Aldgate, London.† About the same time, he was brought into trouble for nonconformity, and questioned or suspended by Bishop Laud, for refusing to observe his superstitious injunctions.‡ In the year 1640, having delivered

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 192. xvi. 298.

† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 916.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

a sermon in Mercer's chapel, which gave great offence to the ruling prelates, letters missive were issued against him, and he was apprehended by the bishop's pursuivants, and prosecuted in the high commission. It will be proper to give an account of his puritanism and persecution in his own words:—"I never had a canonical coat," says he, "never gave a penny to the building of Paul's, took not the canonical oath, declined subscription for many years before the parliament, (though I practised the old conformity,) would not give *ne obolum quidem* to the contributions against the Scots, but dissuaded other ministers; much less did I yield to bow to the altar, and at the name of Jesus, or administer the Lord's supper at a table turned altarwise, or bring the people up to rails, or read the Book of Sports, or highly flatter the archbishop in an epistle dedicatory to him, or put articles into the high commission court against any, but was myself put into the high commission court, and pursuivants, with letters missive and an attachment, sent out to apprehend me for preaching a sermon at Mercer's chapel, on a fast-day, in July, 1640, against the bishops and their faction; such a free sermon as, I believe, never a sectary in England durst have preached in such a place, and at such a time."* This Mr. Edwards has to say of himself; though it is generally supposed that he never had any stated charge, but officiated as lecturer at various places, particularly at Hertford, and at Christ's-church, London, one of his name in 1643, but whether the same person we cannot ascertain, was vicar of Heinton in Hertfordshire.†

When the parliament declared against King Charles I., he became a zealous advocate for the changes in the civil and ecclesiastical constitution, and supported with all his influence the ruling party. He was a most rigid presbyterian, and, with uncommon zeal, defended and supported that discipline and government. This he declares in the dedication of one of his books, to the lords and commons assembled in parliament, as follows: "All my actions," says he, "from the beginning of your sitting, my sermons, prayers, praises, discourses, actings for you, speak this. I am one who out of choice and judgment have embarked myself, with wife, children, estate, and all that's near to me, in the same ship with you, to sink and perish, or to come safe to land with you, and that in the most doubtful and difficult times, not only early in the first beginning of the war and troubles, in a malig-

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 75, 76. Second Edit.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 723.

“ nant place among courtiers and those who were servants
 “ and had relations to the king, queen, and their children,
 “ pleading your cause, justifying, satisfying many that
 “ scrupled; but when your affairs were at the lowest, and the
 “ chance of war against you, and some of the grandees and
 “ favourites of these times were packing up and ready to be
 “ gone, I was then highest and most zealous for you, preach-
 “ ing, praying, stirring up the people to stand for you, by
 “ going out in person, lending of money, in the latter going
 “ before them by example; and as I have been your honour’s
 “ most devoted servant, so I am still yours, and you cannot
 “ easily lose me.”*

When the independents began to gain some ascendancy, Mr. Edwards became equally furious against them as he had been against the prelacy. He wrote and preached against them with great severity, and opposed the sectaries with great virulence. This appears from several of his publications; but we shall give the account in his own words:—“ Many
 “ years ago,” says he, “ when I was persecuted by some
 “ prelates and their creatures, in no possibility nor capacity by
 “ my principles and practices of preferment, I preached
 “ against, and upon all occasions declared myself against, the
 “ Brownists, separatists, antinomians, and all errors in that
 “ way, as well as against popish innovations and Arminian
 “ tenets. I have preached at London and at Hertford against
 “ those errors. About ten years ago, when independency
 “ and the church way began to be fallen to by men of some
 “ note, and some people took after it, I preached against it
 “ early, and by all ways laboured to preserve the people.”
 He adds, “ I never yet sought any great things for myself,
 “ great livings, or coming into public places of honour and
 “ respect, to be of the assembly, or to preach in any public
 “ places before the magistrates, either at Westminster or
 “ London, but have contented myself with small means, and
 “ to preach in private places in comparison, having refused
 “ many great livings and places, preaching here in London for
 “ a little, and that but badly paid, (as many well know,) mind-
 “ ing the work and service, little the maintenance.”†

Most of Mr. Edwards’s productions are controversial; the language and sentiments of which are bitter and violent in the highest degree. He distinguished himself by all the zeal and bigotry of a fiery zealot. His bitterness and enmity

* Gangræna, part i. p. 2.

† Ibid. part iii. p. 14, 15.

against toleration rose almost to madness ; and had he been possessed of power, he would undoubtedly have proved as furious a persecutor of all nonconformists to presbyterianism, as the prelates had been of those who ventured to dissent from the established episcopal church. Many of his severe and unworthy reflections upon some of the most worthy persons, as collected from his "Gangræna" and "Antapologia," are noticed in the various parts of this work. The pacific Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs says, "I doubt whether there ever was a man, who was looked upon as a man professing godliness, that ever manifested so much boldness and malice against others, whom he acknowledged to be religious persons. That fiery rage, that implacable, irrational violence of his, against godly persons, makes me stand and wonder."*

His indignant temper and language against toleration is without a parallel. It will be proper to give a specimen in his own words, for the gratification of the inquisitive reader. "If ministers," says he, "will witness for truth, and against errors, they must set themselves against toleration, as the principal inlet to all error and heresy; for if toleration be granted, all preaching will not keep them out. If a toleration be granted, the devil will be too hard for us, though we preach ever so much against them. A toleration will undo all. It will bring in scepticism in doctrine, and looseness of life, and afterwards all atheism. O! let ministers, therefore, oppose toleration, as that by which the devil would at once lay a foundation for his kingdom to all generations; witness against it in all places; possess the magistrate with the evil of it; yea, and the people too, shewing them how, if a toleration were granted, they would never have peace any more in their families, or ever have any command of wives, children, servants; but they and their posterity are likely to live in discontent and unquietness of mind all their days. Toleration is destructive to the glory of God and the salvation of souls; therefore, whoever should be for a toleration, ministers ought to be against it. If the parliament, city, yea, and all the people, were for a toleration of all sects, as anabaptists, antinomians, seekers, Brownists, and independents; yet ministers ought to present their reasons against it, preach and cry out of the evil of it, never consent to it; but protest against it, and withstand it by all lawful ways and means

* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 2. Edit. 1646.

within their power, venturing the loss of liberties, estates, lives, and all in that cause, and inflame us with zeal against a toleration, the great *Diana* of the sectaries.*

"A toleration," adds this bigotted and furious zealot, "is the grand design of the devil; his master-piece and chief engine he works by to uphold his tottering kingdom. It is the most compendious, ready, and sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evil. It is a most transcendent, catholic, and fundamental evil, of any that can be imagined. As original sin is the fundamental sin, having in it the seed and spawn of all sin: so a toleration hath in it all errors and all evils. It is against the whole stream and current of scripture both in the Old and New Testament, both in matters of faith and manners, both general and particular commands. It overthrows all relations, political, ecclesiastical, and economical. Other evils, whether errors of judgment or practice, are only against some few places of scripture or relation; but this is against all. This is the *Abaddon*, *Apollion*, the destroyer of all religion, the abomination of desolation and astonishment, the liberty of perdition; therefore the devil follows it night and day, and all the devils in hell, and their instruments, are at work to promote a toleration."†

These extracts, expressed in the author's own language, are justly descriptive of his arbitrary and outrageous temper. But the presbyterian interest beginning soon after to decline, and Oliver Cromwell having overturned the power of the parliament, Mr. Edwards, to escape the expected resentment of the independents, fled to Holland, where he died of a quartan ague, in 1647, aged forty-eight years. By his wife, who was heiress of a considerable fortune, he left one daughter and four sons, the second of whom was Dr. John Edwards, author of *Veritas Redux*, and many other learned works upon theological subjects.‡

His WORKS.—1. Reasons against the Independent Government of particular Congregations, 1641.—2. A Treatise of the Civil Power of Ecclesiasticals, and of Suspension from the Lord's Supper, 1642.—3. Antapologia; or, a full Answer to the 'Apologetical Narration' of Mr. (Thomas) Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sympson, Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Bridge, Members of the Assembly of Divines, 1644.—4. *Gangræna*; or, a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 85, 86. Third edit.

† Ibid. p. 58, 59.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 543. Edit. 1778.

Time, vented and acted in England in these four last years, iii Parts, 1646.—5. The particular Visibility of the Church, 1647.—6. The Casting down of the last and strongest Hold of Satan; or, a Treatise against Toleration, Part first, 1647.

JOHN WHITE, A. M.—This excellent divine was born at Stanton St. John in Oxfordshire, in the year 1576, and educated first at Winchester, then in New College, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. In the year 1606, he left the university, and became rector of Trinity church, Dorchester, where he continued, with little interruption, above forty years. He was a judicious expositor of scripture; and, during his public ministry at Dorchester, he expounded the whole Bible, and went through one half a second time.*

About the year 1624, Mr. White, with some of his friends, projected the new colony of Massachusetts in New England, as an asylum for the persecuted nonconformists; but, for several years, the object met with numerous discouragements. Indeed, the difficulties became so formidable, that the undertaking was about to be relinquished, and those who had settled in the new plantation were on the point of returning home. At this juncture the worthy settlers, who had already outbraved many a storm, and surmounted the greatest difficulties, received letters from Mr. White, assuring them, that if they could endure their painful conflict a little longer, he would procure for them a patent, and all the necessary supplies for the new settlement. They concluded to wait the event; and in all these particulars he made his promise good. Thus, by the blessing of God upon his active and vigorous endeavours, the colonists were enabled to maintain their ground; and they afterwards greatly prospered.† This was the first peopling of Massachusetts Bay in New England.

About the year 1630, Mr. White was brought into trouble by Bishop Laud, and prosecuted in the high commission court, for preaching against Arminianism and the popish ceremonies.‡ Wood is therefore mistaken when he says “that he conformed as well after as before the advancement of Laud.” Though it does not appear how long his troubles continued, or what sentence was inflicted upon him; yet these proceedings against a divine of such distinguished

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 60.

† Mather's *New Eng.* b. i. p. 19.—Prince's *Chron. Hist.* vol. i. p. 144—149.

‡ Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 362.

excellence, and one so universally beloved, were sure to bring the greatest odium upon his persecutors. Mr. White was afterwards a great sufferer from the public confusions of the nation. His excellencies could not screen him from the destructive ravages of the civil wars. Prince Rupert and his forces being in those parts, a party of horse was sent into the town, when the soldiers plundered his house, and carried away his library. But, upon the approach of these calamities, the good man fled from the storm; and, retiring to London, was made minister of the Savoy.*

In the year 1640, Mr. White was appointed one of the learned divines to assist the committee of religion, consisting of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons.† In 1643, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended. He was deservedly admired on account of his great zeal, activity, learning, moderation, and usefulness, during the whole session. Upon the meeting of both houses of parliament, the assembly of divines, and the Scots commissioners, in Margaret's church, Westminster, to take the covenant, he engaged in the public prayer; and, to prepare their minds for so sacred an engagement, as our author observes, he prayed a *full hour*.‡ In 1645, upon the revival of the committee of accommodation, he was chosen one of its members.§ And about the same time he was appointed to succeed Dr. Featley in the sequestered rectory of Lambeth; and, according to our historian, he was appointed to have the care and use of the doctor's library, until the doctor should be able to procure his, which had been carried away by Prince Rupert's soldiers.|| In 1647, Mr. White was offered the wardenship of New College, Oxford, but refused the office.

When the public broils of the nation were concluded, he returned to his flock and his ministry at Dorchester; where he continued in peace the remainder of his days. He died suddenly, July 21, 1648, aged seventy-two years. His remains were interred in the porch of St. Peter's church, Dorchester, but without any monumental inscription.¶ He was a most faithful pastor; and a divine of sound doctrine,

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 61.

† This committee was appointed by the house of lords, and designed to examine all innovations, as well in doctrine as discipline, illegally introduced into the church since the reformation. It was extremely offensive to the intolerant spirit of Archbishop Laud.—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 174, 175.

‡ Whitlocke's *Mem.* p. 70.

§ *Papers of Accommodation*, p. 13.

|| Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 61.

¶ Wood's *Hist. & Antiq.* l. ii. p. 149.

an admirable judgment, and a most powerful genius, being no less eminent for piety, faith, and diligence. Also, he was a person of uncommon gravity, and so universally beloved and respected, that he was usually called the *patriarch of Dorchester*. The puritans at a distance, as well as those about him, according to Wood, "had more respect for him than even for their *diocesan*; yet he was a most moderate puritan."* "He was a constant preacher," says Fuller, "and, by his wisdom and ministerial labours, Dorchester was much enriched with knowledge, piety, and industry."† Mr. John White, the ejected nonconformist, was his son.‡

His WORKS.—1. The Way to the Tree of Life, 1647.—2. A Commentary upon the Three first Chapters of Genesis, 1656.—3. Directions for Reading the Scriptures.—4. Of the Sabbath.—5. Several Sermons.—Most probably he was author of some other articles.

PETER SMART, A. M.—This great sufferer in the cause of nonconformity was born in Warwickshire, in the year 1569, and educated first at Westminster school, then at Broadgate's-hall, Oxford, and afterwards elected student of Christ's Church, in the same university. After taking his degrees he entered into the ministry, when Dr. William James, dean, and afterwards bishop, of Durham, presented him first to the grammar-school at Durham, then made him one of his chaplains; and, in 1609, presented him to the sixth prebend in the cathedral of Durham, and the rectory of Boldovers.§ In the year 1614 he was removed from the sixth to the fourth prebend; but his patron, the bishop, dying in about three years, he received no further advancement.

The first business of a public nature in which Mr. Smart appears to have been engaged, was his appointment to the high commission for the province of York. He was nominated one of the commissioners in the year 1625; and though at their second assembly he qualified according to law, he seldom honoured the court with his attendance, and subscribed only to one sentence. Upon the renewal of the commission in 1627, he again qualified, but seldom attended.||

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 60, 61.

† Fuller's *Worthies*, part ii. p. 340.

‡ Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 145.

§ Granger says he was minister at Bowden, by which is probably intended the same place.—*Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 169.

|| Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 11.—Illustration of Neal in the article of Peter Smart, p. 2, 3.

This was about ten months previous to the commencement of his troubles, occasioned by a sermon which he preached in the cathedral at Durham. In this sermon, delivered July 27, 1628, he spoke with considerable freedom against the superstitions and popish innovations, which Dr. Cosins and others had introduced into that church.* His text was, *I hate all those that love superstitious vanities, but thy law do I love.* For the satisfaction of the reader, we shall insert some of the most exceptionable and offensive parts of this sermon. He said, "The whore of Babylon's bastardly brood, doating upon their mother's beauty, that painted harlot, the church of Rome, has laboured to restore her all her robes and jewels again, especially her looking-glass, the mass, in which she may behold all her bravery. For they, despising all the plain simplicity of that grave matron, Christ's holy spouse, have turned her offices all out of doors, with all her household-stuff, her tables, her books, her cups, her communions, the very names of her ministers: instead whereof, the words *priest* and *altar* are taken up by them; because without a priest no sacrifice can be offered; without priest and sacrifice there is no use of an altar; and without all these there can be no mass. But the mass coming in, brings in with it an inundation of ceremonies, crosses, crucifixes, chalices, images, copes, candlesticks, tapers, basons, and a thousand such trinkets which attend upon the mass.

"Before we had ministers, as the scripture calls them, we had communion tables, we had sacraments; but now we have priests, we have sacrifices and altars, with much altar-furniture, and many massing implements. Nay, what want we? Have we not all religion again? For if religion consists in altar-ducking, cope-wearing, organ-playing, piping, and singing, crossing of cushions, kissing of clouts, oft starting up

* An account of these innovations is still on record. Dr. Cosins removed the communion table in the church of Durham, and erected it altar-wise, expending *two hundred* pounds in beautifying it.—He used there to officiate, turning his back to the people.—He used extraordinary bowing to it.—He compelled others to do the same, using violence on those who refused.—He abolished the singing of Psalms in the church.—He caused *three hundred* wax candles to be set up and lighted in the church, on Candlemas-day at night, in honour of our Lady.—He caused divers images, most gloriously painted, to be erected in the church.—He used these words in his sermon: "The reformers of this church, when they abolished the mass, took away all good order, and, instead of a reformation, made it a deformation."—He caused *two thousand* pounds to be expended in setting up images and other superstitious innovations. He caused the holy knife for cutting the sacramental bread to be consecrated; and he set up a splendid picture of our Saviour, with a golden beard, and a blue cap on his head.—*Rushworth's Collec.* vol. v. p. 208—210.—*Illustration of Neal*, p. 81.

and squatting down, nodding of heads, and whirling about till their noses stand eastward; in candlesticks, crucifixes, burning of wax-candles, and (what is worst of all) gilding of angels, garnishing of images, and setting them up: if, I say, religion consists in these, and such like superstitious vanities, ceremonial fooleries, apish toys, and popish trinkets, we had never more religion than now. They are whores and whore-mongers, they commit spiritual fornication, who bow their bodies before the idol.* These were the most exceptionable passages in Mr. Smart's sermon, even his enemies being judges.

The very day on which he preached this invective and seditious sermon, as it is called, against the *decent* and allowed ceremonies of the church of England, a letter missive was issued to apprehend him, and bring him before the dean and other commissioners. Upon his appearance he delivered up his sermon to be copied, declaring that he would justify every particular therein contained. After he had entered into a bond of one hundred pounds for his future appearance he was dismissed. From the time of his first appearance to January 29th following, he appeared no less than *eight* different times before his ecclesiastical judges. In the mean time, articles were exhibited against him, to which he gave his written answers. At length, however, he was sent to the high commission at Lambeth. Fuller says, that for preaching the above sermon, "Mr. Smart was kept a prisoner four months by the high commission of York, before any articles were exhibited against him, and five months before any proctor was allowed him. From the high commission of York he was carried to the high commission at Lambeth, and, after long trouble, remanded back to York, fined *five hundred* pounds, ordered to recant, and, for neglecting which, he was fined a *second* time, excommunicated, degraded, deprived, and committed to prison, his damage amounting to many *thousand* pounds."† It is inquired by what law Mr. Smart was treated thus, for preaching against setting up images, altars, placing them at the east end of the church, and bowing to them, directly contrary to the Book of Common Prayer, and the homily against idolatry, confirmed by act of parliament?‡ He remained in prison eleven or twelve years, till he was released by the long parliament. The puritans had so much esteem

* Grey's Examination of Neal, vol. i. p. 118, 119.—Illustration of Neal, p. 131.

† Fuller's Church Hist., b. xi. p. 173.—Illustration of Neal, p. 5, 72.

‡ Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 160.

and compassion for him, that during his imprisonment, they raised him £400 a year.* Bishop Laud, it should be observed, was the leading person in all the cruelties inflicted upon Mr. Smart.†

November 12, 1640, the humble petition of Mr. Peter Smart, prisoner in the King's-bench, complaining of the hard usage he had met with, was read in the house of commons, when it was referred to the committee appointed to consider the petition of Dr. Leighton and others. The house further ordered, "That Mr. Smart, in all his particulars, shall have the same liberty as that granted to Dr. Leighton, and shall have copies of the records in the king's-bench and the high commission *gratis*."

On January 12th following, an order passed the house, "That Dr. Easdale, Roger Blanchard, and Phineas Hodson, D. D. shall shew cause to this house why they do not pay the monies adjudged to be paid to Mr. Peter Smart, upon a judgment in the king's-bench, against the said Easdale,

* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 170.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 78, 93, 493.—During Mr. Smart's confinement in prison, he received a letter from Mrs. Smart, dated Witten-Gilbart, April 6, 1632. This letter, which is said to be "larded with cant, and to be a specimen of female casuistical puritanism," was as follows:—

"Most loving and dearly beloved husband,
 "The grace and blessing of God be with you, even as unto mine
 "owne soule and body, so do I dayly in my harty prayer wish unto you
 "and my children; for I doe dayly twise, at the least, in this sort
 "remember you. And I do not doubt, deere husband, but that both you
 "and I, as we be written in the booke of life, so we shall together enjoy
 "the saime everlastingly, throught the saveing grace and mercy of God,
 "our deare Father, in his Soonne our Christ: and for this present life, let
 "us wholly appointe ourselves to the will of our God, to glorifie him,
 "whether by life or by death; and even that mercifull Lord make us
 "worthy to honor him either way, as pleaseth him, Amen. Ye what great
 "cause of rejoysing have we in our most gracious God, we can not but
 "brust fourth into the prasing of such a bountifull God, which maide you
 "worthy to suffer for his name and worde saike: for it is given to you of
 "God, not only that ye should believe in him; but also, that ye should
 "suffer for his saik, 1 Peter, 4, 5. Yf ye suffer rebuke in the name of
 "Christ, that is, in Christ's cause, for his truths sake, then ar ye happy
 "and blessed; for the glory of the spirit of God resteth upon you, and
 "therefore rejoyce in the Lord, and againe I say rejoyce; for the distressed
 "church doth yet suffer dayly thinges for her mortification, and for this
 "cause, is contemned and despised. But alas! if thy servant David, if
 "thine onely Soonne our Saviour Christ livede in shame and contempt, and
 "weere a moking stocke for the people; whie should not we then
 "patiently suffer all things, that we might enter into glory, through many
 "troubles, vexations, shame, and ignominy, &c.—The blessing of God be
 "with all, Amen, pray, pray.—Your loving and faithfull wife untill
 "death,

"SUSANNA SMART."

Illustration of Neal, p. 61—70.

Blanchard, and Hodson, at the suit of the said Peter Smart about ten years since."

On January 22nd, Mr. Rouse presented the report of the committee concerning Mr. Smart to the house of commons, upon which the house resolved:

1. "That the several proceedings of the high commission court of York and Canterbury, against Mr. Smart, and the several fines by them imposed upon him, are illegal and unjust, and ought not to bind.

2. "That the degradation of Mr. Smart, and his deprivation from his prebend, and other ecclesiastical livings, are unjust and illegal; and that he ought to be restored to all of them, together with the mean profits.

3. "That Dr. Cosins and others, the prosecutors of Mr. Smart, ought to make him satisfaction for his damages sustained.

4. "That Dr. Cosins (a chief actor in Mr. Smart's prosecution) is guilty of bringing superstitious innovations into the church, tending to idolatry; and of speaking scandalous and malicious words against his majesty's supremacy and the religion established.

5. "That Dr. Cosins is, in the opinion of this house, unfit and unworthy to be a governor in either of the universities, or to continue any longer head or governor of any college, or to hold and enjoy any ecclesiastical promotions."*

The house then referred it to the committee, to prepare such things as might be thought fit to be transmitted to the house of lords concerning Dr. Cosins; and also to consider of the most proper way of making Mr. Smart reparations for the damages he had sustained. When Mr. Rouse delivered the charge against Dr. Cosins, at the bar of the house of lords, he said, among other things, "That by the arms of the priests Mr. Smart had been oppressed and ruined. He fell upon their superstitions and innovations, and they fell upon him with their arms; they beat him down; yea, they pulled him up by the roots, taking away all the means of his support; yet leaving him life to feel his miseries. There is no cruelty like priestly cruelty; and this cruelty cast him into long continued misery, whence he could obtain no release by any priestly mercy. And now it is prayed, that as these delinquents, by their cruel oppressions of Mr. Smart, have advanced the cause of popery, so they may in a suitable degree be punished; that in them priestly cruelty, and the

* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 41, 136, 152.—Nelson's Collec. vol. i. p. 733, 734.

very cause of popery, may appear to be punished and suppressed; and Mr. Smart, suffering for the cause of protestancy, may be so repaired, that in him pious constancy, and the cause of protestancy, may appear to be righted and repaired.* Mr. Rouse, in a speech before the house of commons, March 16, 1640, denominated Mr. Smart "the protomartyr;" and he was usually called, "the protomartyr in these latter days of persecution."†

Mr. Smart, therefore, received some reparations for damages, but whether adequate to his losses and sufferings, is extremely doubtful. His case was several times before the lords, who passed various orders in favour of his reparations.‡ By an order which they passed in 1642, he was restored to his prebend in Durham, and presented to the vicarage of Acliff in that county.§ In 1644 he was witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial, and was living October 31, 1648, being then seventy-nine years of age.¶ Mr. Smart was a tolerable poet, a pious and judicious minister, a reverend and grave divine, and a zealous enemy to superstition;¶ but his enemies say, that he was of a most forward, fierce, and ungovernable spirit; and that he was justly imprisoned and duly rewarded for his excessive obstinacy.** This, however, is the first time we have heard that *excessive obstinacy* was *duly* rewarded thus. It is said, "he had not preached in the cathedral church at Durham, though a prebendary of it, for seven years, till he preached that seditious sermon for which he was questioned. And while he held and enjoyed his preferment, and his health too, he seldom preached more than once or twice a year." This account comes from one of his prosecutors, being his bitter enemy; and appears extremely suspicious. For if Mr. Smart had been so indolent and inattentive to his ministerial function as here represented, how was it that he gained so high a reputation among his brethren? The puritans, it is well known, invariably abhorred the conduct of idle, worldly shepherds, over the flock of Christ.††

His WORKS.—1. The Vanity and Downfal of Superstition and Popish Ceremonies, in two sermons, in the cathedral church of Durham, preached in July 1628, printed 1628.—2. A brief but true

* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 211.

† Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 119.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 12.

‡ Illustration of Neal, p. 137—142.

§ Nalson's Collec. vol. ii. p. 406.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 202.

¶ Illustration of Neal, p. 161.

¶ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 93.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 12.

** Illustration of Neal, p. 5, 162.

†† Biographia Britan. vol. iv. p. 283. Edit. 1778.

historical Narrative of some notorious Acts and Speeches of Mr. John Cozens, and some other of his Companions, contracted into Articles.—3. Various Poems in Latin and English.—4. Various Letters.

RICHARD BLACKERBY.—This eminently holy and learned divine was born at Worlington in Suffolk, in the year 1574, and educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, where he continued nine years, and made amazing attainments in useful literature. Here he sat under the ministry of the famous Mr. Perkins, by means of whose preaching he was effectually converted to God. For several years he laboured under the most painful awakenings of conscience, approaching almost to melancholy. While he was groaning under these convictions, his father, who was unconscious of the cause of his dejection, called him home, hoping that a change of air might remove his complaint; but his father was not aware of his disease, and the remedy proved ineffectual. Afterwards, he found peace with God, and enjoyed comfort in his own soul, through faith in Jesus Christ, which he never lost to his dying day. Upon his leaving the university, he became domestic chaplain first to Sir Thomas Jermin of Rushbrook in Suffolk, then to Sir Edward Lukenor* of Denham in the same county. Here he continued till he married the daughter of Mr. Timothy Oldman, minister of Denham, whose father was greatly persecuted, and at length forced to abscond, in the days of Queen Mary. Mr. Blackerby, after remaining two years with his father-in-law, was called to preach at Feltwell in Norfolk. In this situation he continued some time, but, on account of his nonconformity, was at last obliged to remove to Ashdon in Essex, where he abode twenty-three years, and was employed in the education of youth. Some of his scholars became men of considerable eminence. Dr. Bernard, whom he recommended to Archbishop Usher, and who afterwards became that learned prelate's chaplain and wrote his life, was one of them. Although Mr. Blackerby, on account of his nonconformity, could not, with a good conscience, accept of any ecclesiastical preferment, or undertake any pastoral charge, within the pale of the national church, yet he constantly preached at one place or another, as he found opportunity. During the last ten years of the

* Sir Edward was member in several parliaments, and a person of considerable eminence. He was a gentleman of great piety, an able patriot, a zealous promoter of a further reformation, and a great friend to the persecuted nonconformists.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 593. (2.)

above period, he preached regularly at Henningham in Essex, or Stoke, or Hundon in Suffolk.*

Mr. Blackerby was a man of a most holy and exemplary character, as will appear from the account given of him by Mr. Clark. "During his long life," says this author, "he never seemed to lose one moment of time in idleness. As a wise man, he spent all his leisure hours in providing for immortality. He rose early, both winter and summer, and spent the whole day in reading, meditation, prayer, and the instruction of others. He was remarkably punctual and conscientious in the observance of family religion. He instructed his pupils daily in true christian piety and useful learning, and walked before them continually in wisdom, love, and true holiness. Young students, upon their leaving the university, put themselves under his tuition, to be further prepared for the public ministry; to whom he taught Hebrew, opened the scriptures, read divinity, and gave excellent instructions relative to learning, doctrine, and future life."

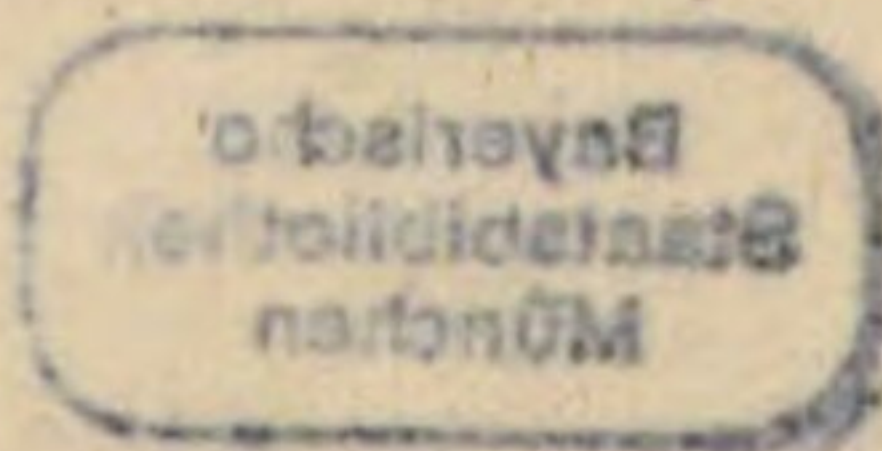
In his public ministry, when he was suspended in one place, he fled to another. By this means, though he lived in hard times, he was seldom kept silent for any considerable period. His method in preaching consisted chiefly in opening the meaning of scripture, and in making appropriate observations, followed with a close application. He studied hard to understand the scriptures, had great skill in the original, and lived much in holy converse with God. His preaching was accompanied with so abundant an out-pouring of the Spirit, that he had reason to believe God made him the spiritual father of above *two thousand* persons. Indeed, the word of God falling from his lips, soon became the savour of life unto life to those who heard it, or they became enraged against it. And though persons of seared consciences sometimes became violently outrageous against his preaching, the signal judgments of God commonly found them out. At Hundon he met with considerable opposition from many of the principal persons in the place, who united together and procured his suspension, but who were afterwards blasted in their estates, some brought to beggary, and all, excepting one, died miserable deaths. The sabbath after his suspension, one of them boasting in the churchyard, that now they had got Blackerby out of the pulpit; a woman standing by, and hearing him, replied, "Blackerby will preach in Hundon pulpit, when you are crying in hell."

* Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 57, 58.

And the very sabbath after this man was buried, Mr. Blackerby obtained his liberty, and preached on that day in Hundon pulpit.

Mr. Blackerby was eminently distinguished for personal religion and true holiness. To promote this, was indeed his chief business. Though he was not without his infirmities; yet, to all impartial judges, he was free from the allowance of any iniquity. His whole deportment was as if God, his holy law, and the day of judgment, were constantly before his eyes. He was always deeply impressed with the majesty and holiness of God, and maintained a constant watchfulness over his heart and life. He practised mortification and self-denial, and was justly reputed "one of the holiest men living." Nevertheless, he was deeply humbled under a sense of his manifold infirmities and imperfections. This he often discovered to a grand-child of his, whom he used to address as follows: "Oh, thou little thinkest what a vile heart I have, and how I am plagued with proud thoughts. Child, if thou hast any acquaintance with God, pray for me, that God would purify this filthy heart. Oh! if God did not enable me, in some measure, to keep a watch over it, I should act to the shame of my face." While he brought these bitter accusations against himself, he exercised the greatest candour towards others, even those who differed from him in matters of subscription and church discipline. He used to observe, with the famous Mr. Perkins, "That when a man is once acquainted with his own heart, he will be apt to think every one better than himself: and an appearance of the love of God in any, will make him put the best construction on all their words and actions." Yet no hope of preferment, nor any painful suffering, would prevail upon him to act contrary to the convictions of his own mind. Though he could not, with a safe conscience, conform to the church of England, with the view of obtaining a living, or to secure himself from the iron hand of persecution; yet, in those things wherein it appeared to be his duty to conform, no man was more exact than himself. Like many other nonconformists, he had no objection to the use of some parts of the Book of Common Prayer.

He was a wise, affectionate, and faithful friend, and never suffered sin to pass unreprieved. In the discharge of this most difficult duty, he manifested so much love, seriousness, and sweetness of spirit, that while he touched the consciences of those whom he reproved, they still loved him. "His reproofs," as one observes, "were dipt in oil, driven into the



heart, and received with all acceptance, because of the overcoming kindness with which they were attended." When he was in company with persons of wealth, and heard them swear, or use profane language, he would withdraw from their company with a sad countenance; and would address them in private, with so much affection and seriousness, that they would frequently thank him. On one of these occasions, a gentleman said to him, "Had you reproved me at table I would have stabbed you, but now I thank you."

He was a strict and zealous observer of the sabbath. As preparatory to the holy observance of this day, he constantly preached in his own house on the Saturday afternoon. He rose earlier on the sabbath than on other days; and prayed six times with his family every sabbath, besides expounding the scriptures. He was particularly zealous in recommending to others the holy observance of this day. Being once invited to preach at Linton in Cambridgeshire, where a fair was annually kept on the Lord's day, he so convinced the inhabitants of the sinfulness of the practice, that, it is said, they would hold the fair no more on that day. He was of a most tender and contrite spirit; and enjoyed so much the presence and blessing of God in holy duties, that he often said at the conclusion, he would not for many worlds have missed the opportunity. This holy man was crucified to the world, and the world was crucified to him. He lived above the world, having his affections set on better things. His passionate fondness for the things of this world was so far subdued, that, though he had a most tender affection for his relations and friends, the loss of them did not discompose his mind, nor interrupt his communion with God. When his eldest daughter, whom he dearly loved, was taken away by death, he preached her funeral sermon with the utmost composure, and said, he believed she feared God from three years old. He preached as a man who had not lost his God, though he had lost his dearest child. The love of the creature could never draw his heart from the Creator. He enjoyed the abundant manifestations of God's love. His holy and heavenly deportment was accompanied with a settled peace of conscience, and a full assurance of eternal life. He often declared before his death, that for more than forty years he never had a single doubt of his salvation.

When the persecuting prelates were laid aside, and Mr. Blackerby could take the pastoral charge without subscription and observing the ceremonies, he was chosen pastor of Great Thurlow in Suffolk, where he continued the rest of his

days. With great zeal and faithfulness, he laboured to promote the glory of God and the good of souls to the very last. He was taken ill in the pulpit, was carried home, and continued in a weak state about six weeks, but kept his bed only two days. He died in the year 1648, aged seventy-four years. Mr. Blackerby was "an excellent linguist, and accounted the best Hebrean in Cambridge."* Granger says, "he was perfectly skilled in the learned languages."† At his death, he expressed his strong hopes, that in the day of judgment there would be many hundreds of his posterity standing at the right hand of Christ. And it is said, that those who knew his children believed they were all heirs of eternal life: there were favourable hopes of all his grandchildren, many of whom were eminent persons; and many of his great grandchildren were truly pious christians.‡ The excellent Mr. Samuel Fairclough, who was ejected in 1662, married one of his daughters.§ It is said, that on account of the heavenly majesty and holiness which always attended Mr. Blackerby, the excellent Mr. Daniel Rogers of Wethersfield used to say, he could never come into his presence without trembling.||

THOMAS TEMPLE, D. D.—This learned divine was brother to Sir John Temple, master of the rolls, and one of his majesty's privy council in Ireland. He was fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, and afterwards resided for some time in Lincoln college, Oxford. He was beneficed first at Winwick in Northamptonshire, then at Battersea in Surrey. At this last place he was labouring in the year 1639, having Mr. Samuel Wells for his assistant.¶ Upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament; and, in 1643, was appointed one of the licensers of the press, and nominated one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended during the session. He was one of the committee for the examination and ordination of ministers.** In 1645, he was chosen one of the committee of accommodation.†† In each of these public offices he discovered great learning and moderation. In the year 1648, he united with

* Clark's Lives, p. 58—66.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 196.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 272.

|| Clark's Lives, p. 65.

¶ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 497, 540.

** Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 46, 52, 89.

†† Papers of Accommodation, p. 13.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 64.

the rest of the London ministers in their protestation against the king's death.* Wood denominates him "a forward preacher."† He frequently preached before the parliament, and several of his sermons were afterwards published, one of which is entitled, "Christ's Government in and over his People, delivered before the honourable House of Commons at their Fast, October 26, 1642, on Psalm ii. 6.," 1642. But when he died we have not been able to learn.

JOHN WILKINSON, D. D.—This venerable divine was born in the parish of Halifax in Yorkshire, and educated in the university of Oxford, where he was highly celebrated for learning.‡ He became fellow of Magdalen college, was tutor to Prince Henry, and afterwards made principal of Magdalen-hall, in the same university. By his recommendation, the well-known Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, was taken into the family of Lord Hardwicke, soon after created Earl of Devonshire, in the quality of tutor to his son William Lord Cavendish.§ Upon the commencement of the civil wars, he espoused the cause of the parliament; and Oxford being garrisoned by the royal forces, he fled to the parliament's quarters, when he was succeeded in the above office by Dr. Thomas Read. But in the year 1646, Dr. Wilkinson was restored; and by an ordinance of parliament, dated May 1, 1647, he was appointed one of the visitors of the university of Oxford. In May, 1648, he was made president of Magdalen college, in the place of Dr. Oliver.|| He did not, however, live long to occupy this public office; for he died January 2, 1649, and his remains were interred in the church of Great Milton in Oxfordshire. Though he was a man of great learning and piety,¶ Dr. Walker is pleased to say, upon the slender authority of a scurrilous and abusive letter written against the puritans, "That he was known not to have preached above once in forty years; that he had outlived the little learning he once possessed; and was become the very sport of boys."** How far this account, from so base an authority, and evidently designed to reproach his memory, is worthy of credit, we will not attempt to determine;

* Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 743.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 895.

‡ Watson's Hist. of Halifax, p. 526.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2599. Edit. 1747.

|| Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 126, 134.

¶ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 431.

** Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 127.

but certain it is, that the parliament, to whom he was well known, and by whom he was so highly esteemed, formed a very different opinion of him.

Fuller observes, "that Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, the famous old puritan, having bequeathed to Magdalen college a considerable sum of gold left in a chest, and not to be opened except in some case of great emergency; Dr. Wilkinson, while he was president, took this gold, and shared it betwixt himself and the fellows of the college. Though one must charitably believe," he adds, "that the matter was not so bad as is reported, yet the most favourable account gave a general distaste."* Dr. Heylin says, "the sum amounted to upwards of twelve hundred double pistoles, value sixteen shillings and six-pence each; and that the old doctor had one hundred for his share of the spoil, and the fellows thirty each." But he observes, that, according to tradition, the money was left by the founder of the college, and not by Dr. Humphrey.† Wood says, "the sum amounted to no less than fourteen hundred pounds; and Dr. Henry Wilkinson, the vice-president of the college, not John Wilkinson, was the chief divider of the spoil.‡

JOHN GEREE, A. M.—He was born in Yorkshire, in the year 1600, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. His first ministerial labours were at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire. But, says Wood, he was schismatically inclined, and a nonconformist to certain ceremonies of the church of England, for which he was silenced by Bishop Goodman; yet he was so universally beloved, that, after he had received his lordship's censure, he was supported by his brethren. Under this censure he remained a considerable time; but in the year 1641, he was restored to his cure by the committee of religion. In 1645, he became minister of St. Alban's in Hertfordshire; and, having laboured there about four years, was made preacher at St. Faith's under St. Paul's, London. He was a thorough puritan, and at all these places was much followed by those of his own persuasion.§ He wrote with considerable ability against the baptists, was opposed to the war betwixt the king and parliament, and against taking away the life of the king. He died in the month of February, 1649, aged forty-nine years. His death,

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 234.

† Heylin's Examen. Histor. p. 268.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 748.

§ Ibid. p. 64.

it is said, was occasioned by his extreme grief for the death of King Charles.* Mr. Baxter denominates him “an eminent nonconformist divine.”† He died poor; but was so exceedingly beloved by his people, that they settled thirty pounds a year upon his widow for life, and behaved very honourably to his children.‡ Mr. Stephen Gere, another puritan divine, was his elder brother. Mr. Arthur Jackson, one of the ejected nonconformists in 1662, was his successor.§

HIS WORKS.—1. Several Sermons, 1641, &c.—2. *Vindiciæ voti*; or, a Vindication of the true Sense of the National Covenant, in Answer to the ‘Protestant Protested,’ 1641.—3. *Vindiciæ Eccl. Anglicanæ*; or, Ten Cases resolved, 1644.—4. Proofs that the King may without Impeachment of his Oath, touching the Clergy, at his Coronation, consent to the Abrogation of Episcopacy, 1646.—5. *Astrologo-Mastix*; or, the Vanity of Judicial Astrology, 1646.—6. *Vindiciæ Pædo-Baptismi*; or, a Vindication of Infant Baptism, 1646.—7. Character of an old English Puritan Nonconformist, 1646.—8. *Vindiciæ Vindiciarum*; or, a Vindication of his Vindication of Infant Baptism, 1647.—9. A Catechism, 1647.—10. Touching Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical, 1647.—11. An Exercise, 1648.—12. The Sifter’s Sieve Broken, 1648.—13. Answer to John Goodwin’s ‘*Might and Right well met*,’ 1649.

THOMAS SHEPARD, A. M.—This most pious divine was born at Towcester in Northamptonshire, November 5, 1605, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. Here he was brought under deep conviction of sin, and led to receive Jesus Christ for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. This work was wrought chiefly by the instrumentality of the celebrated Dr. Preston. Upon Mr. Shepard’s removal from the university, he became lecturer at Earls Colne in Essex, where God greatly blessed his labours, and many souls were converted by his ministry. His labours and his usefulness, however, were of no long continuance; for in about three years he fell into the hands of Bishop Laud, who silenced him for nonconformity, and forced him out of the country. He then retired into the north, and became domestic chaplain to Sir Richard Darly, of Buttercomb in Yorkshire, where his labours were eminently useful to Sir Richard and his family. But Archbishop Neile would not suffer him to preach, without subscription to the ecclesiastical impositions,

* Wood’s *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 65.

† Sylvester’s *Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 34.

‡ Jackson’s *Annotations, Dedic.* Edit. 1658.

§ Palmer’s *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 120.

contrary to his conscience.* He next removed to Heddon in Northumberland, where, as in other places, his labours were made a blessing to many souls. But even in this remote corner of the land, the eye of Laud was upon him, and this tyrannical prelate would not suffer him to preach without a perfect conformity to the ecclesiastical injunctions and the new ceremonies. Thus, being shut out from all prospect of future usefulness, he resolved to withdraw from the storm, and retire to New England. Previous to his departure, he very narrowly escaped being taken by the bishop's officers. And, towards the close of the year 1634, having taken shipping at Harwich, the ship had not been many hours at sea before a most tremendous storm arose, in which they were in the utmost danger of being lost. An eminent, but profane officer on the shore, observing their distress, was heard to say, "As for that poor collier, I pity him much: but as for the puritans in the other vessel, bound for New England, I am not concerned; for their faith will save them." The ship at last returned safe into the harbour. The next day Mr. Shepard went ashore to bury his first-born son; but, on account of the watchful pursuivants, who were still anxious to take him, he dare not be present at the funeral.†

In the month of July, 1635, Mr. Shepard, after having again narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the bishop's officers, sailed from Gravesend in company with Mr. Wilson, Mr. Jones, and others, and arrived at Boston in New England, in the beginning of October following. Previous to his arrival, Mr. Hooker and his congregation having removed from Cambridge to the banks of the river Connecticut, Mr. Shepard was chosen pastor of the church at Cambridge, and there continued to the day of his death. When the antinomian and familistic errors broke out in the new colony, this worthy divine, by his endeavours and influence, was the happy means of stopping the progress of the infectious malady. He was an excellent preacher, and took great pains in his preparations for the pulpit. He used to say, "God will curse that man's

* It is observed of Dr. Neile, that, when he was Bishop of Lincoln, and "when any man preached before King James that had renown of piety, he, unwilling the king should hear him, would in the sermon-time entertain the king with a merry tale, after which he would laugh, and tell those near him, he could not hear the preacher for the old bishop." It is added: "When he was Archbishop of York, his head was so filled with Arminian impiety, that in the next king's reign he was looked upon by the parliament to be one of the great grievances of the kingdom."—*Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part ii. p. 146, 147.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 84—87.

labours who goes idly up and down all the week, and then goes into his study on a Saturday afternoon. God knows that we have not too much time to pray in, and weep in, and get our hearts into a fit frame for the duties of the sabbath."

Mr. Shepard's great care and attention to the duties of the pastoral office will appear from the following extracts collected from his diary:—"August 15, 1641, I saw four evils," says he, "attending my ministry.—1. The devil treads me down by shame, discouragement, and an apprehension of the unsavoury spirits of the people.—2. I am become too careless, because I have done well, and have been enlarged and respected.—3. Weakness and infirmities: as the want of light, life, and spirit.—4. The want of success.—I saw these things, and have cause to be humbled for them. I have this day found my heart heavy, depressed, and untoward, by musing upon the many evils to come. But I was comforted by recollecting, that though in myself I am a dying, condemned sinner, I am alive and reconciled by Christ; that I am unable to do any thing of myself, yet by Christ I can do all things; and that though I enjoy all these only in part in this world, I shall shortly have them in perfection in heaven.

"March 19, 1642; I said, as pride was my sin, so shame would be my punishment. I had many fears of Eli's punishment, for not sharply reproofing sin. Here I considered that the Lord may make one good man a terror, and a dreadful example, that all the godly may fear, and not slight his commands as Eli did.

"October 10th. When I saw gifts and honours conferred upon others, I began to affect their excellencies. The Lord therefore humbled me, by letting me see, that all this was diabolical pride. And he made me thankful for seeing it, putting me in mind to watch against it in future."

His very humble and contrite spirit will appear from the following extracts, written on days of special fasting and prayer:—"November 3rd. I saw sin to be my greatest evil; and that I am vile; but God is good, against whom I have sinned. I saw what cause I had to loathe myself. It was a good day to me. I went to God, and trusted in him. I considered whether all the country did not fare the worse for my sins. I saw it did, and was deeply humbled.

"April 4th. May not I be the cause of the church's present sorrows? My heart hath been long at a distance from the Lord. The Lord first sent a terrible storm at sea; and my deliverance, in being snatched from apparent death, was

so sweet, that I hoped my future life would be wholly devoted to God. I then set my face towards New England, where I resolved to be the Lord's in all manner of holiness. Afterwards the Lord took my dear wife from me. This made me resolve to delight no more in creatures, but in the Lord alone. When God threatened my child with blindness, his affliction was sweet to me, but much more his commands and promises. Then I could do his will and leave all things to him. But how is my gold become dim! I have no cause to blame the Lord who has persuaded me; but the Lord pardon my sin. To serve Satan without promise, and forsake the Lord against his promise, is grievous indeed! With respect to my people, I have not pitied them, nor prayed for them, nor visited them, nor loved them, so much as I ought to have done. The gospel which I have preached has not been seen in its glory, nor been believed, nor proved effectual. Because I have greatly neglected to seek to Christ for supplies, all hath been dead work, and the fruit of pride. I have now had a long sickness, as if the Lord would use me no more. Oh! my God, who is like unto thee, pardoning and subduing mine iniquities!"* These are some of the severe censures which this eminently holy man pronounced against himself.

Mr. Shepard, when on his death-bed, was visited by many of his friends and brethren in the ministry. Several young ministers having called to see him, he addressed them as follows: "Your work," said he, "is great, and requires great seriousness. For my own part, I never preached a sermon which, in the composing, did not cost me *prayers*, with *strong cries* and *tears*. I never preached a sermon from which I had not first got some good to my own soul. I never went up into the pulpit but as if I were going to give an account of myself to God."† Before his departure, addressing his friends, he said, "Oh! love the Lord Jesus very dearly. That little part which I have in him is no small comfort to me now." He died of a quinsey, August 25, 1649, aged forty-three years. He was a person of great learning, a hard student, an admirable preacher, and an excellent writer. His work on the "Parable of the Ten Virgins," observes Dr. Williams, is a rich fund of experimental and practical divinity: the dress is plain, but the strain of thought is extremely animated and searching;‡ Fuller has honoured him with a place among the learned

* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 91—93.

† Ibid. p. 298.

‡ Christian Preacher, p. 435.

writers who were fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.* The two Mr. Thomas Shepards, successively pastors of the church at Charlestown in New England, were his son and grandson.†

His WORKS.—1. The Doctrine of the Sabbath, 1649.—2. Certain Select Cases Resolved, 1650.—3. Subjection to Christ in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the best means to preserve our Liberty, 1652.—4. The Sincere Convert, 1652.—5. A Treatise of Liturgies, 1653.—6. The Parable of the Ten Virgins, 1660.—7. The Sound Believer, 1671.—8. The Churchmembership of Children, and their right to Baptism.—9. New England's Lamentations for Old England's Errors.—10. A Treatise of Hearing the Word.—11. Wine for Gospel Wantons; or, Cautions against Spiritual Drunkenness.

SAMUEL CROOK, B. D.—This excellent divine was born at Great Waldingfield in Essex, January 17, 1574; educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; and afterwards chosen fellow of Emanuel college. His father was the learned and laborious Dr. Crook, preacher to the honourable society of Gray's-inn, and descended from an ancient family. He was highly esteemed in the university, for his pregnant parts, great industry, and answerable proficiency in all the branches of useful and polite literature. He was chosen reader of rhetoric and philosophy in the public schools, which offices he filled with great applause. While at Cambridge he was a constant hearer and a great admirer of the excellent Mr. Perkins. He preached first for a short time at Caxton, near Cambridge; then, in the year 1602, accepted an invitation to the pastoral charge at Wrington in Somersetshire, receiving his presentation to the living from Sir Arthur Capel. In gratitude for the advantages which he had enjoyed at the university, he gave to the library of Pembroke-hall, Basil's Works, Greek and Latin; to Emanuel college, all the Councils, Greek and Latin; and to the university library, the Works of Gregory Nazianzens and Gregory Nissens.

Mr. Crook, upon his settlement at Wrington, took indefatigable pains in his ministry, and his usefulness surpassed all expectation. He constantly preached three times a week, and sometimes oftener, to the end of his days. As he preached so he lived. His life was one continued comment upon his doctrine. He was much admired and esteemed by his people, and their affectionate attachment continued to increase to the last. As, during his preparations for the

* Hist. of Cambridge, p. 147.

† Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 88.

ministry, he had laid in richly, so now he laid out liberally. His sermons were grave, judicious, and appropriate; and his applications, by a sweet eloquence, fervent zeal, and love to souls, were addressed to the hearts of his hearers. He did not serve God with that which cost him nothing, but laboured much in his preparations for the pulpit. His constant motto was, "I am willing to spend and be spent." In time of sickness, the physician observing that he might live longer if he would preach less, he said, "Alas! if I may not labour I cannot live. What good will life do me, if I be hindered from the end of living?" When labouring under the infirmities of old age, he would not desist from his beloved work, but often preached when with the utmost difficulty he could scarcely walk to the house of God; and even then his sermons were delivered with his usual vivacity.* He fed his flock, not with airy notions and vain speculations, but with the substantial provision of the gospel. He provided milk for babes, and strong meat for men. Notwithstanding his excellent endowments, and the high admiration in which he was held by all who knew him, he was not lifted up with pride, but walked in all humility before God and men. He is said to have been the first who brought extemporary prayer into use in that part of the country, in which exercise he greatly excelled.

He laboured in the ministry, with very little interruption, above forty-seven years. During this period he was the means of bringing many wandering sinners to Christ. Once, indeed, the bishop put a stop to his Tuesday lecture; but it is said, "God was pleased so to order it, that the lecture was soon revived, and the bishop who interrupted it was cast out of his office."† During a life of nearly seventy-five years, he witnessed many changes in the church of Christ. Nor was he without his sufferings in the civil wars. Rude soldiers tyrannized over him in his own house, not permitting him to be quiet in his study. There they followed him with drawn swords, vowing his instant death, for not joining them in their bloody cause. The Lord, however, was pleased to deliver him from the rage of his enemies.

Mr. Crook, during his last sickness, often protested that the doctrine he had taught was the truth of God, as he should answer at the tribunal of Christ, to which he was hastening. He received the sentence of his approaching death with cheerfulness; and seeing he had no prospect of

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 202—206.

† Ibid. p. 206—208.

labouring any more, he desired his friends not to pray for the continuance of his life, but "for faith, for patience, for repentance, and for joy in the Holy Ghost. Lord," said he, "cast me down as low as hell in repentance, and lift me up to heaven by faith and confidence in thy salvation." He was full of grace, full of peace, full of assurance. The Tuesday before he died, he said, "This day sevensnight is the day on which we used to remember Christ's nativity, and on this day I have preached Christ. I shall scarcely live to see it. But for me that child was born, and unto me that son was given." He died December 25, 1649, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Mr. Clark says, "he was a person of a quick invention, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and great learning and piety. He was grave without austerity, pleasant without levity, courteous without hypocrisy, and charitable almost without an equal."* Fuller has placed him on the list of learned writers, being fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.†

HIS WORKS.—1. Three Sermons, 1615.—2. Death Subdued, 1619.—3. The Guide to True Blessedness, 1650.—4. Divine Characters, 1658.

FRANCIS WOODCOCK, A. B.—This pious divine was born in the city of Chester, in the year 1614, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford, where he took one degree in arts. He entered into holy orders while at the university, and was episcopally ordained, soon after which he removed from that seat of learning, and had a cure of souls bestowed upon him. Wood says, "he was always puritanically affected;" therefore, upon the commencement of the differences between the king and parliament, he espoused the cause of the latter, and was afterwards chosen one of the assembly of divines, when he assiduously attended during the whole session. Being brought up to London, he was chosen lecturer of St. Lawrence Jewry, and frequently preached at St. Olave's in Southwark, to which he was afterwards appointed minister by an ordinance of parliament, dated July 10, 1646.‡ He took the covenant with the rest of his brethren, and was chosen proctor to the university of Cambridge.§ He died in the year 1649, aged thirty-five

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 205—214.

† Hist. of Cambridge, p. 147.

‡ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 220.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 54.

years, and his remains were interred in St. Olave's church.* He was esteemed a good scholar and an excellent preacher.

HIS WORKS.—1. *The Two Witnesses*, in several Lectures at St. Lawrence Jewry, on Rev. xi., with the great Question discussed, *Whether the two Witnesses were slain or no?* 1643.—This work was made public by an order from the committee of the house of commons, dated April 27, 1643.—2. *Christ's Warning-piece*, giving Notice to every one to watch and keep their Garments, delivered in a Sermon at Margaret's, Westminster, before the House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, October 30, 1644—1644.—3. *Lex Talionis; or, God paying every Man in his own Coin*, a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, July 30, 1645, on 1 Sam. ii. 30., 1645.—4. *Joseph Paralleled by the present Parliament*, in his Sufferings and Advancement, a Sermon preached before the House of Commons on their solemn Day of Thanksgiving, Feb. 19, 1645, on Gen. xlix. 23, 24., 1646.

EDWARD SYMMONDS, A. M.—This pious man was born at Cottered in Hertfordshire, and educated at Peter-house, Cambridge. Upon his leaving the university, he entered into the ministerial office, and appears to have preached at Fowey in Cornwall. In the year 1630 he became rector of Little Rayne in Essex, where he continued till the commencement of the civil wars. He omitted the use of the cross in baptism and wearing the surplice, for which he was brought before a justice of peace; but whether the prosecution was dropped, or he was punished for this two-fold marvellous crime, we are not able to learn. “His omission of the cross and surplice, and his friendship with Stephen Marshall, plainly intimate,” says Dr. Walker, “that he was something inclinable to the puritans;”† and we venture to add, that the former alone sufficiently proves that he was a puritan and a nonconformist. He was nevertheless brought into many troubles during the civil wars, by the committee of scandalous ministers. Appearing before the committee, he was sequestered for preaching and publishing, “That the king, being the supreme magistrate, hath immediate dependence upon God, to whom only he is accountable—that the title of the Lord's anointed is proper and peculiar to the king: that royal birth is equivalent to royal unction: that authority is a sacred thing, and essential to the king's person: that resistance is against the way of God, destructive to the whole law of God, inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, the perpetual practice of christianity, the calling of ministers, common prudence, the rule of

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 82, 83.—Walker's *Attempt*, part ii. p. 6.

† Walker's *Attempt*, part ii. p. 361.

humanity, nature itself, reason, the oath of allegiance, and even the late protestation." These charges, which Mr. Symmonds acknowledged, are expressed in his own words. He was further charged with having defamed the parliament, affirming, "That the parliament would force the king to comply with their laws: that they raised a force against the king; and that they are not to be obeyed, though they command according to the will of God, if it be not according to the command of the king: and pressing his auditors to believe whatsoever is set forth in the king's declarations; *because a divine sentence is in his mouth, and he CANNOT ERR*: and that if David's heart smote him for cutting off Saul's garment, what would it have done if he had kept him from his castles, towns, and ships?" For these things, the lords and commons in parliament assembled gave an order, dated March 3, 1642, that his living should be sequestered into the hands of Mr. Robert Atkins, A. M. who was appointed to preach every Lord's day till further order.*

Mr. Symmonds, besides his sequestration, endured many other hardships. His accusers, if sufficient credit be due to Dr. Walker, were persons of very inferior character. His family experienced some unkind usage; and he was forced to flee for safety into various parts of the kingdom, and at length into France. The doctor, however, is certainly very incorrect in asserting, "that Mr. Symmonds brought all these miseries upon himself, because he could not go hand in hand with them in rebellion." Many of the royal clergy, who intermeddled not with state affairs, but remained neuter, continued in the peaceable possession of their livings. He died in the year 1649, and his remains were interred in St. Peter's church, Paul's-wharf, London. "He was a person of great piety, courage, wisdom, and learning; an excellent and a profitable preacher;"† and though he suffered much during the wars, through his zeal for the royal cause, he was so strict in his life, and so plain, piercing, and profitable in preaching, that he was looked upon as a puritan.‡ He published "A loyal Subject's Belief," 1643; and "A Vindication of King Charles."

* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 67, 68.

† Ibid. part ii. p. 358—361.—Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 29.

‡ Lloyd's Memoires, p. 614, 687.

ANDREW WYKE was a zealous minister of the baptist persuasion, and apprehended in the county of Suffolk, for preaching and dipping. When he was brought before the committee of the county, to be examined about his authority to preach and the doctrines he delivered, he refused to give any account of either. He alleged, that a freeman of England was not bound to answer any such interrogatories, either to accuse himself or others; but he signified, that if they had any thing against him, they ought to bring forward their charge, and produce their evidence. This was, indeed, considered as great obstinacy, and as high contempt of their authority; therefore he was immediately sent to jail.*

It does not appear how long he remained in prison; but during his confinement a pamphlet was published either by himself or some of his friends, entitled, "The Innocent in Prison Complaining; or, a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Committee of Ipswich and the Committee of Bury St. Edmunds in the county of Suffolk, against Andrew Wyke, a witness of Jesus in the same county, who was committed to prison, June 3, 1646."† This work gives a circumstantial account of his adversaries' proceedings against him, and exclaims bitterly against the committee for its persecuting principles and illegal conduct. Withholding from others the blessing of christian liberty, came with an ill grace from those persons, who, only a few years before, while they groaned under the iron rod of the tyrannical prelates, had earnestly pleaded for the same blessing.

March 16, 1650, Mr. Wyke, together with several others, was committed to prison at Coventry, to be tried for his crimes. He is represented as having kissed a soldier three times, and said, "I breathe the Spirit of God into thee." During his confinement, he preached every Lord's day at the gate of the prison, when multitudes of people stood in the street to hear him. But how long his tribulations continued, or when he died, we are not able learn.‡

HENRY TOZER, B. D.—This learned person was born at North-Tawton in Devonshire, in the year 1602, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford, where he took his degrees, and was afterwards chosen sub-rector and fellow of the house. Having entered into the ministerial office, it is said, that he

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 169, 170.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 235.

‡ Whitlocke's *Mem.* p. 430, 432.

was useful in moderating, reading to novices, and lecturing in the chapel. He was an able and a laborious preacher, had much of the primitive religion in his sermons, and seemed to be a most precise puritan in his looks and life, on which account his sermons and expositions in the churches of St. Giles and St. Martin in Oxford, were much frequented by the puritanical party. In the year 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, but declined his attendance, "choosing," says Wood, "to remain at Oxford, and preach before the king or parliament, rather than venture himself among rigid Calvinists." He was a noted theologian, and having preached at Christ's Church before his majesty, or at St. Mary's before the parliament, he was appointed by the chancellor of the university, in 1646, to take his doctor's degree; but this in like manner he refused.*

Mr. Tozer was a divine of puritan principles; yet, on account of his unshaken loyalty and the use of the Common Prayer, after it was set aside, he experienced some trouble from the opposite party, of which the following account is given by the pen of Dr. Walker:—"Dr. Hakewell having retired from the college, the government," says he, "of course devolved upon Mr. Tozer as sub-rector; nor did he betray or disgrace his post, but shewed himself a stout champion against the illegal visitation, boldly and resolutely opposed it, maintained in the highest degree the rights of the college, and made a noble stand in defence of his own freehold, and that of the other fellows, when that *mock-reformation* was set on foot, after the surrender of the garrison to the parliament." March 21, 1647, I find him upon a citation before the visitors at Merton college, having been accused to them of "continuing the Common Prayer in the college, after the ordinance for the directory came in force: Also of having sent for and admonished one of the house, for refusing to attend the chapel-prayers on that account." He had also constantly shewed "the utmost dislike to those of the parliament faction, and always countenanced and patronized the loyalists of his college. Although the visitors had thought fit to put off the term; yet, as Dr. Fell, the vice-chancellor, had proceeded to open it at the usual time in the university, without any regard to that order, so did Mr. Tozer also in his private college. "These informations," says our author, "the visitors had

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 71, 72.

gotten from the spies and setters of the house; for which they were afterwards rewarded with the fellowships of those who by that means were ejected. A most excellent encouragement to informers! And let me add," says he, "that in direct contradiction to the very letter of the statutes, they ordered one of them to receive the rents of the college, and soon after made him sub-rector, though he was at that time, or only a few months before, no more than bachelor of arts."

To the above criminations Mr. Tozer desired time to put in his answer, which was granted him. When he returned his answer, he disowned their authority, saying, "That the things about which he was questioned, concerned the discipline of the college; and that he had some time before answered in the name of the whole college, that they could not, without perjury, submit to any other visitors than those to whom their statutes directed them." This answer being unsatisfactory to the visitors, they ordered him to be ejected, and committed the execution of the sentence to the soldiers of the garrison. However, Mr. Tozer still kept possession of his college for some time; and, June 29, 1648, the visitors sent for him again, and in direct opposition to the statutes of the house, peremptorily forbade him to proceed to an election the day following; and to effectually prevent him, they expelled him both from the college and the university. He refused after all to deliver up the keys of the college and to be perjured, when they proceeded to apprehend and imprison him. There is one circumstance more concerning his sufferings which, says our author, must not be omitted, viz. "That the second of the same month, he was dragged out of St. Martin's church by the soldiers, and forbidden to officiate there any more; because, forsooth! he preached pestilential doctrine." The visitors, however, afterwards moderated their sentence; allowed him the use of his chamber in the college; and appointed him the profits of a travelling fellowship, to be allowed him for three years: "but," our author adds, "whether it was ever paid him, or not, I cannot say."* Upon the appointment of this allowance, he went to Holland, and became minister to the English merchants at Rotterdam, where he died September 11, 1650, aged forty-eight years, and his remains were interred in the English church at that place. Dr. Thomas Marshall, who

* Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 115.

succeeded him in the preacher's office, says, "he was always taken for an honest and a conscientious puritan."*

HIS WORKS.—1. Directions for a Godly Life, especially for communicating at the Lord's Table, 1628.—2. A Christian Amendment, a Sermon on New-years-day at St. Mary's Ch. in Ox. on 2 Cor. v. 17., 1633.—3. *Dicta et facta Christi ex quatuor Evangelistis collecta, et in ordine disposita*, 1634.—4. Christian Wisdom, or the Excellency, &c. of true Wisdom, a Sermon on 1 Kings x. 24., 1639.—5. A Sermon on John xviii. 3., 1640.

CHRISTOPHER LOVE, A. M.—This person was the son of Mr. Christopher Love, born at Cardiff in Glamorganshire, in the year 1618, and educated at New-inn-hall, Oxford. He was the youngest child of his parents, and the son of their old age; his mother, who was of a respectable family, was fifty years old when he was born. Though they never intended him for the ministry, they gave him a good education. From a child he was remarkably fond of books; and though his parents were too indulgent to him, allowing him too great liberty for play and sinful recreations, he never neglected his learning. He felt greatly concerned for his own improvement; therefore he devoted much of his time, both night and day, to his beloved studies.

He was fifteen years of age before ever he heard a sermon. At this period, Mr. Erbery going to the town, he was induced through curiosity to hear him; and he, with some others, was greatly entertained with the novelty of it. Although he went, as he used afterwards to observe, only to see a man in a pulpit; yet, there God was pleased to meet with him, and, by that sermon, gave him such a sight of his sins and his undone condition, that he confessed he returned home, as he expressed it, "with a hell in his conscience." When he came to his father's house, being dead to all his former carnal pleasures and sinful pastimes, his father greatly wondered at the sudden change; and, concluding him to be seized with some strange fit of melancholy, recommended him to associate and play with his old companions, but he refused. He could now take no pleasure in their company. His father sometimes advised him to go to gentlemen's houses, and attend his usual games; but the very thoughts of them were as daggers in his heart; therefore, he begged to be excused.

Mr. Love having fully relinquished the card-table, desired

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 72.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. vi. p. 4076.

leave of his father, upon the next lecture day, to go to church; but this he absolutely refused, conceiving it to have been the occasion of his present sadness. Also, to prevent his attendance at church, his father locked him up in a high chamber of the house, thinking by this means to confine him there till the service was over. Such, however, was his courage, and his desire to hear the word, that he made his escape by tying a cord to the window, and sliding by it down the side of the house; and so went to the church, where the Lord was pleased so to deepen his convictions, that it ended in a sound conversion of his soul to God. Upon his return home, he found his father greatly exasperated. His situation was now deplorable. While his earthly parent was exceedingly displeased, the thoughts of an almighty and offended God were almost insupportable. It was no small aggravation of his distress, that for some time he had not a friend on earth to whom he could unbosom his complaint. Afterwards he made known the anguish of his mind to Mr. Erbery, who was instrumental in further promoting his edification and benefit: nevertheless the Sovereign Disposer of all events was pleased to suspend the manifestations of his love, and keep him under a cloud for many years.*

About the same time some others, who had been his companions in vice, were brought to an acquaintance with God. They who had been familiar associates in games and sinful pleasures, now often assembled together for the purpose of fasting and prayer. That they might not neglect their school-hours, nor displease their parents, they met together in the night season, when their parents thought they were in bed. For many months they held these nocturnal assemblies, setting apart two nights in the week for these devotional exercises. Mr. Love's father seeing him continue in this course, appeared to draw his affection from him, and looked upon him as a hopeless youth. He who had been called a young *gamester*, was now stigmatized a young *puritan*. Mr. Erbery perceiving his distressed situation, waited upon his father, and requested him to allow his son to come to his house, and he would promote his improvement in learning, and take proper care of him, to which his father gave his consent.

In this new situation he continued for some time, to his great advantage and comfort, of which he retained a lively sense to the day of his death. His father going to London, procured a place for him as an apprentice, entered into an

* Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

agreement with the master, and even paid the stipulated premium: but young Love was exceedingly averse to the situation, and earnestly entreated his father to send him to Oxford. Though his father consented to his wishes, he did it in displeasure, withholding his pecuniary aid; and, during his abode at the university, he was supported partly by his mother, and partly by Mr. Erbery. He who was appointed to endure many troubles, began thus to bear the yoke in his youth. Upon his arrival at Oxford, not knowing any person in the place, nor whom to choose for his tutor, as he sat by the fire at the inn, there came several young scholars, whose discourse was wholly against the puritans, railing against them, and cursing them, especially one Mr. Rogers, whom they stigmatized an *arch-puritan*, and declared there was none other besides him who was head of any house in Oxford. Having heard what they had to say, he resolved to make some further inquiries concerning this Mr. Rogers, hoping that he was just such a tutor as he wanted; and after gaining satisfactory information, he intrusted himself to his care and tuition.

While at the university, Mr. Love had but little to subsist upon; but he was careful of what he received, and extremely provident of his time, making suitable improvement in his studies. He sought the acquaintance of religious persons, who, in those times of danger, were particularly cautious whom they admitted into their society. He enjoyed, however, little or no comfort for several years. God seemed to keep at a distance from him, which caused him to sigh and mourn. The remembrance of his former misspent life was to him a source of constant and bitter lamentation. In the midst of these painful conflicts, he walked as in the valley of the shadow of death. The terrors of death and hell compassed him about, and the thoughts of God made him afraid. The apprehensions of death were an astonishment to him. Under these afflictive terrors and convictions, he desired to live, as he used to say, "that he might have a little longer respite out of hell." Having little or no hope of escaping future misery, he feared that every step he took would launch him into endless torment. The waves and billows passed over his soul, and had he not been supported by the grace of Christ, he would have been overwhelmed in the mighty storm. Amidst all these painful conflicts, he lifted up his heart to God in devout prayer and supplication, and was at length enabled by faith to look within the vail, and obtain a glimpse of God, as a father and a friend, through Jesus Christ. He chose rather

to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to live in the pleasures of sin. He was enabled to come unto the Lord, and to cast anchor on the promise of his word; and then he enjoyed comfort.

He knew that grace was absolutely necessary to make a good christian; so learning, in his opinion, was of great importance to make an able minister of the gospel. He was, therefore, constantly assiduous to enjoy both. He was a good proficient in the school of Christ, as well as in the school of the prophets. The Lord greatly blessed his close application to his studies; and, to qualify him for making known the glorious gospel of the blessed God, he filled his earthen vessel with the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

During the above painful conflict, he was generally looked upon as melancholy. As he had but few friends to whom he could unbosom his complaint, most persons were totally unacquainted with the cause of his dejection. At the usual time of attending his meals, as I have heard him say, (the writer of his life observes,) he used to come to his meat, when he would scarcely take any notice of those who sat with him at table, but wondered that they could eat and drink with such merry hearts. While at the table, he thought the moments long till he again retired to his study, where he spent nearly all his time, devoting certain hours every day to his academical pursuits, and the rest to the study of the holy scriptures. He allowed himself very little sleep, and little or no time for recreation. He was steady in his attachment to the house and ordinances of God, and conscientiously exact in all the duties of private devotion. For his zeal in the cause of God, he was often prosecuted in the bishops' courts; but none of these things moved him, or damped his religious ardour.*

Mr. Love having entered the ministerial function, became a very popular and useful preacher, but was persecuted for nonconformity. Even during his abode at Oxford, for refusing in convocation to subscribe Laud's superstitious canons, he was expelled from the house, never to sit there any more. Upon leaving the university, he went to London, where he was invited by the sheriff, who was a person of eminent piety, to become his domestic chaplain. In this situation he was exceedingly beloved, and made instrumental in the conversion of several in the family. He received an

* Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

invitation to become lecturer at St. Ann's, Aldersgate; but the Bishop of London opposed his settlement, and for three years refused his allowance. Mr. Love's popularity exasperated the minds of his enemies, and he no sooner entered upon his public ministry, than he was silenced from preaching.

He had, indeed, certain conscientious scruples against the ordination of the church of England, and, therefore, went into Scotland, with a view to have obtained presbyterian ordination; but there he met with a disappointment. That church had decreed to ordain none besides those who should settle among them; nevertheless, large offers were made to him, in addition to ordination, if he would have continued in the north. On his return from Scotland, he was invited by the aldermen and other worthy persons of Newcastle, to preach for them on a Lord's day; and, in his sermon in the afternoon, he openly expressed his sentiments against the errors in the Book of Common Prayer, and the superstitious ceremonies in the national church. For this, he was immediately committed to the common gaol, a most filthy place, among thieves and murderers, having nothing but straw to lie upon. During his confinement, the people flocked to the prison; and not being admitted to his company, he preached to them through the grates of the prison. Afterwards, his friends being allowed to go into the prison, they cleaned it for his comfort, and there he preached to all who came, and was made remarkably useful. Having suffered confinement for some time, he was removed to London, and tried in the court of king's-bench, and acquitted. About the commencement of the national troubles, for maintaining in his sermon the lawfulness of defensive war, in certain cases, against the civil magistrate, he was accused of treason and rebellion, but was publicly acquitted, with the recovery of damages.*

During the wars, Mr. Love was chosen to be preacher to the garrison of Windsor, then under the command of Colonel John Venn; on which account the royalists nick-named him "Venn's principal fireman at Windsor." Notwithstanding this foul calumny, his ministerial labours were greatly esteemed, even by those who differed from him in matters of ceremony; and, our author adds, "I am bold to say, that no man was more generally beloved than he was, and, I believe, as great a seal was set unto his ministry as God doth usually set to the

* Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.—Mr. Love's Trial, p. 68. Edit. 1651.

ministry of any of his servants." When God visited the town and castle with the plague, and many were cut off, he still continued in the place; and, not afraid of the ravages of death, he visited the abodes of the afflicted and dying wherever he heard of them. To promote their comfort and salvation, he exposed himself to infection and death; and through this period of extreme danger the Lord protected him from both. Though many fell on the right hand and on the left, his life was precious in the sight of the Lord. Having made the "Lord his refuge, and the Most High his habitation," he was not "afraid of the pestilence that walked in darkness, nor of the destruction that wasted at noon-day."

Upon the establishment of the presbyterian government, he was ordained according to their method, in Aldermanbury church, January 23, 1644, by Mr. Horton, Mr. Bellers, and Mr. Roberts; which was done by fasting and prayer, and laying on of hands. In his examination, being asked whether he thought he could suffer for those truths of Christ, of which he had then made a profession, if he should be called so to do, he thus answered:—"I tremble to think what I should do in such a case, especially when I consider how many have boasted what they could suffer for Christ; and yet when they have come to it, they have denied Christ and his truths, rather than suffered for them. Therefore, I dare not boast what I shall do; but if this power be given me of God, then I shall not only be willing to be bound, but to die for the sake of the Lord Jesus." On this occasion, he received excellent commendations of his gifts and graces, particularly from Mr. Ley, by whom he was examined.*

In the year 1645, Mr. Love being called to preach before the commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge, he addressed his audience, saying, "That they were not to expect any good from the treaty; for they (meaning the king's commissioners) came from Oxford with hearts full of blood, and there was as great a distance between the treaty and peace, as between heaven and hell. He inveighed," says the noble historian, "so seditiously against all who followed the king, and against the persons of the commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else but to stir up the people to mutiny; and therein to do some act of violence to the commissioners."† Another writer says, "That instead of friendship, he vomited out nothing but threatening and vilifying contradictions to the

* Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

† Clarendon's Hist. vol. ii. p. 445, 446.

peace-makers, altogether unbecoming one of his faction." This scurrilous author further adds, "I shall conclude with our supposed martyr, by asserting, that he who had the ignorance, blind zeal, and impudence, to term episcopacy and the Common Prayer Book, the *two plague-sores*, several times in one preachment, had need have set forms of *sermons* enjoined him, as well as *prayers*."*

The king's commissioners, indeed, complained of the sermon to the commissioners of the opposite party, who laid the case before the parliament; upon which Mr. Love was sent for to London, and he underwent an examination; the result of which was, that the congregation at Uxbridge were disappointed of a preacher, and even after the psalm was sung, he was unexpectedly invited to supply the place, when he delivered the same sermon which he had preached the day before at Windsor. He was, therefore, acquitted by order of the house of commons;† yet Neal says, he was confined to his own house during the treaty, and then discharged.‡ "The presbyterian house of commons," it is said, "who cleared Mr. Love from any slander, for prattling such stuff, did plainly demonstrate what little desire they had for peace, and thereby intimated their abominable hypocrisy to the whole world."§ This affords the reader a specimen of the ignorance, the bigotry, and the bad spirit of this party historian.

Mr. Love, indeed, allowed that he cautioned the people against placing too much confidence in the treaty; "because," said he, "while our enemies go on in their wicked practices, and we keep to our principles, we may as soon make fire and water to agree; and, I had almost said, reconcile heaven and hell, as their spirits and ours. They must grow better, or we must grow worse, before it is possible for us to agree."|| He also said, "men who lay under the guilt of much innocent blood, are not meet persons to be at peace with, till all the guilt of the blood be expiated and avenged, either by the sword of the law, or the law of the sword: else a peace can never be safe nor just."¶ He further added, "that there was a generation of men who carried blood and revenge in their hearts against the well-affected in the nation, who hated not only their bodies, but their souls, and would drink a health to their damnation." Though there might be too much truth in these expressions, they were certainly very unseasonable and

* Foulis's Hist. of Plots, p. 108, 155.

† Love's Trial, p. 68.—Whitlocke's Mem. p. 123.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 233.

§ Foulis's Hist. of Plots, p. 155.

|| Ibid. p. 154.

¶ L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 62.

unbecoming in this critical juncture. "Many," says Fuller, "condemned his want of charity, but more his want of discretion."*

Mr. Love was appointed one of the assembly of divines; when he became minister of St. Lawrence Jewry, London; and is said to have been chosen to the pastoral office at St. Ann's, Aldersgate-street, where he had before been chosen lecturer.† He united with the London ministers in declaring against the king's death.‡ He was afterwards engaged in a conspiracy which cost him his life; and as he was a principal sufferer on account of this plot, it was called *Love's plot*. It was formed by a number of gentlemen and ministers, and designed to raise money by private contribution, to forward the expedition of Charles II. into England; but the vigilance of the commonwealth discovered and defeated the object. The principal persons concerned in this affair, were some disbanded officers who had served the parliament in the wars: as, Majors Adams, Alford, and Huntingdon; Colonels Vaughan, Sowton, Titus, Jackson, Bains, and Barton; and Captains Adams, Potter, Far, Massey, and Starks, and Mr. Gibbons. The ministers were Dr. Drake, and Messrs. Case, Watson, Heyrick, Jenkin, Jackson, Jacquel, Robinson, Cawton, Nalson, Haviland, Blackmore, and Love. These had their private assemblies at the houses of Major Adams, Colonel Barton, and Mr. Love; and held a correspondence with the king, who desired them to send commissioners to Breda to further his designs, and he would sufficiently reward them when God should restore him to his kingdoms.

But so large a confederacy could not easily be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, which had its spies in all places. Major Adams being apprehended on suspicion, was the first who discovered the conspiracy to the council of state. Upon his information, warrants were issued for apprehending most of the above persons; but several absconded and withdrew from the storm. The ministers who were apprehended, were Dr. Drake, and Messrs. Jenkin, Jackson, Robinson, Watson, Blackmore, Haviland, and Love; but seven of them, petitioning for mercy, and promising submission to the government in future, were released. But Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons were made public examples, as a terror to others.

Mr. Love was brought before a new high court of justice

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 214.

† Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

‡ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 744.

erected for the purpose, as was the custom in those times for state criminals, when Mr. Attorney-general Prideux, June 20, 1651, read the following indictment against him for high treason: "That he, the said Christopher Love, as a traitor
 "and an enemy of this commonwealth and free state of Eng-
 "land, and out of a traitorous and wicked design to stir up
 "a new and bloody war, and to raise insurrections, seditions,
 "and rebellions within this nation, hath, at several times in
 "the years 1648, 1649, 1650, and 1651, in London, and at
 "other places within the commonwealth of England, together
 "with the persons mentioned above, traitorously and malici-
 "ously combined, confederated, conspired, contrived, and
 "endeavoured to stir and raise up forces against the present
 "government of this nation, since the same hath been settled
 "in a commonwealth and free state, and for the subversion
 "and alteration of the same: that he hath traitorously and
 "maliciously declared and published Charles Stuart, eldest
 "son of the late king, to be king of England, without con-
 "sent of parliament: that he hath traitorously and maliciously
 "invited and assisted the Scots to invade this commonwealth
 "of England: that the said Christopher Love, at divers times
 "between March 29, 1650, and June 1, 1651, in London
 "and other places, hath traitorously and maliciously main-
 "tained correspondence and intelligence by letters and
 "messages with the said Charles Stuart, and with the queen
 "his mother, and with sundry of his council: and that he
 "hath likewise holden correspondence with divers persons of
 "the Scots' nation, and hath assisted them with money,
 "arms, and other supplies, in the present war against the
 "parliament, to the hazard of the public peace, and in breach
 "of the laws of the land."*

To this charge Mr. Love, after demurring upon the jurisdiction of the court, pleaded *not guilty*. The witnesses brought against him were eight of his confederates, above mentioned. Mr. Jackson, afterwards an ejected nonconformist,† was summoned, but he refused to be sworn, or to give evidence, because he believed Mr. Love to be a good man. He said, "I fear I should have a hell in my conscience to my dying day, if I should speak any thing circumstantially prejudicial to his life." The court reminded him of his obligation to the public, and that the very existence and

* Love's Trial, p. 1, 2.

† No less than eight of the ministers concerned in this plot were ejected after the restoration.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.*

safety of all government depended upon what they required. After all Mr. Jackson refused to be sworn; for which he was immediately committed to the Fleet, and fined five hundred pounds.*

During the trial, which lasted six days, the court concluded that Mr. Love had carried on a criminal correspondence with both the king and the Scots. Respecting the king, it was sworn, that about a month after his late majesty's death, several of them had assembled in Dowgate and other places, to concert measures to forward the king's agreement with the Scots; for which purpose they applied by letters to the queen, and sent over Colonel Titus, who had one hundred pounds to defray his expenses. The colonel, having delivered his message, sent back letters by Colonel Alford, which were read in Mr. Love's house; with the copy of a letter from the king himself, when Mr. Love was present. Therefore, upon these and similar facts, the counsel for the commonwealth insisted, that here was criminal correspondence to *restore the king*, contrary to the ordinance of January 30, 1648, which declares, "That whosoever shall proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways promote Charles Stuart, or any other person, to be king of England, without consent of parliament, shall be adjudged a traitor, and suffer the pains of death as a traitor."

The other branch of the charge was Mr. Love's correspondence with the Scots, and assisting them in the war against the parliament. To support this article, Captains Potter and Adams, and Mr. Jacquel, swore that letters came from Scotland to Colonel Bamfield, with the letter L upon them, giving an account of the battle at Dunbar, and of the affairs of the Scots for three months after Christmas. There came letters also from the Earls of Argyle, Lothian, and Loudon, who proposed raising ten thousand pounds to buy arms, and to hire shipping, with a view of landing five thousand men in England. The letters were read in Mr. Love's house; but the proposals were disliked, and only forty pounds were raised to defray the expenses of the messenger. At another time a letter was read from General Massey, in which he desired them to provide arms, and specified his own necessities, and those of Colonel Titus; upon which it was agreed to raise two or three hundred pounds by contribution, and every one present wrote down what he would lend; among

* Love's Trial, p. 51, 52.

whom was Mr. Love, who not only contributed himself, but carried about a paper to encourage others. This was considered by the counsel of the commonwealth as sufficient to bring Mr. Love within the ordinance of July 1, 1649, which declares, "That if any persons shall procure, invite, aid, or assist any foreigners or strangers to invade England or Ireland; or shall adhere to any forces raised by the enemies of the parliament or commonwealth, or keepers of the liberties of England; all such persons shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of high treason."*

In his defence, Mr. Love behaved with too much freedom and boldness, and set too high a value upon his ministerial character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witnesses, who were forced into the service to save their own lives; and observed, that as to several of the facts attempted to be proved against him, there was only one witness; and that some of them had sworn falsely, or at least their memories had failed them in some things, which was no wonder after so long a time. He called for no witness to disprove the evidence; but in his defence said, "None of the witnesses swear that I ever desired, persuaded, or directed any person to write any letter, to any persons whose names are mentioned in the charges, or to any person in or of the Scots' nation: or that ever any letter was written in my house; but only that letters supposed to be come from, or sent to Scotland, were read there, which I do not deny: or that I ever did so much as read a letter in my house, or elsewhere, that was supposed to come from the Scots, or pretended to be sent into Scotland: or, that I ever gave my particular consent to sending any letter: or, that I ever collected one penny of money for the king, or for the Scots, or for any person in Scotland: or, that I ever invited any person, or foreign force, to invade either England or Ireland, as I am expressly charged: or, finally, that I ever plotted, contrived, or endeavoured to raise forces, tumults, or insurrections within this nation, and against the present government."†

Towards the close of his defence, he confessed that there had been several meetings at his house; and that a commission had been read there; but that he utterly dissented from it. He acknowledged further, that he was present at the reading of letters, or of some parts of them: "But," says he, "I was ignorant of the danger that I now see I am

* Love's Trial, p. 13—15.

† Ibid. p. 54.

in. The act of August 2, 1650, makes it treason to hold any correspondence with Scotland, or to send letters thither only in a way of commerce, the two nations being at war. Here my counsel acquaints me with my danger, because, being present when letters were read at my house, I am guilty of concealment; and, therefore, I lay myself at your feet for mercy.

“ I have been called a malignant and apostate; but God is my witness, I never carried on a malignant interest: I shall retain my covenanting principles; from which, by the grace of God, I will never depart. Neither am I an incendiary between the two nations of England and Scotland: but I am grieved for their divisions; and if I had as much blood in my veins as there is water in the sea, I would count it well spent to quench the fire that our sins have kindled between them. I have all along engaged my life and estate in the parliament's quarrel, against the forces raised against the late king; not from a prospect of advantage, but from conscience and duty: and I am so far from repenting, that, were it to do again upon the same unquestionable authority, and for the same declared ends, I should as readily engage in it as ever, though I wish from my soul, that the ends of that just war had been better accomplished. But as to treason, I do not know any act of mine proved against me, that brings me under any one act now in existence. I never wrote any letter nor sent any letter to any of the Scots' nation; yet I confess their proceedings with the king are agreeable to my judgment. And though I disown the commission, and instructions mentioned in the indictment, I have desired an agreement between the king and the Scots, agreeably to the covenant; and they having declared him to be their king, I have, as a private man, desired and prayed that they might accomplish their ends, upon such terms as are consistent with the safety of religion and the terms of the covenant. For I thought that if the king and Scots became united, it would advance the cause of God, the interests of true religion, and the good of the nation.

“ Therefore, I humbly beseech your lordship and the court, to put a fair and candid construction upon all that I have done, and that things may not be taken in the worst sense. I heard your lordship say at Guildhall, *that he is not guilty whose mind is not guilty*. The Lord knows, that in the uprightness of my heart, I have done what I have done; and I stood amazed when I heard myself charged with treason. Though I acknowledge, that for not revealing, as mine accusers have done, I am, by your acts, guilty of concealment; and I

humbly beg the mercy of the court, promising, by the help of God, to live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. And thus I commit myself and my all to God and your judgments, in the words of Jeremiah to the rulers of Israel: *As for me, behold I am in your hands, to do with me as seemeth good and meet to you; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves.* But I hope better things of you, though I thus speak.*

The court allowed Mr. Love the benefit of counsel learned in the law, to argue the exceptions against the indictment; but after all that Mr. Hale, afterwards the famous Judge Hale, could say in behalf of the prisoner, the court pronounced sentence of death upon him as a traitor. The sentence being pronounced, Mr. Love said, "My lord, I have received sentence of death in myself, that I should not trust in myself, but in God, which raiseth the dead. And, my lord, though you have condemned me, neither God, nor my own conscience, doth condemn me." He was then carried to the Tower.†

Great intercessions were made to the parliament for the preservation of his life. His wife presented one petition, or probably more, in the most moving language; and he presented no less than four himself. Several parishes in London presented their petitions to the house of commons, as did upwards of fifty ministers; but all that could be obtained was the respite of his execution for a month.‡ The last of his petitions, read in the house August 14th and 16th, was the following:§

"To the supreme authority, the parliament of the commonwealth of England.—The humble petition of Christopher Love, a condemned prisoner in the Tower of London; sheweth, that your petitioner doth humbly adore the wonderful goodness of God, and most thankfully acknowledge the great mercy of the parliament, for so seasonable and acceptable an act of grace, to such an offending suppliant, that when there was but one step between him and death, the number of his days being accomplished, and he almost cut off from the land of the living, then you mercifully interposed, and gave him his life for a month longer, which was to him as a resurrection

* Love's Trial, p. 66—71.

† Ibid. p. 121.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 43.

§ Love's Case, p. 4, 5. Edit. 1651.—Love's Vindication of his Principles, p. 5—14. Edit. 1651.

“ from the dead : The consideration whereof melteth the
 “ heart of your petitioner, and makes him, after a more
 “ narrow search into his heart and ways, more deeply sensible
 “ than ever of his sin against God, and more sorrowful for
 “ his high crimes and offences against the parliament, in
 “ his late and great miscarriages.

“ He humbly acknowledgeth he hath so highly violated
 “ the laws of the commonwealth, as that thereby he hath
 “ rendered himself guilty of the sentence of death justly
 “ passed upon him by the high court of justice. He doth
 “ also herewith humbly offer to your honours a free and
 “ full narrative, under his hand, of the whole design, to the
 “ best of his remembrance, which he leaveth to your grave
 “ wisdoms’ favourable interpretation, fully resolving that he
 “ will neither plot, contrive, nor design any thing preju-
 “ dicial to the present government; but will, in his place
 “ and calling, oppose any designs whatsoever that may tend
 “ to the ruin of the commonwealth.

“ Your dying petitioner, with all humble importunity,
 “ prostrates himself at your feet, and puts his mouth in the
 “ dust; and oh ! that there may be hope ! craving your tender
 “ mercy, begging his life at your hands; promising never
 “ to employ that life against you, which he shall receive
 “ from you; but doth hold it his duty, in his place and
 “ calling, to lay out himself for the glory of God, the good
 “ of his people, and the peace and safety of this common-
 “ wealth. And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

“ CHRISTOPHER LOVE.”

In the narrative accompanying this petition, Mr. Love admits many of the things objected against him at his trial. It is dated from the Tower, July 22, 1651, but much too long for our insertion.* But, as Mr. Neal justly observes, the affairs of the commonwealth being now at a crisis, and King Charles II. having entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, it was thought necessary to strike the presbyterian party with some degree of terror, by making an example of one of their favourite ministers. We are informed, that, at this juncture, Colonel Fortescue was sent to General Cromwell, then in the north, with a petition in behalf of Mr. Love; but that both the general and the rest of the officers declined meddling in the affair.† Other historians, however, affirm, that Cromwell actually sent a letter of reprieve and pardon for Mr. Love; but that the post-boy

* Love’s Case, p. 5—14.

† Whitlocke’s Mem. p. 474.

was stopped on the road by several persons belonging to the late king's army, who opened the Scotch mail, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. Love, they took it, and with indignation tore it in pieces; declaring, that he who had been so great a firebrand at Uxbridge, was not fit to live.* If this story be true, our divine fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the royalists.

Upon the arrival of the mail from Scotland, and there being no letter from Cromwell in behalf of Mr. Love, it was concluded that his silence was an absolute denial. Mr. Love was therefore ordered to be executed on Tower-hill. During his confinement, after his trial, he received many encouraging and affectionate letters from his numerous friends, particularly from Dr. Drake, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jenkin, and Mrs. Love, which are now before me. The last that he received from Mrs. Love, written the day before his execution, and well worthy of the pious reader's perusal, was the following:

“ My heavenly dear,

“ I call thee so, because God hath put heaven into thee before he hath taken thee to heaven. Thou now beholdest God, Christ, and glory, as in a glass; but to-morrow heaven's gates will be opened, and thou shalt be in the full enjoyment of all those glories which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither can the heart of man understand. God hath now swallowed up thy heart in the thoughts of heaven; but ere long thou shalt be swallowed up in the enjoyment of heaven! And no marvel there should be such quietness and calmness in thy spirit, whilst thou art sailing in this tempestuous sea, because thou perceivest, by the eye of faith, a haven of rest, where thou shalt be richly laden with all the glories of heaven! O, lift up thy heart with joy, when thou layest thy dear head on the block, in the thoughts of this, that thou art laying thy head to rest in thy Father's bosom; which, when thou dost awake, shall be crowned, not with an earthly, fading crown, but with an heavenly, eternal crown of glory! Be not troubled when thou shalt see a guard of soldiers triumphing with their trumpets about thee; but lift up thy head, and thou shalt behold God with a guard of holy angels triumphing to receive thee to glory! Be not dismayed at the scoffs and reproaches thou mayest meet with in thy short way to heaven; for, be assured, God will not

* Kennet's Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 185.—Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 706.

only glorify thy body and soul in heaven, but he will also make the *memory of thee to be glorious on earth!*

“O, let not one troubled thought for thy wife and babes rise within thee! thy God will be our God and our portion. He will be a husband to thy widow, and a father to thy children: the grace of thy God will be sufficient for us.

“Now, my dear, I desire willingly and cheerfully to resign my right in thee to thy Father and my Father, who hath the greatest interest in thee: and confident I am, though men have separated us for a time, yet God will ere long bring us together again, where we shall eternally enjoy one another, never to part more!

“O, let me hear how God bears up thy heart, and let me taste of those comforts which support thee, that they may be as pillars of marble to bear up my sinking spirit! I can write no more. Farewell, farewell, my dear, till we meet where we shall never bid farewell more; till which time I leave thee in the bosom of a loving, tender-hearted Father; and so I rest,

“Till I shall for ever rest in heaven,

“MARY LOVE.”

This excellent letter discovers the same triumph over the world in Mrs. Love, which her husband so happily experienced. She was not only surrounded by their three children, but with child of a fourth; yet she passed over this circumstance in silence; and though formerly weak in grace, yet she now enjoyed strong confidence and great comfort, and animated her husband by the most encouraging considerations. Thus, “by faith, out of weakness, she was made strong.” The next morning, being the day on which he suffered, Mr. Love returned her the following farewell epistle:

“My most gracious beloved,

“I am now going from a prison to a palace. I have finished my work; I am now to receive my wages. I am going to heaven, where there are two of my children; and leaving thee on earth, where there are three of my babes: those two above need not any care; but the three below need thine. It comforts me to think two of my children are in the bosom of Abraham, and three of them will be in the arms and care of so tender and godly a mother! I know thou art a woman of a sorrowful spirit, yet be comforted. Though thy sorrows be great for thy husband's going out of the world, yet thy pains shall be the less in bringing

thy child into the world: thou shalt be a joyful mother, though thou art a sad widow! God hath many mercies in store for thee: the prayers of a dying husband will not be lost. To my shame I speak it, I never prayed so much for thee at liberty, as I have done in prison. I cannot write more; but I have a few practical counsels to leave with thee, viz.

“ 1. Keep under a sound, orthodox, and soul-searching ministry. Oh, there are many deceivers gone out into the world; but Christ's sheep know his voice, and a stranger will they not follow. Attend on that ministry which teaches the way of God in truth, and follow Solomon's advice: *Cease to hear the instruction that causeth to err from the way of knowledge.*

“ 2. Bring up thy children in the knowledge and admonition of the Lord. The mother ought to be the teacher in the father's absence. *The words which his mother taught him.* Timothy was instructed by his grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice.

“ 3. Pray in thy family daily, that thy dwelling may be in the number of the families that do call upon God.

“ 4. Labour for a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.

“ 5. Pore not on the comforts thou wantest; but on the mercies thou hast.

“ 6. Look rather to God's end in afflicting, than at the measure and degree of thy afflictions.

“ 7. Labour to clear up thy evidences for heaven, when God takes from thee the comforts of earth, that, as thy sufferings do abound, so thy consolations in Christ may much more abound.

“ 8. Though it is good to maintain a holy jealousy of the deceitfulness of thy heart, yet it is evil for thee to cherish fears and doubts about the truth of thy graces. If ever I had confidence touching the graces of another, I have confidence of grace in thee. I can say of thee, as Peter did of Sylvanus, *I am persuaded that this is the grace of God wherein thou standest.* Oh, my dear soul, wherefore dost thou doubt, whose heart hath been upright, whose walkings have been holy! I could venture my soul in thy soul's stead. Such confidence have I in thee!

“ 9. When thou findest thy heart secure, presumptuous and proud, then pore upon corruption more than upon grace: but when thou findest thy heart doubting and unbelieving, then look on thy graces, not on thy infirmities.

“ 10. Study the covenant of grace and merits of Christ, and then be troubled if thou canst. Thou art interested in such a covenant that accepts purposes for performances, desires for deeds, sincerity for perfection, the righteousness of another, viz. that of Jesus Christ, as if it were our own. Oh, my love, rest, rest then in the love of God, in the bosom of Christ !

“ 11. Swallow up thy will in the will of God. It is a bitter cup we are to drink, but it is the cup our Father hath put into our hands. When Paul was to go to suffer at Jerusalem, the christians could say, *The will of the Lord be done.* O say thou, when I go to Tower-hill, *The will of the Lord be done.*

“ 12. Rejoice in my joy. To mourn for me inordinately, argues that either thou enviest or suspectest my happiness. *The joy of the Lord is my strength.* O, let it be thine also ! Dear wife, farewell ! I will call thee *wife* no more : I shall see thy face no more ; yet I am not much troubled ; for now I am going to meet the bridegroom, the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom I shall be eternally married !

“ Thy dying,

“ Yet most affectionate friend till death,

“ CHRISTOPHER LOVE.”

From the Tower of London,

August 22, 1651,

The day of my glorification.*

On this fatal day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Love mounted the scaffold with great intrepidity and resolution. The ministers who accompanied him were Mr. Simeon Ashe, Mr. Edmund Calamy, and Dr. Thomas Manton. Upon the scaffold, Mr. Love, taking off his hat twice before the people, made a long speech to them, addressing them as follows :

“ Beloved christians, I am this day made a spectacle unto God, to angels, and to men. I am made a grief to the godly, a laughing-stock to the wicked, and a gazing-stock to all ; yet, blessed be God, I am not a terror to myself : though there is but a little between me and death, there is but a little between me and heaven. There are only two steps between me and glory : my head must lie down upon the block, and I shall ascend the throne. I am exchanging a pulpit for a scaffold, and a scaffold for a throne. I am

* Love's Sermons on Grace, Appen. p. 211—215. Edit. 1810.

exchanging a guard of soldiers for a guard of angels, to carry me into Abraham's bosom.

"I speak the truth, and lie not. I do not bring a revengeful heart upon this scaffold. Before I came to this place, and upon my bended knees, I begged mercy for them who denied mercy to me; and I have prayed God to forgive them who would not forgive me; and I have from my heart forgiven the worst enemy I have in the world. Now, in the presence of God, I tell you, that as I would in my trial confess nothing that was criminal, so I denied nothing that was true, that I may seal it with my blood. What I then denied and protested before the high court of justice, I now deny and protest before you.

"I am for a regulated mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best governments in the world. I opposed, in my place, the forces of the late king; because I am against screwing up monarchy into tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down to anarchy. I was always against putting the king to death, whose person I promised in my covenant to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body politic, to cut off the political head. I die with my judgment against the *engagement*: I pray God to forgive them who impose, and them who take it, and preserve them who refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning the present government: I die with my judgment against it. And I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations, which were imposed by the two houses of parliament. I have abundant peace in my own mind, that I have set myself against the sins and apostacies of the time. Although my faithfulness hath procured me the ill-will of men, it hath secured me peace with God: I have lived in peace, and I shall die in peace.

"But, before I draw my last breath, I desire to justify God and condemn myself. Though I come to a shameful and untimely death, God is righteous. And though he cut me off in the midst of my days, and in the midst of my ministry, because I have sinned, he is righteous, blessed be his name. My blood shall not be spilt for nought. I may do more good, and bring more glory to God, by dying upon a scaffold, than if I had died upon my bed. I bless God, I have not the least trouble on my spirit; but I die with as much quietness of mind as if I were going to lie down upon my bed to rest. I see men thirst after my blood, which will only hasten my happiness and their

ruin. For though I am of a mean parentage, my blood is the blood of a christian, of a minister, of an innocent man, and of a martyr; and this I speak without vanity. Had I renounced my covenant, debauched my conscience, and endangered my soul, I might have escaped this place; but, blessed be God, I have made the best choice: I have chosen affliction rather than sin. And, therefore, welcome scaffold, welcome axe, welcome block, welcome death, welcome all, because they will send me to my Father's house.

"I bless God, and without vanity it is spoken, that I have formerly had more fear in the drawing of a tooth than I have now in the cutting off my head. Thus I commit myself to God, and to receive the fatal blow. I am comforted in this, that though men kill me, they cannot damn me: and though they thrust me out of the world, they cannot thrust me out of heaven. I am going to the heavenly Jerusalem, to the innumerable company of angels, to Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new covenant, to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to God the judge of all; in whose presence there is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore. I conclude in the words of the apostle, 'I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness; and not for me only, but for all them who love the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ:' through whose blood I expect salvation and the remission of sins. And so the Lord bless you all."*

Having finished his speech, he turned to Tichburn the sheriff, and said, "May I pray?" "Yes," said the sheriff; "but consider the time." Then, turning to the people, he said, "Beloved, I will only pray a little while with you, to commend my soul to God, and I have done." He then prayed with a loud voice, saying:

"Most glorious and eternal majesty, thou art righteous and holy in all thou doest to the sons of men. Though thou hast suffered men to condemn thy servant, thy servant will not condemn thee. He justifies thee, though thou cuttest him off in the midst of his days, and in the midst of his ministry; blessing thy glorious name, that though he be taken away from the land of the living, he is not blotted out

* Love's Trial, p. 121—128.—Love's Case, p. 14—27.

of the book of life. Father, my hour is come. Thy poor creature can say, without vanity and falsehood, he hath desired to glorify thee on earth; glorify thou him now in heaven. He hath desired to bring the souls of other men to heaven; let now his soul be brought to heaven. O thou blessed God! whom thy creature hath served, who hath made thee his hope and his confidence from his youth; forsake him not now in his drawing nigh to thee. Now that he is in the valley of the shadow of death, Lord, be thou life unto him. Smile thou upon him, while men frown upon him. Lord, thou hast settled the persuasion in his heart, that, as soon as the blow is given to divide his head from his body, he shall be united to his Head in heaven. Blessed be God, that thy servant dies in these hopes. Blessed be God, that thou hast filled the soul of thy servant with joy and peace in believing. O Lord, think upon that poor brother of mine, who is a companion with me in tribulation; and who is this day to lose his life as well as myself.* O fill him full of the joys of the Holy Ghost, when he is to give up the ghost. Lord, strengthen our hearts, that we may give up the ghost with joy and not with grief. We entreat thee, O Lord, think upon thy poor churches. O that England may live in thy sight! O that London may be to thee a faithful city! and that righteousness may be among the people; that so peace and plenty may be within their walls, and prosperity within their habitations. Lord, heal the breaches of these nations. Make England and Scotland as one staff in the Lord's hand; that Ephraim may not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim; but that both may fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines. O that men of the protestant religion, engaged in the same cause and covenant, may not delight to spill each other's blood, but engage against the common adversary of religion and liberty! God shew mercy to all who fear him. Lord, think upon our covenant-keeping brethren of the kingdom of Scotland. Keep them faithful to thee; and let not those who have invaded them overspread their land. Prevent the shedding of more christian blood, if it seem good in thine eyes. God, shew mercy to thy poor servant, who is now giving up the ghost. O blessed Jesus, apply thy blood, not only for my justification unto life, but also for my comfort, for the quieting of my soul, that so I may be in the joys of heaven before I come to the posses-

* His fellow-sufferer, who was beheaded the same day, for being concerned in the same plot, was Mr. Gibbons.

sion of heaven. Hear the prayers of all thy people that have been offered up for thy servant. And though thou hast denied prayer concerning my life, let the fruit of prayer be seen, by bearing up my heart against the fear of death. O God, shew mercy to all that fear thee, and to all who have engaged for the life of thy servant: Let them have mercy in the day of their appearing before Jesus Christ. Preserve thou a godly ministry in this nation, and restore a godly magistracy, and cause good days to be the heritage of thy people, for the Lord's sake. Now, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. And though thy servant may not, with Stephen, see the heavens open; yet, let him have the heavens open: and though he may not see upon a scaffold the Son of God standing on the right hand of God; yet, let him come to the glorious presence of Jesus Christ, and this hour have an intellectual sight of the glorious body of his Saviour. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And, Lord Jesus, stand by thy dying servant, who in his life hath endeavoured to stand by thee. Lord, hear and pardon all his infirmities; wash away his iniquity by the blood of Christ; wipe off reproaches; wipe off guilt from his person; and receive him pure, and spotless, and blameless before thee in love. And all this we beg for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen and amen."

Mr. Love having ended his prayer, turned to the sheriff, and said, "I thank you, sir, for your kindness: You have expressed a great deal of kindness to me." He then asked for the executioner, who coming forwards, he said, "Art thou the officer?" and being answered in the affirmative, he said, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, "O blessed Jesus! who hast kept me from the hurt of death, and from the fear of death: O blessed be God! blessed be God!" Then, taking his leave of the ministers and his other friends, he said, "the Lord be with you all." He then kneeled down and made a short prayer; and, rising up, he said, "Blessed be God, I am full of joy and peace in believing. I lie down with a world of comfort, as if I were to lie down in my bed. I shall rest in Abraham's bosom, and in the embraces of the Lord Jesus." As he was preparing to lay his head on the block, Mr. Ashe said, "Dear brother, how dost thou find thy heart?" Mr. Love replied, "*I bless God, sir, I am as full of joy and comfort as ever my heart can hold. Blessed be God for Jesus Christ.*" He then laid himself down upon the scaffold, with his head over the block; and, stretching forth his hands, the executioner

severed his head from his body at one blow.* His mortal remains were afterwards interred, with great lamentation, in the chancel of the church of St. Lawrence-Jewry.

Mr. Love was a zealous presbyterian, a most popular preacher, and highly beloved among his brethren. But his memory has greatly suffered by the reproaches of high-church historians, and by none more than Clarendon, who says, "He was guilty of as *much treason* as the pulpit could contain. And, therefore, when he appeared upon the scaffold, he seemed so much delighted with what he had done, that he could not even then forbear speaking with *bitterness* and *animosity* against both the *king* and the *bishops*. And in a *raving fit*, he laid his head upon the block, without so much as praying for the king, any further than he propagated the covenant."†

These are, indeed, most heavy charges. But if Mr. Love was really guilty of so 'much treason,' it was in *behalf of the king*, and with a view to promote the royal cause; therefore, according to the noble historian's own principles, the charge is null and void. But if the historian refer to his preaching at Uxbridge, or on any other occasion, the charge is asserted in like manner, without the smallest evidence, and, from all that I have been able to collect, appears equally groundless and contrary to truth. With respect to Mr. Love's 'speaking with bitterness and animosity against both the king and the bishops,' when he was on the scaffold, the charge is altogether without foundation, and stands diametrically opposed to matter of fact; as appears from Love's speech at length, now before me.‡ And as to his laying his head upon the block, 'in a raving fit,' we are at a loss to understand his lordship's meaning, unless he undesignedly insinuates, that Mr. Love died in the enjoyment of the most happy and exquisite religious feelings. Dr. Calamy assures us, "That he died neither timorously

* Love's Trial, p. 128, 129.

† Clarendon's Hist. vol. iii. p. 338.—Dr. Grey informs us, that he had met with the following *manuscript* note, upon the margin of Nalson's Introduction, relative to Mr. Love's character and death:—"It might be observed, (says the note,) as a circumstance contributing to make his death appear the more judicial, that when Archbishop Laud was beheaded, this Mr. Love, in a most inhuman triumph, flourished his handkerchief dipt in the blood of that great and venerable prelate; which," the doctor immediately adds, "will fully justify Lord Clarendon's character of Mr. Love." Every reader, however, will easily perceive the fallacy of the doctor's argument.—Grey's Examination of Neal, vol. iii. p. 128.

‡ Love's Trial, p. 121—128.—Love's Case, p. 14—27.

nor proudly, but with great alacrity and cheerfulness, as if he had been going to bed.* Dr. Manton, who attended Mr. Love upon the scaffold, who preached his funeral sermon, and who knew him much better than the historians who have aspersed his character, says, "He was a man eminent in grace, of a singular life and conversation, and a pattern of piety most worthy of imitation."† Another writer, who was intimately acquainted with him, gives an excellent account of his christian character and his ministerial qualifications and usefulness; and adds:—"In all his relations, as a minister, a christian, a subject, a husband, a friend, and a father, he served his generation on the earth, and made a swift progress in his way to heaven. He lived too much in heaven to live long out of heaven; and sure I am that he lived a life of heaven upon earth. His fellowship was with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ."‡

His WORKS.—1. The Debauched Cavalier, 1642.—2. England's Distemper, 1645. This is the Sermon preached at Uxbridge.—3. Short and plain Animadversions on some Passages in Mr. Dell's Sermon before the House of Commons, 1646.—4. Answer to an Unlicensed Pamphlet, 1647.—5. A Vindication of England's Distemper, 1651.—6. Love's Case, 1651.—7. Love's Trial, 1651.—8. Love's Advocate, 1651.—9. A Full Narration of the late Dangerous Design against the State, 1651.—10. His Speech and Prayer upon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, 1651.—11. The Truth, and Growth, and different Degrees of Grace, 1652.—12. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mrs. B., 1652. This was the last sermon he preached.—13. Heaven's Glory Hell's Terror, 1653.—14. The Soul's Cordial, 1653.—15. A Treatise of Election and Effectual Calling, 1653.—16. Scripture-rules to be observed in Buying and Selling, 1653.—17. The true Doctrine of Mortification and Sincerity, in Opposition to Hypocrisy, 1654.—18. Combat between the Flesh and Spirit, 1654.—19. The Sum or Substance of Practical Divinity, 1654.—20. The Christian's Directory, 1654.—21. The Dejected Soul's Cure, 1657.—22. The Ministry of the Angels to the Heirs of Salvation, 1657.—23. The Omnipresence of God, 1657.—24. The Sinner's Legacy to his Posterity, 1657.—25. The Penitent Pardoned, 1657.—26. A Discourse of Christ's Ascension and Coming to Judgment, 1657.—27. The natural Man's Case stated, 1658.—Many of the above articles were published after the author's death; and some of them came forth with the high commendations of his brethren.

* Clarendon and Whitlocke Compared, p. 303.

† Manton's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Love.—This sermon is entitled, "The Saint's Triumph over Death." The government, understanding that Dr. Manton intended to preach Mr. Love's funeral sermon, expressed some displeasure, and the soldiers threatened to shoot him. However, he was not to be terrified by such dangers, but preached it at Mr. Love's church in Lawrence-Jewry, to a numerous congregation.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 427.

‡ Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

PETER SAXTON, A. M.—This venerable divine was born at or near Bramley, in the parish of Leeds, in Yorkshire, and educated in the university of Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts. He was admitted preacher, first by Archbishop Hutton, then by Archbishop Matthews, both of the province of York. He obtained the king's presentation as well as that of Sir Edward Stanhope, to the rectory of Edlington in his native county, as appears from the book of admissions in the register's office at York; where, December 1, 1614, he made the usual subscription willingly *et ex animo*. He afterwards saw cause to change his opinion; and he became so alienated from the discipline and ceremonies of the church, that he is said to have called the surplice the *whore's smock*.*

Having espoused the sentiments of the puritans, and not being ashamed to avow his opinions, he could find no rest in his native country. The horrors of cruel persecution having overspread the nation, he retired from the storm, and sought an asylum in New England, where, to his great comfort, he arrived in the year 1640. There we find his name, as minister of Scituate, in the first classes of those who enlightened the dark regions of America by their ministry.† He continued some time in this situation; but the unsettled condition of the colony, and some unhappy contentions in the plantation where he lived, induced him to remove first to Boston, then to England, in his advanced years.‡ On his return from New England, the ship was overtaken in so violent a storm, that the mariners, who could not be brought to pray before, came trembling to him like dying men; and they found him upon the deck exulting, with his arms stretched towards heaven, and crying, "*O! who is now for heaven? who is bound for heaven?*"

After Mr. Saxton's arrival in his native country, he had the offer of a considerable living in Kent, which he declined to accept, preferring the vicarage of Leeds in his own county, to which he was inducted in the month of April, 1646, and possessed till his death, which happened October 1, 1651, having survived his daughter Silence, the wife of Captain Samuel Pool, to whom she was married in New England; but she died at Leeds, as did also his widow the February following. He was a venerable, pious, and learned divine; but he used many plain expressions, which often occasioned smiles, and once downright laughter in a

* Thoresby's *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 86.

† Mather's *Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 3.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 214.

country church where he was preaching. His text was Job xi. 12. "For vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt." He, observing the irreverence of the people, threatened to make them cry before he had done, and was as good as his word when he came to the application. The aged minister, for whom he then preached, told me, as our author adds, that he never saw the like in that church before, almost the whole of the congregation being bathed in tears; and he further observes, that Mr. Saxton was a very studious and learned man, and a great Hebrean, and he constantly carried his Hebrew Bible with him into the pulpit.* There goes under his name a book, entitled "Christmas Cheere; or, Profitable Notes of Two Sermons preached the 25th of December, being commonly (how rightly let others judge) called Christmas day, and upon the day following, commonly called St. Stephen's day," 1606. Mr. Palmer has, by mistake, classed our venerable divine among the worthy ministers who were ejected after the restoration.+

GEORGE WALKER, B. D.—This learned divine was born at Hawkshead in Lancashire, in the year 1581, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge. Being favoured with religious parents, he enjoyed the benefit of their pious instructions when very young,† which appeared of signal advantage to him in future life. Having finished his studies at the university, he went to London; and, in the year 1614, became rector of St. John the Evangelist, in Watling-street.§ Here he continued a faithful and laborious minister nearly forty years, refusing all other preferments, though frequently offered him. He did not preach to obtain preferment, but to win souls to Christ. About the same time he became chaplain to Dr. Felton, bishop of Ely, who made choice of him the very morning of his consecration. He was a bold opposer of popery, and he engaged several times in public disputations against its errors and super-

* Thoresby's Vicaria Leodiensis, p. 87, 88.

+ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 377.

† The following curious anecdote is related of him, which we give without comment:—"Being visited when a child with the small-pox, and those who stood expecting his dissolution, he started up out of a trance, with this ejaculation, *Lord, take me not away till I have shewed forth thy praises*; which, after his recovery, induced his parents to devote him to the ministry."—Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 118.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 375.

stitutions. In the year 1623 he had a public dispute with a popish priest of the name of Smith, before a very large assembly; and, by the consent of both parties, the account of it was afterwards published. He had many encounters with Fisher, the famous jesuit, and many others, who were deemed the most able disputants of the Romish persuasion.*

Mr. Walker was a divine of sterling piety and strict sabbatarian principles; and he often urged from the pulpit the necessity of an exact observance of the Lord's day. In the year 1635, having openly avowed his sentiments in one of his sermons, and recommended the holy observance of the sabbath, as opposed to a book published by Bishop White of Ely, and set forth by public authority, he was convened before Archbishop Laud, when he received canonical admonition.† In the year 1638 he was prosecuted and severely censured in the star-chamber. Having preached a sermon in his own church, to prove "that it is a sin to obey the greatest monarch on earth, in those things which stand opposed to the commands of God," he was committed twelve weeks to the custody of a pursuivant, to whom he paid fees to the amount of twenty pounds. Upon his prosecution, he was shut up ten weeks close prisoner in the Gatehouse, and at last compelled to enter into a bond of a *thousand* pounds, to confine himself prisoner in his brother's house at Cheswick, when his living was sequestered. He continued a prisoner upwards of two years, but was afterwards released by an order of parliament.

His case was laid before the house of commons in 1641, when it was resolved, "That his commitment from the council-table for preaching a sermon, October 14, 1638, and his detainment twelve weeks for the same, is against the law and the liberty of the subject.

"That the prosecution of the said Walker in the star-chamber, for preaching the said sermon, and his close imprisonment thereupon for ten weeks in the Gatehouse, and the payment of twenty pounds fees, is against law and the liberty of the subject.

"That the five passages marked in the sermon, by Mr. Attorney and Sir John Banks, contain no crime, nor deserve any censure, nor he any punishment for them.

"That the enforcing the said Walker to enter into the bond of one thousand pounds, for confinement in his

* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 118.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 840.

brother's house at Cheswick, and his imprisonment there, is against law.

"That the sequestration of the parsonage of the said Walker, by Sir John Lamb, was done without any warrant, and against the law of the land.

"That Walker ought to be restored to his parsonage, and the whole profits thereof, from the time of the said sequestration, and to have reparation for all such damages as he hath sustained by these several imprisonments, and his case transmitted to the lords."*

Whether Mr. Walker received any reparation for damages we have not been able to learn; but after his release from confinement, he returned to his benefice and ministerial charge in Watling-street, where he continued the rest of his days without further molestation. In the year 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, where, by his munificent and generous behaviour, he gained a distinguished reputation. The year following he was appointed one of the committee for the examination and ordination of public preachers. The same year he was one of the witnesses against Archbishop Laud at his trial, when he deposed that the archbishop had endeavoured to introduce arminianism and the popish superstitions into the church of England.† Though Wood reproaches him with having preached against the king‡ and his party, he united with his brethren, the London ministers, in their protestation against the king's death, declaring that his majesty ought to have been released.§ He was a member of the first provincial assembly in London, and sometimes chosen moderator. He died in the year 1651, aged seventy years, and his remains were interred in his own church in Watling-street. Fuller says, "he was well skilled in the oriental languages, and an excellent logician and divine. He was a man of a holy life, an humble spirit, and a liberal hand, who deserved well of Zion college library; and who, by his example and persuasion, advanced a thousand pounds for the maintenance of

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 250, 251.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 360; 532.

‡ Dr. Grey charges him with the same crime, for the proof of which he appeals to the following passage in one of his sermons: "After God had rejected Saul for his disobedience from being king over Israel," says Mr. Walker, "and had declared his purpose to him by Samuel, an evil spirit of fury, jealousy, and tyranny, came upon him." The reader will judge what degree of proof it affords.—*Grey's Examin.* vol. i. p. 399.

§ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 743.

preaching ministers in his native county." Wood calls him "a learned man, but a severe puritan."*

HIS WORKS.—1. The Sum of a Disputation between Mr. Walker, Pastor of St. John the Evan., and a Popish Priest, calling himself Mr. Smith, but indeed Norris, 1623.—2. Fisher's Folly Unfolded; or, the vaunting Jesuit's Challenge Answered, 1624.—3. Socinianism in the Fundamental Point of Justification Discovered and Confuted, 1641.—4. The Doctrine of the Holy Weekly Sabbath, 1641.—5. God made Visible in all his Works, 1641.—6. Sermons preached before the Parliament, 1644, &c.

JOHN VICARS was born in the city of London, in the year 1582, descended from the Vicars in Cumberland, and educated first in Christ-church hospital, London, then in Queen's college, Oxford. Having finished his academical studies, he retired to London, and became usher at Christ's-church, which he kept till towards the close of life. Wood calls him "a puritanical poet, and a zealous brother in the cause;" and says, that, "upon the commencement of the civil wars, he shewed his great forwardness for presbyterianism, hated all people that loved obedience, and affrighted many of the weaker sort, and others, from having any agreement with the king's party, by continually inculcating into their heads strange stories of God's wrath against the cavaliers. Afterwards, when the independents became predominant, he manifested great enmity against them, especially after the king's death."† He is said to have "hated all people who loved obedience, as the devil doth holy-water; and he could out-scold the boldest face in Billingsgate, especially if kings, bishops, organs, or may-poles, were to be the objects of their zealous indignation."‡ He is warmly censured for calling the ceremonies of the church "a stinking heap of atheistical and Roman rubbish;" and for saying, "Throw away the rubbish with the Lord's enemies. Vex the Midianites, abolish the Amalekites: let popery find no favour."§

Mr. Vicars was a most furious adversary to the independents. The title of one of his pieces written against them will afford a curious specimen of the length to which the different parties at that time carried their animosity. It is

* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 118.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 840.

† Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 85, 86.

‡ Foulis's Hist. of Plots, p. 179.

§ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 17, 18.

as follows: "Coleman-street Conclave visited; and that grand Impostor, the Schismatics Cheater in Chief, (who hath long silyly lurked therein,) truly and duly discovered; containing a most palpable and plain Display of Mr. John Goodwin's self-conviction, (under his own hand writing,) and of the notorious Heresies, Errors, Malice, Pride, and Hypocrisy of this most huge Garagantua in falsely pretended Piety, to the lamentable misleading of his too credulous soul-murdered Proselytes of Coleman-street, and elsewhere: collected principally out of his own big-braggadochio wave-like swelling and swaggering Writings, full fraught with six-footed Terms, and fleshlie rhetorical Phrases, far more than solid and sacred Truths, and may fitly serve, (if it be the Lord's will,) like Belshazzar's Hand-writing on the Wall of his Conscience, to strike Terror and Shame into his own Soul and shameless Face, and to undeceive his most miserably cheated, and enchanted or bewitched Followers," 1648. Facing the title is John Goodwin's picture, with a wind-mill over his head, and a weather-cock upon it: the devil is represented blowing the sails; and there are other hieroglyphics or emblems about him, "designed," says Wood, "to shew the instability of the man."* The late Mr. Toplady, in the fervour of his zeal against arminianism, seems highly delighted with what he calls "this facetious title."† To us, however, it affords a lamentable proof of the degradation to which even good men sometimes subject themselves, when they suffer their passions to get the better of their reason. Such language, in the present day, would in justice be treated with silent contempt.

Though it does not appear at what place Mr. Vicars laboured in the ministry, one of his name was beneficed at Stamford in Lincolnshire, and prosecuted for nonconformity. He was apprehended by a pursuivant and cast into prison, upon the bare accusation of a drunken, popish innkeeper, where he continued many weeks before any articles were exhibited against him. He was afterwards bailed, but forced to enter into bonds not to go ten miles from London. And when he was carried before his spiritual judges, he was again cast into prison, sentenced to pay a great fine, and deprived of his living, upon the most frivolous charges, which were disproved by many respectable witnesses.‡

* *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 85.

† *Toplady's Historic Proof*, vol. i. p. 41.

‡ *Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 163.

This, in all probability, was the same person.* Mr. Vicars died August 12, 1652, aged seventy-two years. His remains were interred in the church of Christ-church hospital, and over his grave was a large monumental inscription, which, with the church, was destroyed by the conflagration in 1666.

His Works.—1. A Prospective Glass to look into Heaven; or, the Celestial Canaan Described, 1618.—2. The Soule's Sacred Soliloquie, 1618.—3. England's Hallelujah; or, Great Britain's grateful Retribution for God's gracious Benediction in our many and famous Deliverances, 1631.—4. Quintessence of Cruelty; or, the Popish Powder-plot related, 16...—5. England's Remembrancer; or, a thankful Acknowledgement of Parliamentarie Mercies to the English Nation, 1641.—6. The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of making the Picture of Christ's Humanity, 1641.—7. God in the Mount; or, England's Remembrancer, being a Panegerick Piramides erected to the Honour of England's God, 1642.—8. A Looking Glass for Malignants; or, God's Hand against God-haters, 1643.—9. God in the Mount; or England's Remembrancer, being the First and Second Part of a Parliamentary Chronicle, 1644.—10. God's Arke overtopping the World's Waves; or, a Third Part of Parliamentary Chronicle, 1646.—11. The Burning-bush not consumed; or, the Fourth and Last Part of a Parliamentary Chronicle, 1646.—The three last articles were collected and published together, entitled, "Magnalia Dei Anglicana; or, England's Parliamentary Chronicle, 1646.—12. Coleman-street Conclave Visited, as noticed above, 1648.—13. The Schismatick Sifted, 16...—14. Soul-saving Knowledge, &c., 16...—15. The Picture of a Puritan, 16...—16. Dagon Demolished; or, Twenty admirable Examples of God's severe Justice and Displeasure against the Subscribers of the late Engagement against the King and the whole House of Peers, 1660.—He also published several Translations of the Works of learned Men, among which was "Mischief's Mysterie; or, Treason's Master-piece, the Powder-plot, invented by Hellish Malice, prevented by Heavenly Means," 1617. This was licensed; and a new edition afterwards being wanted, he waited upon Dr. Baker, chaplain to Archbishop Laud, requesting to have the license renewed, when the doctor refused, saying, "We are not so angry with the papists now as we were twenty years ago."†

PATRICK YOUNG, A. M.—This celebrated scholar was born at Seaton in Scotland, August 29, 1584, and educated in the university of St. Andrews, where he took his degrees in arts, and was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. He was the son of Sir Peter Young, joint tutor with Buchanan to James I., and afterwards employed by the king in various negociations, and rewarded with a pension. Upon the

* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 163.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 184.

accession of James to the crown of England, his father accompanied him to this country, and placed Patrick in the family of Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Chester, from whom he derived great assistance in his literary pursuits. In the year 1605 he went to Oxford, entered into deacon's orders, and was elected chaplain of New College. He employed himself in this seat of the muses in the assiduous study of ecclesiastical history and antiquities, and of the Greek language, in which he acquired an extraordinary knowledge. On his removal from the university he went to London, with the intention of obtaining preferment at court, to which he had easy access by means of his father. One of his principal patrons was Dr. James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells, through whose interest he obtained a pension from the king of fifty pounds a year; and as he was master of an elegant Latin style, his pen was occasionally employed by his majesty, and by some other persons in power, in writing letters; and he was also engaged in examining the archives of the kingdom.*

It was one of the first objects of his ambition to obtain the post of keeper of Prince Henry's library and museum, in the palace of St. James's, which was his residence. In this he failed; but he was afterwards, through the influence of his patron, Bishop Montague, elected librarian to the king. To the royal library Mr. Young was a most assiduous visitor, spending the greatest part of his time in it, and, at the king's command, classing its contents in catalogues. He had frequent literary conversations with his majesty, who placed him in this situation, for which he was so well qualified. By his persuasion, on the death of the very learned Isaac Casaubon, in 1614, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, the king purchased most of his books and manuscripts for the library. Also, for the purpose of augmenting the stores committed to his care, he was very desirous of visiting the continent, but was unable to put his design in execution till 1617, when he went to Paris, taking with him recommendatory letters from the learned Camden to some of his literary acquaintance in that metropolis. By their means he was introduced to various other eminent men, with whom, by the sweetness of his disposition, and the candour and urbanity of his manners, he ingratiated himself, and also rendered himself peculiarly dear to all with whom he was connected. After his return, he assisted

* Biog. Britan. vol. viii. p. 4380.—Aikin's Life of Selden and Usher, p. 367.

Mr. Thomas Rhead in making a Latin version of the works of King James, a task undoubtedly considered as highly important by the royal author. This translation, "which," says Dr. Smith, "will extend to *all eternity* the fame of this most learned king," appeared in 1619; and Mr. Young was deputed to carry the present copy from his majesty to the university of Cambridge, which was received with all due respect in solemn convocation.

Mr. Young, in the year 1620, entered into the married state; and, about the same time, though only in deacon's orders, was presented to the rectory of Hays in Middlesex, and the rectory of Llanindimel in Denbighshire,* and was soon after collated to a prebend of St. Paul's, London, and chosen to the office of treasurer of that church. In 1624, on the death of Mr. Rhead, he was recommended by Bishop Williams, then keeper of the great seal, to the Duke of Buckingham, as the fittest person in the kingdom to succeed him in the office of Latin secretary. Although he had hitherto published nothing in his own name, he appears to have acquired a high character among the learned, both at home and abroad, many of the latter of whom corresponded with him upon literary topics, and received from him many signal advantages. When the celebrated John Selden undertook to examine the Arundelian Marbles, he chose Mr. Young for one of his companions; and he derived so much assistance from him in drawing up the account of these valuable remains, that, passing by all patrons of higher rank, he inscribed his "*Marmora Arundeleana*" to Mr. Young, in an affectionate and grateful dedication, which confers honour on both the friends.†

The famous Alexandrian manuscript of the Old and New Testament being added to the treasures of the royal library, Mr. Young employed himself assiduously in collating it with other manuscripts and printed books, and communicated many various readings to Grotius, Usher, and other learned men. It was his intention to print the whole in types similar to the letters of the original, and he published a specimen of his design; but some circumstances occurred to prevent it from being accomplished.‡ The cause of its failure Bishop Kennet ascribes to the puritans; and says, "that religion and learning were so little countenanced by the parliament and assembly of divines, that they never

* Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 50.

† Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 368—371.

‡ Ibid. p. 372.

called for the work, and so it was left unfinished.”* What degree of credit is due to this statement, every reader who is at all conversant with the history of this period will easily judge. Wood observes, “that the laborious task was undertaken by the *request* of the assembly of divines,” and, towards the close of the year 1645, an ordinance was read for printing and publishing it. He had for his assistants the learned Selden and Whitlocke; but why it was never completed he could never learn.† Another writer affirms, that the premature death of Mr. Young prevented the accomplishment of the design; after which it was taken up by Dr. Grabe.‡

Mr. Young, however, in the year 1633, edited, from the same manuscript, the “*Epistles of Clemens Romanus*;” and, in the year 1637, he published, with a Latin version, “*Catena Græcorum Patrum Jobum, collectore Niceta Heracleæ Metropolitæ*.” In 1638, he published “*Exposito in Canticum Canticorum Folioti Episcopi Londinensis, unacum Alcuini in idem Canticum Compendio*.” This work was written by Gilb. Foliot, bishop of London, in the reign of Henry II. He greatly contributed to the publication of Walton’s Polyglot Bible, particularly by his annotations in vol. vi. of that learned production. He continued in the office of librarian till the king’s death; and had made preparations for editing various other manuscripts from the royal library, besides those mentioned above, but the confusions of the times prevented their publication. After his death, most of his Greek and Latin manuscripts, collected and written with his own hand, came to the possession of the celebrated Dr. John Owen.§

From the concurrent testimony of Anthony Wood and Dr. Walker, it is certain that Mr. Young espoused the sentiments and cause of the presbyterians, and we have no evidence that he ever declined from them afterwards; therefore, he is with justice classed among the puritan

* Kennet’s Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 148.

† Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 794.

‡ Aikin’s Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 143.—This famous manuscript is now deposited in the British Museum; but Dr. Grabe never accomplished his design. However, in the year 1786, Dr. Woide, by unexampled labour and care, published a most perfect fac-simile of the *New Testament*, printed in types resembling the characters of the original. The Rev. Mr. Baber, one of the librarians of the British Museum, has lately published a fac-simile of the *Psalms*, and has also this year, 1813, announced his intention of publishing the *Pentateuch* in a similar style.

§ Wood’s Athenæ, vol. i. p. 794.

worthies.* Upon his removal from the office of librarian, he retired to the house of his son-in-law, at Bromfield in Essex, where he was taken off by an acute disease, September 7, 1652, aged sixty-eight years. His corpse was interred in the chancel of Bromfield church, and over his grave was laid a stone of black marble, with the following monumental inscription:†

Here under
lieth the body of PATRICK YOUNG, esq.
Son of Sir PETER YOUNG, knt.
who left two daughters
and coheiresses.
Elizabeth married to John Attwood, esq.
and Sarah married Sir Samuel Bose, knt.
He died September 7, 1652.

Mr. Young was a person most celebrated both for piety and erudition, and one of the most distinguished Grecians of the age. Bishop Montague used to style him, "the patriarch of the Greeks."‡ Of his character, both as a scholar and a man, abundant eulogies, from persons of literary distinction, are annexed to Dr. Smith's biographical memoir of him. He was consulted by most of the great scholars in Europe: as, Fronto-Ducæus, Sirmondus, Petavius, Grotius, Valesius, Salmasius, Vossius, Casaubon, Usher, Selden, and many others.

DANIEL ROGERS, B. D.—This excellent divine was born in the year 1573, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. He was son to Mr. Richard Rogers, of Wethersfield in Essex, and brother to Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, both eminent puritan divines. Upon his removal from the university, he was some time minister at Haversham in Buckinghamshire; afterwards at Wethersfield, the place of his birth, though not the immediate successor of his father. In the latter situation, however, he met with some trouble under the persecution of Bishop Laud. This unmerciful prelate was no sooner advanced to the see of London, than he proceeded with the utmost severity against the nonconformists in his diocese; and, in the year 1629, great numbers, for preaching against arminianism and

* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 794.—Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 50.

† Biog. Britan, vol. vii. p. 4383. ‡ Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 50.

the popish ceremonies, were suspended and brought into other troubles. Among the numerous sufferers from this intolerant prelate was Mr. Rogers.* It does not appear how long he continued under the ecclesiastical oppression, or whether he ever obtained his lordship's favour. In the year 1643, one of his name, a godly and orthodox divine, became rector of Green's Norton in Northamptonshire, the living being sequestered from the Bishop of Oxford for his malignancy against the parliament. This was most probably the same person, but he did not enjoy the benefice any long time, resigning it into the hands of those from whom he received the presentation.+ But whether this was, indeed, the same person, or another of his name, it is certain Mr. Rogers spent his last years among his beloved people at Wethersfield.

He was a man of great parts, great grace, and great infirmities. He had a natural temper so remarkably bad, tarnishing the lustre of his eminent graces, that the famous Mr. John Ward used to say, "My brother Rogers hath grace enough for *two* men; but not enough for *himself*." Though he was a man of most distinguished talents, and received the high applause of all who knew him, yet he enjoyed so large a portion of the grace of God, that he was never lifted up in his own eyes, but always discovered a very low opinion of himself. During the last year of his life, says our author, he exclaimed, in my presence, "O cousin! I would exchange circumstances with the meanest christian in Wethersfield, who hath only the soundness of grace in him."‡ Afterwards, he was seized with a quartan ague, which greatly affected his head; and though he recovered, he continued to be exercised with painful apprehensions about the safety of his own state. He often said, "To die is work by itself." But as the hour of his departure approached, the frame of his mind became more serene and happy; and, upon a review of the work of Christ, he often exclaimed, "O glorious redemption." He died in the month of September, 1652, about eighty years of age.§ Crosby intimates that Mr. Rogers was inclined to the peculiar sentiments of the baptists; and that he candidly declared that he was not convinced, by any part of scripture, in favour of infant baptism.||

* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

+ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 809.

‡ Firmin's Real Christian, Pref.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 435. (12 | 4.)

|| Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 167.

This, however, is a very partial and incorrect statement, as will appear from Mr. Rogers's own words. Speaking of the improper use made of his words by a certain writer, in favour of the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, he says, "If I were to answer that anabaptist, I should answer him *silencio et contemptu*, by silence and contempt. For why should I not? since in that very place of my "Sacraments," part i. p. 78, 79, where I confute those schismatics, he snatches my words from their own defence. My words are, 'I confess myself unconvinced by any demonstration of scripture for pædobaptism;' meaning by any *positive* text. What is that to help him, except I thought there were no other arguments to evince it? Now, what I think of that my next words shew. I need not transcribe them. In a word, this I say, though I know none, yet that is no argument for the non-baptizing of infants; since so many scriptures are sufficiently convincing for it. Therefore, this want of *positive text* must no more exclude infants, than the like reason should disannul the christian sabbath, or women from partaking of the Lord's supper."* Mr. Rogers was a divine of great fame and usefulness in his day. He is classed among the learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge, and styled a divine of vast parts.†

His Works.—1. David's Cost, wherein every one who is desirous to serve God aright may see what it must Cost him, 1619.—2. A Practical Catechism, 1633.—3. Naaman the Syrian, his Disease and Cure, 1642.—4. Matrimonial Honour, 1642.—5. A Treatise on the Sacraments.

JOHN COTTON, B. D.—This celebrated person was born at Derby, December 4, 1585, and educated first in Trinity, then Emanuel college, Cambridge, in the latter of which he was chosen fellow. He received some convictions of sin under the awakening sermons of the famous Mr. Perkins; but his prejudice and enmity against true holiness, and against this holy man's preaching, were so great, that when he heard the bell toll for Mr. Perkins's funeral, he greatly rejoiced that he was then delivered from his heart-searching ministry. The remembrance of this, when afterwards he became acquainted with the gospel, almost broke his heart. The ministry of the excellent Dr. Sibbs proved the means

* Marshall's Defence of Infant Baptism, p. 5, 6. Edit. 1646.

† Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

of his awakening, and of leading him to the knowledge of Jesus Christ; yet he laboured three years under the most disconsolate and painful apprehensions, before he experienced joy and peace in believing. After this important change, Mr. Cotton had to preach at St. Mary's church, when the wits of the various colleges expected a sermon flourishing with all the learning of the university; but, to their great disappointment and mortification, he preached a judicious and impressive discourse on repentance, shooting the arrows of conviction to their consciences. And though most of the collegians manifested their disapprobation, this sermon was instrumental, under God, in the conversion of the celebrated Dr. Preston, then fellow of Queen's college. From this time, the greatest intimacy and affection subsisted betwixt these two learned divines.

Mr. Cotton, upon his leaving the university, was chosen minister of Boston in Lincolnshire; but Bishop Barlow, suspecting him to be infected with puritanism, used his utmost endeavours to prevent his settlement. The learned prelate could openly object nothing, only "that Mr. Cotton was young, and, on this account, not suitable to be fixed among so numerous and factious a people." Indeed, Mr. Cotton had so much modesty, and so low an opinion of himself, that he at first agreed with his lordship, and intended to have returned to Cambridge; but his numerous friends, anxious to have him settled among them, persuaded the bishop of his great learning and worth, who at length granted his institution.*

Mr. Cotton met with a more favourable reception than could have been expected. From the convictions and distress under which he laboured, all the people clearly saw, that, instead of serving any particular party, his great concern for some time was about his own salvation. But, afterwards, the troubles in the town, occasioned by the arminian controversy, became so great, that he was obliged to use his utmost endeavours to allay them. And he is said to have so defended the scripture doctrines of election, particular redemption, effectual calling, and the final perseverance of the saints, that, by the blessing of God upon his efforts, the foundations of arminianism were destroyed, those disputes ceased, and the arminian tenets were heard of no more.†

Mr. Cotton married Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, sister to

* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 14—16.

† Ibid. p. 17.—Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 220.

Mr. James Horrocks, an excellent minister in Lancashire. On the very day of his marriage, it is observed, he first obtained that assurance of his interest in the favour of God, which he never lost to the day of his death. He therefore used to say, "The Lord made that day a day of *double* marriage."

This worthy servant of Christ having been about three years at Boston, began to examine the corruptions in the church, and to scruple conformity to its superstitious ceremonies. He did not keep his sentiments to himself. Whatever appeared to him to be *truth*, he freely and fully made known to others. Such, indeed, was the influence of his opinions, that nearly all the inhabitants of the town, it is said, espoused his sentiments, and became decided nonconformists. But complaints were presently brought against him to the bishop, and he was suspended from his ministry. During his suspension, his liberty was offered to him, with very great preferment, if he would have conformed to the ecclesiastical ceremonies, though it were only in *one* act. But he refused to pollute his conscience by the observance of such base, worldly allurements. He did not, however, continue long under the ecclesiastical censure, but was soon restored to his beloved work of preaching.*

The storm having blown over, he enjoyed rest for many years; and, during the calm, was always abounding in the work of the Lord. In addition to his constant preaching, and visiting his people from house to house, he took many young men under his tuition, from Cambridge, Holland, and Germany. Dr. Preston usually recommended his pupils to finish their studies under Mr. Cotton. His indefatigable labours, both as pastor and tutor, proved a blessing to many. There was so pleasing a reformation among the people of Boston, that superstition and profaneness were nearly extinguished, and practical religion abounded in every corner of the town. The mayor and most of the magistrates were styled puritans, and the ungodly party became insignificant.

Mr. Cotton, after a close and unbiassed examination of the controversy about ecclesiastical discipline, was decidedly of opinion, that it was unlawful for any church to enjoin rites and ceremonies not enjoined by Jesus Christ or his apostles; that a bishop, according to the New Testament, was appointed to rule no larger a diocese than one

* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 17.

congregation; and that the keys of government were given to every congregational church. The public worship of God at Boston was, therefore, conducted without the fetters and formality of a liturgy, or those vestments and ceremonies which were imposed by the commandments of men. Many of his people united together as a christian church, and enjoyed the fellowship of the gospel, upon congregational principles, "entering into a covenant with God and one another, to follow the Lord Jesus in all the purity of gospel worship."*

Mr. Cotton was a celebrated divine, and obtained a most distinguished reputation. The best of men greatly *loved* him, and the worst greatly *feared* him. For his great learning, piety, and usefulness, he was highly esteemed by Bishop Williams, who, when he was keeper of the great seal, recommended him to the king, and his majesty allowed him, notwithstanding his nonconformity, to continue in the exercise of his ministry.+ The celebrated Archbishop Usher had the highest opinion of him, and maintained a friendly correspondence with him. One of his letters, written by the learned prelate's request, dated May 31, 1626, is upon the subject of predestination.‡ He was also greatly admired and esteemed by the Earl of Dorset, who kindly promised him, that, if he should ever want a friend at court, he would use all his interest in his favour.§ But, in the midst of all this honour and applause, his meekness and humility remained untarnished.

Mr. Cotton, having preached at Boston nearly twenty years, found it impossible to continue any longer. He beheld the storm of persecution fast approaching, and wisely withdrew from it. A debauched fellow of Boston, to be revenged upon the magistrates, for punishing him according to his deserts, brought complaints against them, together with Mr. Cotton, in the high commission court; and swore,|| "That neither the minister nor the magistrates of the town kneeled at the sacrament, nor observed certain

* Mather's History, b. iii. p. 18.

+ Fuller's Church History, b. ix. p. 228.

‡ Parr's Life of Usher, p. 338.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 220, 221.

|| When this vile informer first appeared before the commission, he complained only of the magistrates; and when the spiritual rulers said he must include Mr. Cotton, he replied, "Nay, the minister is an honest man, and never did me any wrong." But when they signified that all his complaints would be to no purpose, unless he included the minister, he swore against them all.—*Mather's Hist.* b. iii. p. 19.

ecclesiastical ceremonies." Bishop Laud having got the reins of government into his own hand, by his arbitrary influence, letters missive were sent down to apprehend Mr. Cotton and bring him before the commission; but he wisely concealed himself. Great intercessions were made for him by the Earl of Dorset and others, but all to no purpose. This worthy earl sent him word, "That if he had been guilty of drunkenness or uncleanness, or any such lesser crime, he could have obtained his pardon: but as he was guilty of nonconformity and puritanism, the crime was unpardonable. Therefore," said he, "you must fly for your safety."* So it was undoubtedly from painful experience, that Mr. Cotton afterwards made the following complaint: "The ecclesiastical courts," said he, "are like the courts of the high-priests and pharisees, which Solomon, by a spirit of prophesy, styleth, *dens of lions*, and *mountains of leopards*. Those who have had to do with them have found them to be markets of the sins of the people, the cages of uncleanness, the forgers of extortion, the tabernacles of bribery, and contrary to the end of civil government; which is the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well."

As this holy and excellent divine had no prospect of ever enjoying his liberty in his native country, he resolved to transport himself to New England. Upon his departure from Boston, he wrote a very modest and pious letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, dated May 7, 1633, signifying his resignation of the living.† Dr. Anthony Tuckney, afterwards silenced in 1692,‡ who had for some time been his assistant, became his successor in the pastoral office. Mr. Cotton's resolution to remove into a foreign land was not hasty and without consideration: the undertaking was the result of mature examination, and founded upon most substantial reasons. He observed, that the door of public usefulness was shut against him in his own country; that our Lord commands his disciples, when they are persecuted

* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 19.—While this pious, learned and useful divine was treated with great severity, persons guilty of drunkenness and other foul crimes, very common among the clergy of those times, were very seldom noticed. One instance, however, it may be proper here to mention. The mayor of Arundel, in the year 1634, imprisoned a clergyman for notorious drunkenness and misbehaviour, though he continued only one night under confinement. But, surprising as it may appear, the mayor, for this act of justice, was fined and censured by the high commission at Lambeth.—*Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 164.

† Massachusetts' Papers, 249—251.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 264.

in one place to flee unto another; and that he wished to enjoy all the ordinances of God in their scriptural purity.*

Taking leave of his numerous friends at Boston, he travelled to London in disguise. Upon his arrival in the metropolis, several eminent ministers proposed to have a conference, with a view to persuade him to conform, to which he readily consented. At this conference, all their arguments in favour of conformity were first produced; all of which Mr. Cotton is said to have answered to their satisfaction. He then gave them his arguments for nonconformity, with his reasons for resolving to leave the country, rather than conform to the ecclesiastical impositions. In the conclusion, instead of bringing Mr. Cotton to embrace their sentiments and conform, they all espoused his opinions; and from that time Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Philip Nye, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Henry Whitfield, and some others, became avowed nonconformists, for which they were all afterwards driven into a foreign land.† Mr. Davenport, one of the opponents, giving his opinion of this conference, thus observes: “Mr. Cotton,” says he, “answered all our arguments with great evidence of scripture, composedness of mind, mildness of spirit, constant adherence to his principles; keeping them unshaken, and himself from varying from them, by any thing that was spoken. The reason of our desiring to confer with him, rather than any other, upon these weighty points, was, our former knowledge of his approved godliness, excellent learning, sound judgment, eminent gravity, and sweet temper, whereby he could quietly bear with those who differed from him.”‡

Mr. Cotton having fully resolved upon crossing the Atlantic, John Winthrop, esq. governor of the new plantation, procured letters of recommendation from the church at Boston to their brethren in New England. He took shipping the beginning of July, 1633, and arrived at Boston in New England the beginning of September following. He had for his companions in the voyage, the excellent Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, both driven from their native country by the intolerant proceedings of the bishops. After being about a month at sea, Mrs. Cotton was delivered of a son; who, from the place of his birth, was

* Massachusetts' Papers, p. 55—57.

† Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 20—218.

‡ Norton's Life of Mr. Cotton, p. 32, 33. Edit. 1658.

called *Seaborn*. Upon their arrival at Boston, the town, which had been hitherto called Trimountain, on account of its three hills, was, out of respect to Mr. Cotton, who went from Boston in Lincolnshire, now called *Boston*.*

This learned divine, presently after his arrival, was chosen colleague to Mr. John Wilson, in the church at Boston, which soon proved an unspeakable blessing to the town. It was in part owing to his wisdom and influence, that in a few years it became the capital of the whole province. Previous to Mr. Cotton's arrival, the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions were both in a very shattered state; but, by his vigorous and judicious efforts, the utmost order and agreement were promoted; and, it is said, he was more useful than any other person in the settlement of the civil as well as the ecclesiastical polity of New England.† About the year 1642, when the episcopal power began to decline in England, several of the leading members in both houses of parliament wrote to him, warmly pressing him to return to his native country; but he, enjoying the blessings of peace and safety, was unwilling to venture out in the midst of the storm.‡ He therefore continued at Boston to the day of his death.

About this time, numerous antinomian and familistic errors began to be propagated in various parts of New England, particularly at Boston. This raised a dreadful tempest among the people. Mrs. Hutchinson, and Mr. Wheelwright, her brother, were at the head, and Mr. Cotton was deeply involved in the unhappy affair. Indeed, some of our historians do not hesitate to affirm, that he imbibed some of their wild opinions; but, upon farther examination, he saw his error, and renounced them.§ Others deny the whole charge, and endeavour to prove it altogether a slander intended to injure his reputation.|| All, however, agree, that at the synod of Cambridge, in 1646, he openly declared his utter dislike of all those opinions, as being some of them heretical, some blasphemous, some erroneous, and all incongruous. At the above synod, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Richard Mather, and Mr. Ralph Partridge, were each appointed to draw up a platform of church government, with a view to collect one out of them all at the next

* Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 40.

† Ibid. p. 54.

‡ Mather's Hist. b. iii. 20—23.

§ Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 57—59.—Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 142.

|| Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 21.—Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 207.

synod; which was done accordingly. Till this platform was adopted, the churches of New England made frequent use of Mr. Cotton's book, entitled, "The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."*

This celebrated divine, after his removal to New England, held a friendly correspondence with many persons of distinction in his native country, among whom was the Protector Cromwell. One of the protector's letters, written with his own hand, dated October 2, 1652, is here inserted verbatim, for the satisfaction of every inquisitive reader. The address is, "To my esteemed friend, Mr. Cotton, pastor to the church at Boston in New England;" and the letter itself is as follows:

"Worthy sir, and my christian friend,

"I received yours a few dayes since. It was welcome
 "to me because signed by you, whome I love and honour
 "in the Lord: but more to see some of the same grounds of
 "our actinges stirringe in you, that have in us to quiet us
 "to our worke, and support us therein, which hath had
 "greatest difficultye in our engagement in Scotland, by
 "reason wee have had to do with some whoe were (I
 "verily thinke,) godly; but, through weaknesse and the
 "subtiltye of Satan, involved in interests against the Lord
 "and his people. With what tendernessee wee have pro-
 "ceeded with such, and that in synceritye, our papers
 "(which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest,
 "and I give you some comfortable assurance off. The
 "Lord hath marvellously appeared even against them; and
 "now againe, when all the power was devolved into the
 "Scottish kinge and malignant partye, they invadinge
 "England, the Lord rayned upon them such snares as the
 "inclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that
 "of their whole armie, when the narrative was framed, not
 "five of their whole armie returned. Surely, sir, the Lord
 "is greatly to be feared as to be praised. Wee need your
 "prayers in this as much as ever; how shall we behave
 "ourselves after such mercyes? What is the Lord a
 "doeing? What propheties are now fulfillinge? Who
 "is a God like ours? To know his will, to doe his will,
 "are both of him.

"I tooke this libertye from businesse to salute thus in a
 "word: truly I am ready to serve you, and the rest of our
 "brethren, and the churches with you. I am a poor weake

* Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 145, 146.

“ creature, and not worthy of the name of a worme; yet
 “ accepted to serve the Lord and his people. Indeed, my
 “ dear friend, between you and me, you knowe not me; my
 “ weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskillfullnesse,
 “ and every way unfitnessse to my worke; yett the Lord,
 “ who will have mercye on whome he will, does as you
 “ see. Pray for me. Salute all christian friendes, though
 “ unknown.

“ I rest your affectionate friend to serve you,

“ O. CROMWELL.”*

Mr. Cotton was a divine indefatigably laborious all his days. He lived under a conviction of that sacred precept, “ Be not slothful in business, but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.” He rose early, and commonly studied twelve hours a day, accounting that a *scholar's day*. He was resolved to *wear* out, rather than *rust* out. He was a man of great literary acquirements, and so well acquainted with the Hebrew, that he could converse in it with great ease. He was a most celebrated preacher, delivering the great truths of the gospel with so much gravity and judgment, that his hearers were struck with admiration and reverence; and with so much plainness, that persons of the weakest capacity might understand him. He was remarkable for practical religion and christian benevolence, and his whole life was filled with acts of piety and charity. He was a person of great modesty, humility, and good-nature; and though he was often insulted by angry men, he never expressed the least resentment. A conceited ignorant man once followed him home after sermon, and with frowns told him his preaching was become dark or flat. To whom he meekly replied, “ Both, brother; it may be both: let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise.” At another time, Mr. Cotton being insulted by an impudent fellow in the street, who called him an old fool, replied, “ I confess I am so. The Lord make thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation.” We give one instance more. Mr. Cotton having, by the desire of a friend, given his thoughts upon the doctrine of reprobation, against the exceptions of the arminians, the manuscript fell into the hands of the celebrated Dr. Twisse, who published a refutation of it; upon which Mr. Cotton thus modestly observed, “ I hope God will give me an opportunity to consider the doctor's labour of love. I bless the Lord, who has made me willing to be

* Sloane's MSS. No. 4156.

taught by a meaner disciple than such a doctor; whose scholastical acuteness, pregnancy of wit, solidity of judgment, and dexterity of argument, all orthodox divines so highly honour; and before whom all arminians and jesuits fall down in silence. God forbid that I should shut my eyes against any light brought to me by him. Only I desire not to be condemned as a pelagian or arminian before I am heard."*

Mr. Cotton often wished not to outlive his work. Herein his desire was granted; for his last illness was very short. Having taken leave of his beloved study, he said to Mrs. Cotton, "*I shall go into that room no more.*" He was desirous to depart, that he might enjoy Christ and the company of glorified saints, particularly his old friends, Preston, Ames, Hildersham, Dod, and others, who had been peculiarly dear to him while he lived. Having set his house in order, and taken a solemn leave of the magistrates and ministers of the colony, who came to see him in his sickness, he sweetly slept in Jesus, December 23, 1652, aged sixty-seven years. His remains were interred with great lamentation and funeral solemnity. He is denominated "an universal scholar, a living system of the liberal arts, and a walking library. He was deeply skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and an extraordinary theologian."† Fuller has honoured him with a place among the learned writers and fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.‡ Dr. Cotton Mather, the pious historian, was his grandson.

HIS WORKS.—1. The Way of Life, 1641.—2. Doubts of Predestination, 1646.—3. Exposition upon Ecclesiastes and Canticles, 1648.—4. The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648.—5. Commentary on the First Epistle of John, 1656.—6. Milk for Babes.—7. A Treatise on the New Covenant.—8. Various Sermons.—9. Answer to Mr. Ball about Forms of Prayer.—10. The Grounds and Ends of Infant Baptism.—11. A Discourse upon Singing Psalms.—12. An Abstract of the Laws in Christ's Kingdom, for Civil Government.—13. A Treatise on the Holiness of Church Members.—14. A Discourse on Things Indifferent.—15. The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.—16. Answer to Mr. Cawdry.—17. The Bloody Tenet Washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb.—18. A Copy of a Letter of Mr. Cotton's of Boston in New England, sent in Answer of certain Objections made against their Discipline and Orders there, directed to a Friend.

* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 26—29.

† Ibid. p. 25.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

WILLIAM LYFORD, B. D.—This worthy divine was born at Peysmore, near Newbury, in Berkshire, about the year 1598, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. While at the university, he entered upon the ministerial function, and in the year 1631 was admitted to the reading of the sentences in the college. Afterwards, by favour of the Earl of Bristol, he became minister of Sherborn in Dorsetshire, where he continued the rest of his days. Upon the commencement of the civil wars he espoused the cause of the parliament; and in 1643 was nominated one of the assembly of divines; but choosing rather to continue in his stated ministerial exercises, he did not sit among them. He was zealous and laborious in the work of the Lord, taking unspeakable pleasure in every duty of the pastoral office. He fed the lambs in Christ's flock, and possessed an excellent talent for catechizing youth, wherein he was eminently useful.

Mr. Lyford was a divine of an excellent spirit, and an avowed advocate of peace and moderation. He took no active part in the public broils of the nation; but drew up his thoughts in writing, in a work entitled, "Cases of Conscience propounded in the Time of Rebellion." This work, according to Bishop Kennet, was written with plainness, modesty, and impartiality, in discussion of the three following questions:—"1. Whether it be lawful to keep days of public rejoicing and thanksgiving for victories in a civil war?—2. Whether it be lawful for the civil magistrate to impose an act of worship in itself unlawful, or esteemed to be so, on men of a different judgment, especially on a minister, who must needs be not only a passive hearer, but an actor in the business, under temporal pains of sequestration, imprisonment, deprivation, &c.?—3. Whether a minister performing such an act of worship, upon such a force or fear, or for temporal ends, does perform an acceptable service unto God?"* He answered each of these questions in the *negative*, in which he discovered his sentiments relative to the controversies of the day.

Mr. Lyford, during his last sickness, "looked for the appearance of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." This supported and comforted his mind under a long and painful illness. During the whole of it, his confidence was fixed on Jesus Christ, the rock of ages. In his letters written at this period, he thus expressed himself: "However

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 349.

it may please God to dispose of my health, I rest comfortably assured of his everlasting love to me in his Son Jesus Christ; who loved me and gave himself for me. In the use of the means, I wait to see what the Lord will do with me. I know it will be well with me at last, having so many pledges of his everlasting love to support me. My wasting continues, and my appetite faileth; but my God faileth not. In him, and in contemplation of the great things he hath done for me, and the far greater things he will yet do, I find refreshment." A few days previous to his dissolution, his friends desiring him to give them some account of his hopes and comforts, he cheerfully replied, "I will let you know how it is with me, and on what ground I stand. Here is the grave, the wrath of God and devouring flames, the great punishment of sin, on the one hand; and here am I, a poor sinful creature, on the other: but this is my comfort, the covenant of grace, established upon so many sure promises, hath satisfied all. The act of oblivion passed in heaven is, *I will forgive their iniquities, and their sins will I remember no more, saith the Lord*. This is the blessed privilege of all within the covenant, of whom I am one. For I find the spirit which is promised bestowed upon me, in the blessed effects of it upon my soul, as the pledge of God's eternal love. By this I know my interest in Christ, who is the foundation of the covenant; and therefore, my sins being laid on him, shall never be charged on me." As the earthly house of his tabernacle was dissolving, with great difficulty, he said, "My dissolution is more comfortable to me than my marriage-day. Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." And when the trying moment arrived, he cheerfully surrendered his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer, October 3, 1653, aged fifty-five years, when his remains were interred in the chancel of Sherbourn church.*

Fuller observes, that Mr. Lyford was "a man of a pleasant countenance, a courteous carriage, a meek spirit, great modesty, and that his memory is still preserved in his learned works."† Wood says, "he joined the presbyterians, was much followed for his edifying and practical preaching, and that his works savour much of piety, zeal, and sincerity, but shew him to have been a *zealous Calvinist*."‡ Dr. Walker affirms, "that he suffered much from the faction, both in his

* Memorials of Mr. Lyford, prefixed to his "Plain Man's Senses Exercised." Edit. 1655.

† Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 96.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 96.

name and ministry; and they wondered," says he, "that so holy a man as he was, should doat so much on kings, bishops, the Common Prayer, and ceremonies."* He bequeathed, in his last will and testament, the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds to Magdalen college, Oxford, "in gratitude for the advantages which he had there enjoyed; and in restitution for a sum of money, which, according to the corrupt custom of those times, he had received for the resignation of his fellowship."† Mr. Francis Bamfield, afterwards ejected in 1662, was his successor at Sherborn.‡

HIS WORKS.—1. Principles of Faith and a Good Conscience, 1642.—2. An Apologie for our Public Ministrie and Infant-Baptism, 1653.—3. The Plain Man's Senses Exercised to discern both Good and Evil; or, a Discovery of the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, 1655.—4. A Legacy; or, an Help to Young People to prepare them for the Sacrament, 1656.—5. Cases of Conscience, propounded in the time of Rebellion, Resolved, 1661.—6. Conscience Informed, touching our late Thanksgivings, 1651.—7. Sermons on various Occasions.

JOHN LATHORP.—This excellent person was minister of Egerton in Kent; but, renouncing his episcopal ordination, was chosen pastor of the independent church, under the care of Mr. Henry Jacob, London, upon Mr. Jacob's retiring to America. This little society, which had hitherto assembled in private, moving from place to place, began about this time to assume courage, and ventured to shew itself in public. It was not long, however, before the congregation was discovered by Tomlinson, the bishop's pursuivant, at the house of Mr. Humphrey Barnet, a brewer's clerk, in Blackfriars; when, April 29, 1632, forty-two of them were apprehended, and only eighteen escaped. Of those who were taken, some were confined in the Clink, some in New Prison, and others in the Gatehouse, where they continued about two years. They were then released upon bail, except Mr. Lathorp, for whom no favour could for some time be obtained. He, at length, petitioned the king, and his numerous family of children laid their lamentable case at the feet of Archbishop Laud, requesting that he might go into banishment in a foreign land; which being granted, he went to New England, in the year 1634, when he was accompanied by about thirty of his

* Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 419.

† Memorial of Mr. Lyford.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 571.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 419.

congregation. It is observed, that, during his imprisonment, his wife fell sick and died; but that he obtained so much favour as to visit her, and pray with her, before she breathed her last; and then returned to prison.*

Mr. Lathorp was a man of learning, and of a meek and quiet spirit; but met with some uneasiness from his people on the following occasion. It appears that some of his congregation entertained doubts of the validity of baptism, as administered by their own pastor; and one person, who indulged these scruples, carried his child to be re-baptized at the parish church. This giving offence to some persons, the subject was discussed at a general meeting of the society; and when the question was put it was carried in the negative: at the same time it was resolved, by a majority, not to make any declaration at present, *whether or no parish churches were true churches*. This decision proving unacceptable to the most rigid among them, they desired their dismissal; and, uniting with some others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of infant baptism, formed themselves into a new society, which is thought to have been the first baptist congregation in England. This separation took place in the year 1633, and the new society chose Mr. John Spilsbury for its pastor.† But the remainder of Mr. Lathorp's church renewed their covenant, *to walk together in the ways of God, so far as he had made them known, or should make them known to them, and forsake all false ways*: and so steady were they to their vows, that there was scarcely an instance of any one departing from the church, even under the severest persecutions.‡

Mr. Lathorp, being driven from his native country, and retiring to New England, was chosen first pastor of the church at Scituate, where he continued for some time, distributing the bread of life. Part of the church afterwards removing to Barnstable, he removed with them, where he continued pastor of the church to the day of his death. He died November 8, 1653. He was a man of a happy and pious spirit, studious of peace, a lively preacher, and willing to spend and be spent for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls.§

Mr. Prince, in compiling his "Chronological History of New England," made use of "An original Register," in manuscript, by Mr. Lathorp, giving an account of Scituate

* Morton's Memorial, p. 141.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 273.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 373, 374.—Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 148, 149.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 374.

§ Morton's Memorial, p. 141.

and Barnstaple, where he had been successively the first minister.*

WILLIAM GOUGE, D.D.—This very learned and celebrated divine was born at Bow, near Stratford, Middlesex, November 1, 1575, and educated first at Eton school, then in King's college, Cambridge. He was endowed with great powers of mind, was a great lover of learning, and perhaps exceeded by none in close application to study. His progress in the various departments of useful literature corresponded with his application. During his first three years at the university, he was so assiduous in his academical pursuits, that he slept only one night out of the college. Here he spent nine years, and during the whole of that period he was never absent from the college prayers at half past five o'clock in the morning, unless he was from home. He usually rose so long before the hour of prayer, as to have time for private devotion and reading his usual portion of scripture. He invariably read *fifteen* chapters in the Bible every day; five in the morning, before he entered upon his regular studies, five after dinner, and five at night before he went to rest. When he was chosen reader of logic and philosophy in the college, he was so remarkably exact in those exercises, and performed them with such admirable propriety, that, while he gained the high applause of his auditors, he incurred the hatred of those who were less attentive to their duty. Indeed, he was so exact and conscientious in all his ways, that he was reproachfully denominated an *arch-puritan*.

In the year 1608, he was unanimously chosen minister of Blackfriars, London; where he appears to have been assistant to the excellent Mr. Stephen Egerton, and, at his death, succeeded him in the pastoral office. His labours were peculiarly acceptable to the people; the congregation greatly increased; and the church was greatly enlarged. Though considerable preferments were frequently offered him, he refused them all. His only object was to be useful to souls. He used to say, "It is my highest ambition to go from Blackfriars to heaven." He was highly esteemed by the people of his charge, and by all who knew his worth. Multitudes statedly resorted to his ministry, and many strangers attended his Wednesday morning lecture. This lecture he

* Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. Pref. p. 8.

kept up about *thirty-five* years. Indeed, so great was his fame, that when religious persons from distant parts of the country went to London, they did not think their business finished, unless they had attended Blackfriars lecture. The success of his ministry was also very great. It is said, that thousands were converted and built up under his ministry.* He was long employed in the work, and eminently faithful and laborious as long as he could get into the pulpit. His preaching was always distinct, his method easy, and his language adapted to persons of the meanest capacities.

Dr. Gouge, while he preached the gospel to others, enjoyed its consolations in his own mind. He found so much true comfort in his work, as, he believed, could not be found in any other employment. He often professed, that his greatest pleasure in this world was in preaching the gospel. His heart and his happiness were so much in his work, that he often said to Lord Coventry, then keeper of the great seal, that he envied not his situation. His whole life was particularly exemplary. The doctrine which he delivered to others had its proper influence and effect upon himself. Although his conduct was unblamable and irreprovable in the sight of all men, he was not without his enemies. He was as excellent and peaceable a subject as any in the nation; yet, through the instigation of Bishop Neile, he was cast into prison only for republishing Finch's book on "The Calling of the Jews." Having remained in prison nine weeks, he was released. In the year 1626, he was chosen one of the feoffees for purchasing impropriations; for which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the star-chamber: but the prosecution being so manifestly invidious, was afterwards dropped.† During the intolerance of Bishop Laud, he was prosecuted in the high commission, for opposing arminianism and the new ceremonies.‡

This celebrated divine was deeply concerned for the Redeemer's cause in foreign countries, as well as at home. He exercised particular compassion towards the foreign protestants, under all their afflictions and persecutions. He rejoiced in their prosperity, but was afflicted in their adversity. Therefore, when public collections for the poor and distressed ministers of the Palatinate utterly failed, he united with his brethren in promoting a private contribution for their relief:

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 234—239.

† Ibid. p. 239—241.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 362.

but, marvellous as it may appear, for this singular act of generosity and humanity, he was convened before the high commission as a notorious delinquent.*

In the year 1643, Dr. Gouge was nominated one of the assembly of divines. He assiduously attended during the whole session; and was held in so high reputation, that he often filled the moderator's chair in his absence. September 25th, in the same year, when the house of commons, the Scots commissioners, and the assembly of divines met in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, to subscribe the covenant, Dr. Gouge concluded the solemnity with prayer. He was one of the select committee for the examination of ministers who petitioned for sequestered livings. In 1644, he was upon the committee appointed for the examination and ordination of ministers. In 1647, at the first session of the provincial assembly, he was chosen prolocutor, and opened the session with a sermon at Blackfriars. In the same year he was upon the committee appointed to draw up the confession of faith. And in the year 1648, he was on the committee appointed to draw up the assembly's annotations. His portion was from the first book of Kings to the book of Esther, inclusive.† In the same year he united with his brethren, in London and its vicinity, in declaring against the king's death.‡

Dr. Gouge was a strict observer of the sabbath; and when the Book of Sports came out, he absolutely refused to read it. He was determined to suffer, rather than sin by encouraging profane sports on the Lord's day. He was exact in observing the public exercises of the house of God, in promoting religion in his family, and in the devotions of the closet; and, to the great honour of his character, he would never allow his servant to be absent from public worship on the Lord's day to cook provision, whatever company he expected. He possessed an excellent talent for solving cases of conscience; and so great was the blessing of God upon his judicious counsels, that multitudes were restored to joy and peace in believing. Ministers, in difficult cases, often consulted him; on which account, he was denominated the *father* of the London divines, and the very *oracle* of his time. He was said to be the very picture of *Moses* for a meek and quiet spirit. As he was not easily provoked, so he was never inclined to provoke others. When he received

* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 164.

† Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. iii. p. 52, 70, 140, 350, 355, 452.

‡ Calamy's Continuation, vol. ii. p. 743.

any injury, he always prayed for his enemies, and said, "that revilers and evil doers always hurt themselves most." He was remarkably kind to persons in distress, especially the poor of Christ's flock. According to the ability which God gave him, he employed his substance to useful purposes. He afforded much support to the poor scholars at the university. It was his very meat and drink to do his heavenly Father's will. His humility, indeed, outshone all his other amiable endowments. He was never lifted up by multitudes flocking to hear him, nor by the applause he received from them; but used to say, "I know more to *abase* me, than others do to *exalt* me."

He was, through the whole of his life, remarkably exact and conscientious in the improvement of his time. He rose early, both winter and summer. If at any time he heard other persons at their work before he was in his study, he would complain, saying, "I am much troubled that any persons should be at their calling before I am at mine." He was an excellent scholar, being familiarly conversant with the original languages, and every department of useful literature. When the persecuting prelates would allow of no other fasts besides those appointed by authority, Dr. Gouge and his pious friends kept their private fasts regularly every month. On these occasions he greatly excelled. He was remarkably concerned for the welfare of the foreign protestant churches. Hearing that it was well with them, he rejoiced and praised God: but when he received evil tidings, "he sat down and wept, and mourned, and fasted, and prayed unto the God of heaven."

In the decline of life, he was much afflicted with an asthma and the stone. Under these painful maladies he often *groaned*, but never *murmured*. Labouring under these afflictions, he frequently said, "Soul, be silent; soul, be patient. It is thy God and Father who thus ordereth thy estate: thou art his clay; he may tread and trample on thee as he pleaseth: thou hast deserved much more. It is enough that thou art kept out of hell. Though thy pain be grievous, it is tolerable. Thy God affords some intermissions. He will turn it to thy good, and then put an end to all. None of these things can be expected hereafter." Under his greatest pains he used the words of Job: "Shall we receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive evil?" At such times, he committed his soul to Christ, saying, "I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." When his friends endeavoured

to comfort him, by reminding him of his gifts and usefulness, he replied, "I dare not think of any such thing for comfort. Jesus Christ, and what he hath done and suffered, is the only ground of comfort. I, being a great sinner, comfort myself in a great Saviour. When I look upon myself, I see nothing but weakness and emptiness; but when I look upon Christ, I see nothing but sufficiency and fulness."

A few days before he died, having continued for three days in a state of drowsiness, he inquired what day it was, and exclaimed, "Alas, I have lost three days!" Afterwards, reviving a little, he said, "Now I have not long to live. The time of my departure is at hand. I am going to my desired haven. I am most willing to die. I have, blessed be God, nothing else to do but to die. Death is my best friend, next to Jesus Christ. I am sure I shall be with Christ when I die."* As the hour of his departure approached, he spoke much in admiration of the rich grace and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and died full of unspeakable comfort, December 12, 1653, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, having been minister of Blackfriars nearly forty-six years.† Dr. Calamy observes, "that he was a person of as eminent a reputation for ministerial abilities, strict piety, and indefatigable labours for the good of souls, as most ministers that ever were in the city.‡ Granger says, "he was offered the provostship of King's college, Cambridge, but declined to accept it; and that he was laborious, exemplary, and so much beloved that none ever thought or spoke ill of him, excepting those who were inclined to think or speak ill of religion itself."§ He is classed among the learned writers and distinguished worthies of this college.|| Wood styles him "a pious and learned divine," and says, "he is often honourably mentioned by Voëtius, Streso, and other learned and foreign divines."¶ Mr. William Jenkin was assistant to Dr. Gouge about twelve years, preached his funeral sermon, and succeeded him in the pastoral office. Mr. Thomas Gouge, on whose death Dr. Watts wrote an excellent elegiac poem, was the doctor's son, and Mr. Richard Roberts married his eldest daughter. These three excellent divines were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662.**

HIS WORKS.—1. Eight Treatises on Domestic Duties.—2. The Whole Armour of God.—3. A Treatise on the Sin against the Holy

* Jenkin's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Gouge.

† Clark's Lives, p. 242—246. ‡ Calamy's Continuation, vol. i. p. 12.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 179. || Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 75.

¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 807.

** Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 109, 184. iii. p. 301.

Ghost.—4. Two Catechisms.—5. A Guide to go to God.—6. God's three Arrows, the Plague, Famine, and Sword.—7. The Extent of Divine Providence.—8. The Dignity of Chivalry.—9. The Saints Sacrifice.—10. Two Treatises, 1. On the Sabbath, 2. On Apostacy.—11. The Saints Support, a Sermon before the House of Commons.—12. Mary's Memorial.—13. The Progress of Divine Providence, a Sermon before the House of Lords.—14. A Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Duck.—15. The Right Way, a Sermon before the House of Lords.—16. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1655.—Wood styles this a learned and useful work; and the pious Bishop Wilkins classes Dr. Gouge's sermons among those which he denominates the most excellent of his time.*

THOMAS HILL, D. D.—This learned divine was born at Kington in Worcestershire, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. He made great progress in learning, was a man of most exemplary piety, and exceedingly beloved and admired. Having finished his studies at the university, he sojourned some time, for his further improvement, with Mr. John Cotton, of Boston in Lincolnshire; the benefit of whose society, example, and instructions, he never lost to the day of his death. He afterwards returned to Cambridge, became an excellent tutor, and a very popular and useful preacher in the church of St. Andrews. When the plague raged in the place, and multitudes fled from their stations, he still continued in the work of the Lord. As the good shepherd of Christ's flock, he did not flee when danger approached. Upon his removal from the university, he was chosen pastor of the church of Tichmarch in Northamptonshire; where he continued a constant, faithful, and useful preacher about nine years. Here he was highly esteemed by the Earl of Warwick, in whose family he became acquainted with Mrs. Willford, governess to the earl's daughter, whom he afterwards married.

In the year 1640, when the committee of accommodation was appointed by the house of lords, to consider the innovations in religion, Dr. Hill, with several bishops and other learned divines, was chosen a member of the sub-committee, to prepare materials for their debate.† In 1643, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines; he constantly attended; and, by his great learning and moderation, was particularly useful in all their deliberations. The year following he was chosen one of the committee for the examination and

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 807.—Wilkins's *Discourse on Preaching*, p. 82, 83. Edit. 1679.

† Kingdom's MS. Collec. p. 200, 201.

ordination of public preachers; and in 1645, when the committee of accommodation was revived by order of parliament, he was appointed one of its learned members.* He preached frequently before the house of parliament, and was chosen morning lecturer at the Abbey church, Westminster. He preached every Lord's day at St. Martin's in the Fields, "where," it is observed, "his labours were made a blessing to *many thousands*."† He was a divine universally celebrated for learning and ability; and therefore was appointed master of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards of Trinity college, in the same university. Here he employed all his talents and zeal in the advancement of sound learning and genuine piety, and in the observance of college exercises. Mr. Henry Oatland, afterwards one of the ejected ministers, who was one of his pupils, observes, "that he derived unspeakable advantage from Dr. Hill's plain but excellent method of preaching Christ."‡ He was twice chosen vice-chancellor, and was particularly concerned to preserve the honour and privileges of the university.

Dr. Hill was a divine sound in the faith, and firmly attached to the doctrinal articles of the church of England. He considered unconditional election, salvation by grace, justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and the final perseverance of believers, not as points of dry speculation or vain curiosity, but as prominent doctrines of scripture, and the very life of true christian faith. What he believed he constantly practised through life, and found its unspeakable comforts in truth. During his last sickness, being exceedingly afflicted with a quartan ague, he found much joy and peace in believing. The distinguishing love of God in Christ Jesus was the foundation of his confidence and happiness. Being asked, just before his departure, whether he enjoyed peace with God, he cheerfully replied, "Through the mercy of God in Christ my peace is made, and I quietly rest in it." He died much lamented, December 18, 1653. He was a divine eminent for humility and holiness, an excellent and useful preacher, and of great learning and moderation; but no friend to arminianism.§ He used to lay his hand upon his breast, and say, "Every true christian hath something here, that will frame an argument against arminianism."||

This learned and pious divine has not escaped the reproach-

* Papers of Accommodation, p. 13.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 230, 231.

‡ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 885.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 233.

|| Firmin's Real Christian, p. 26. Edit. 1670.

ful insinuations of Dr. Grey. Mr. Neal having specified his preferments, the doctor adds, "but how deserving this gentleman was of these preferments, his works sufficiently testify:" and then, to prove what he insinuates, he cites Dr. Hill's words, delivered on public occasions, as follows:—"That we may have an incorrupt religion, without sinful, without guileful mixtures; not a linsey-woolsey religion: all new-born babes will desire word-milk, sermon-milk, without guile, without adulterating sophistication of it.—What pity it is that cathedral societies, which might have been colleges of learned presbyters for feeding and ruling of city churches, and petty academies to prepare pastors for neighbouring places, should be often sanctuaries for nonresidents, and be made nurseries to many such drones, who can neither preach, nor pray, otherwise than *read, say, or sing their prayers*, and in the mean time, truth must be observed in a non-edifying pomp of ceremonious services.—Behold, with weeping eyes, the many hundred congregations in the kingdom, where millions of souls are like to perish for want of vision. Truth is sold from among them, either by soul-betraying nonresidents, soul-poisoning innovators, or soul-pining dry nurses. In many places the very image of jealousy, the idol of the mass, is set up; yea, the comedy of the mass is acted, because she wanteth the light of truth to discover the wickedness and folly of it. In many miles, not a minister that can *preach* and *live* sermons. I wish every parliament-man had a map of the soul-misery of the most of the ten thousand churches and chapels in England.

"In the stead of the high commission," says he, "which was a soul-scourge to many godly and faithful ministers, we have an honourable committee, that turns the wheel upon such as are scandalous and unworthy. In the room of Jeroboam's priests, burning and shining lights are multiplied in some dark places of the land, which were full of the habitations of cruelty. In the place of a long liturgy, we are in hopes of a pithy directory. Instead of prelatical rails about the table, we have the scripture rails of church discipline in great forwardness. Where popish altars and crucifixes did abound, we begin to see more of Christ crucified in the simplicity and purity of his ordinances. Instead of the prelates' oath, to establish their own exorbitant power, with appurtenances, we have a solemn league and covenant with God, engaging us to endeavour reformation, according to his word; yea, and the extirpation of popery and prelacy itself."* We

* Grey's Exam. of Neal, vol. ii. p. 158, 159.

make no comment upon these expressions, but leave the pious reader to form his own opinion of the ungenerous insinuations of the zealous churchman. Dr. Hill was author of a number of pieces, chiefly sermons before the parliament.

HIS WORKS.—1. *The Trade of Truth Advanced*, in a Sermon to the Honourable House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, July 27, 1642—1642.—2. *The Militant Church Triumphant over the Dragon and his Angels*, preached to both Houses of Parliament, July 21, 1643—1643.—3. *The Season for England's Self-Reflection, and Advancing Temple-Work*, in a Sermon before the Houses of Parliament, August 13, 1644, being an extraordinary Day of Humiliation, 1644.—4. *The Right Separation Encouraged*, preached to the House of Lords, November 27, 1644, being the Day of their monthly public Fast, 1644.

THOMAS WILSON, A. M.—This excellent minister was born at Catterly in Cumberland, in the year 1601, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge; where he was greatly admired for his indefatigable industry, and great progress in useful learning. Upon his leaving the university, he taught school for some time at Chartwood in Surrey; then entered into the ministry at Capel, in the same county. Here, by his judicious preaching and holy example, he directed the people in the way to eternal life. Though he received little or nothing for his pains, he was not the less faithful and laborious in promoting the welfare of souls. He sought not theirs, but them, and was greatly beloved by his people. Afterwards, he removed to Farlington, near Portsmouth, where he laboured among very ignorant and heathenish people. He did not continue long at this place, but removed to Teddington, near Kingston-upon-Thames. In this situation he continued several years, and was made a blessing to many souls. He next accepted a presentation to the benefice of Otham, near Maidstone, in Kent. At this place he was the means of awakening many careless sinners, and of building them up in faith and holiness. Multitudes flocked to hear him from Maidstone and its vicinity; and the church was soon found too small to contain them. His great popularity and usefulness presently awakened the envy of profane sinners, and several neighbouring ministers; but he went on undismayed, the Lord blessing his labours.

Notwithstanding his labours and usefulness, he was at length silenced for refusing to read the Book of Sports. In the month of April, 1634, he was inhibited by Archbishop

Laud's vicar-general, from part of his public ministerial exercises. But, upon the publication of the Book of Sports, he refused to read it, when the archbishop sent for him to Lambeth; and, April 29, 1635, no less than *fourteen* charges were exhibited against him, to each of which he gave his answer, May 28th following. The substance of these articles, together with Mr. Wilson's answers, was as follows:

1. That canonical obedience is due by your oath, taken at your institution.

Answer. It is true, as I understand the oath, it is according to the canons of the church of England.

2. That a minister must have a popular election, as necessary to hold his place.

Ans. I never held such an opinion, nor ever spoke it, privately or publicly.

3. That there is little comfort for a minister instituted and inducted, without the approbation of the people.

Ans. I know and believe the contrary.

4. You have held conventicles in your house, and in other houses in the town of Otham, within this two years, and used exercises of religion by law prohibited.

Ans. I deny that I have holden conventicles, and used exercises of religion by law prohibited.

5. Within this four years you have collected in private houses, or caused to be collected, forty or fifty persons, and to them repeated sermons, expounded scripture, made tedious extemporary prayers, full of tautologies, and delivered dangerous doctrine, to the perverting and corrupting of his majesty's subjects.

Ans. I protest against such doctrine, and any such effect. I also deny that I collected, or caused to be collected, any such persons.

6. You refused to read the King's Declaration for Sports on Sundays, and spoke disdainfully to the apparitor and officer of the court.

Ans. I said to the apparitor, "Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy;" and I said no more. I refused to read the book, not out of contempt of any authority, being commanded by no law. The king's majesty doth not in the book command or appoint the minister to read it, nor it to be read, but published. And seeing there is no penalty threatened, nor authority given to any one to question those who refuse to read it, my refusal to read it was upon sufficient grounds of law and conscience; which, for the satisfaction of this high court, and to clear myself from contempt, I shall

briefly express myself thus: His majesty's express pleasure is, that the laws of the realm, and the canons of the church, be observed in all places of the kingdom; and therefore at Otham in Kent: but this book, as I conceive, is contrary to both.—It is contrary to the statute laws.—It is contrary to the ecclesiastical laws.—It is contrary to the scriptures.—It is contrary to the councils.—It is contrary to divines, ancient and modern.—It is contrary to reason.*

7. In 1633, when the commission was granted for repairing St. Paul's, you said, to build sumptuous temples is to justify antichrist.

Ans. I deny this altogether.

8. In 1634, you bade the people, in scorn and derision, to take heed of dealing with high priest's servants.

Ans. I deny both the time and the words.

9. At Boxley, June 29, 1632, you said, No man can have a broken heart, who hath two steeples; meaning two benefices, alleging Acts xx. 20.

Ans. I never spake such words. But at the funeral of a grave and learned minister, I entreated the ministers present to prepare to give an account of their lives and livings, shewing the vanity of those who plead for pluralities, saying, "That if a man's heart were broken, it would not be with the weight of three churches;" and herein I followed no new opinion, but the general opinion of learned divines, both ancient and modern.

10. You have scandalized the governors and government of the church of England, as persecutors of God's faithful ministers and people.

Ans. This is not true, in the whole or in any part.

11. In April, 1633, you delivered a dangerous doctrine, even that if a subject suffer the penalty of the law from the civil magistrate, he is free from sin.

Ans. I deny the time, and words, and doctrine. I never taught, nor read, nor heard of this doctrine, till I heard this article; and I abhor it, and disclaim it as dangerous.

12. April 22, 1634, you lectured and expounded, after inhibition by the vicar-general.

Ans. This is not true. I did not preach, excepting on Lord's days and holidays; neither did I expound. Yet I had a license to expound, and was not forbidden expounding. I constantly instruct, by question and answer, in the

* Mr. Wilson enlarges upon each of these topics with great judgment, but the whole is too long for insertion.

catechism, such as come to prayers, for which I had my institution and license, and from which I never received any prohibition; nor, so far as I understand, is it any sin against God or man.

13. You are accounted an enemy to the church of England, and draw others into schism after you.

Ans. I deny the whole of this, and every part.

14. You are to promise, by your word and honour, to speak the truth.

Ans. I believe what I have confessed, and deny what I have denied in every part.*

From the above articles, together with Mr. Wilson's replies, it is manifest that Laud had laid the snare to catch him, chiefly for refusing to read the Book of Sports. In this his lordship succeeded according to his wishes: for Mr. Wilson's answers, in which he declared his refusal to read the book, were no sooner given, than the archbishop replied, *I suspend you for ever from your office and benefice till you read it*; and he continued suspended for the space of four years.† About the same time he was committed to Maidstone jail for nonconformity, but how long he remained in confinement it does not appear.‡ At the expiration of the above period, he was brought into the high commission court by means of the archbishop; and, to his great cost and trouble, was again prosecuted for the same crime. Indeed, the archbishop, in answer to this, said, that Mr. Wilson was not censured for not reading the book; but, according to his own confession, for dilapidations, in not repairing his house.§ With what kind of evidence this is asserted, the candid and intelligent reader will easily perceive.

Mr. Wilson, remaining under suspension, and being dissatisfied with the ministry of his successor, removed to Maidstone, where he gave private instructions among his friends. His adversaries, at the same time, traduced his character, and slandered him as a favourer of schism. Therefore, to wipe off the reproach, he addressed a letter to the parishioners of Otham, exhorting them "to fear God and honour the king, and walk in love one towards another." For the information and satisfaction of all, this letter was read to the public congregation on the Lord's day. The news of this, however, soon reached London, when Mr. Wilson and Dr. Tuck, who

* Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 67—89. Edit. 1672.

† Prynn's Cant Doome, p. 149.—Clark's Lives, part i. p. 18—21.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 632.

§ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 344.

had read the letter, were cited to appear before the high commission. Mr. Wilson was charged in the court with having sent a scandalous and offensive letter to Otham, to nourish schism, and to confirm the people in the dislike of government; upon which he acknowledged his writing a letter, but denied its evil tendency, saying, "I know that it was to exhort the people to fear God and the king, and to meddle not with those that are given to change; to walk in faith and love, and to call upon God: but I utterly deny all occasion of derogating from the church of England, or confirmation of any in a dislike of the government, and protest against all aspersions and imputations of schism or scandal: neither did I direct any one to read it, nor intended or desired it should be read in the church."* Notwithstanding all they could allege in their own defence, they were enforced to continue their attendance no less than *three* years, to their great cost and trouble.†

In the year 1639, the Scots having entered England, and a parliament being called, Laud took off Mr. Wilson's suspension. But his troubles and sufferings were not ended; for, September 30, 1640, he was cited to appear before the archbishop's visitors at Feversham, together with other ministers in Kent, to answer for not reading the prayer against the Scots. Upon their appearance, Mr. Edward Bright, being called first, was asked whether he had read the prayer; and when he said he had not, the archdeacon instantly suspended him from office and benefice, without admonition, or even giving him the least time to consider of it. Mr. Wilson, who witnessed this rash proceeding, was next called. When he was asked whether he had read the prayer, he answered in the negative; "because," said he, "in the rubrick of the Common Prayer, it is enjoined that no prayer shall be publicly read excepting those which are contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and that prayer against the Scots is not." This unexpected answer so confounded the archdeacon that he did not know what to say. It cooled his fury, and caused him to proceed more deliberately with Mr. Wilson than he had done with Mr. Bright. He gave him fourteen days to consider of it, and then deliver his answer at Canterbury;‡ but whether he delivered any other answer, and what after-

* Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 90, 91.

† Dr. Tuck's case was, indeed, more distressing than Mr. Wilson's; for, on account of bodily infirmities, he was unable to ride, and necessitated to make all his journies on foot.—*Ibid.* p. 13.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 14—16.

wards followed relative to this case, we are not able, for want of information, to relate.

About the same time a warrant was issued from the lords of the council, among whom were Archbishop Laud and the Bishop of London, to apprehend Mr. Wilson. With this warrant a pursuivant was sent to bring him to London. It does not appear for what crime this prosecution was designed; yet no doubt it was the sin of nonconformity. The pursuivant, having received his warrant, hastened without delay to Otham; where, though he heard Mr. Wilson preach, and was afterwards in the same room with him in his own house, he let him slip out of his hands. Mr. Wilson, suspecting him as soon as he entered the room, retired and hid himself, and so escaped the snare. The pursuivant was enraged at his loss, and said he had been employed in this service *thirty-six* years, and had never been served so before. Mr. Wilson, having escaped the snare, withdrew from the storm till the meeting of the long parliament, when he went to London, and presented his case and petition to the house of commons. The house appointed a committee to take his case into consideration; and, November 30, 1640, Mr. Rouse, who was one of this committee, reported to the house, "That Mr. Wilson had been suspended four years from his living, worth sixty pounds a year, only for not reading the Book of Recreations on the Lord's day; that the archbishop himself had suspended him; and that for three years he had attended upon the high commission." The house therefore resolved, "That Mr. Wilson had just cause of complaint; and that there was just cause for the house to afford him relief."* Upon the presentation of his petition, Sir Edward Deering, one of the members for Kent, said, "Mr. Wilson, your petitioner, is as orthodox in doctrine, as laborious in preaching, and as unblemished in his life, as any minister we have. He is now separated from his flock, to both their griefs: for it is not with him as with many others, who are glad to set a pursuivant on work, that they may have an excuse to be out of the pulpit; it is his delight to preach."† Sir Edward further observes of Mr. Wilson, "He is now a sufferer, as all good men are, under the general obloquy of a puritan. The pursuivant watches his door, and divides him and his cure asunder, to both their griefs. About a week since," he adds, "I went to Lambeth, to move that great bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger from off this minister, and to recall

* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 66.—Nelson's Collec. vol. i. p. 571.

† Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 17—22.

the pursuivant. And I did undertake for Mr. Wilson, that he should answer his accusers in any of the king's courts at Westminster. The bishop made me answer, 'I am sure that he will not be absent from his cure a twelvemonth together.' ”*

Upon the above resolution of the house, he was released from all his troubles, when he returned to his charge and wonted labours at Otham. In the year 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and, though at so great a distance, he constantly attended. In the assembly he was much esteemed for his meek and humble deportment, and his grave and judicious counsels. Having continued some time at Otham, he removed to Maidstone, where he remained to the day of his death. Here his first care was to promote the reformation of the church, and to administer the sacraments, according to his views of the word of God. To this end he preached upon the necessity of observing scriptural discipline, and the qualifications necessary to church-fellowship. At first he met with considerable opposition, but by prudence and perseverance things were brought to a favourable issue.

Mr. Wilson was indefatigable in his attendance upon his numerous duties, and usually observed the following method: he protracted his studies on Saturdays nearly till midnight, and rose by two or three o'clock on a sabbath morning, being much displeased if he was later. About seven he came out of his study, and called his family together, when he read and expounded a portion of scripture, requiring those present to give some account of the exposition; then sung a psalm, and concluded with prayer. At nine o'clock he went to church, and entered upon public worship by singing, then prayed for a blessing, and expounded out of the Old Testament about an hour; then, besides singing and prayer, he preached an hour, and concluded. Then, going home, he invariably prayed with his family before dinner. In the afternoon he observed the same method as in the morning, only his exposition was upon some part of the New Testament. The public services of the day being ended, he called his family together, when many neighbours attended; then they repeated the sermons and expositions, sung a psalm, and concluded with prayer. After this he usually went to a friend's house in the town, where many attended, and did the same. He administered the Lord's supper regularly once a month, delivered weekly lectures, attended meetings for religious conference, and was

* Collection of Deering's Speeches, p. 9, 10. Edit. 1642.

incessant in catechizing. He did the Lord's work faithfully, and found his reward in the labour. Some, indeed, thought he laboured too much, and that he ought to have spared himself; but he was of a contrary opinion, being persuaded that God makes no difference betwixt an *idle* and an *evil* servant. Hence, when his friends attempted to dissuade him from so intense an application, he was ever deaf to their counsel, saying, "Would you have my Lord, when he cometh, to find me idle?"

He was always exact in setting a good example before his children and servants, knowing them to be much influenced by the deportment of superiors. What he preached to them on the sabbath, he practised before them all the week; and "in all things he shewed himself a pattern of good works." He was a strict observer of the sabbath, and eminently successful in promoting the same among his people. This was the happy fruit of his labours at Maidstone, as well as at other places. One of the judges taking notice of this at the assize, publicly declared, that, in all his circuit, there was no town where the Lord's day was so strictly observed. Mr. Wilson was of a courageous spirit, and feared no obstacles in the path of duty. He feared God, and none else. He knew God would take care of his own cause, whatever sufferings his servants might endure; therefore, when trials came upon him, he said, with Luther, "I had rather fall with Christ than reign with Cæsar." He shewed his courage in reprov- ing sin. If men were bold in sinning, he was bold in reprov- ing them, even without respect of persons. His sincerity, humility, and great piety, were manifest to all. The excellent Mr. William Fenner, after being in his company, said, "I am ashamed of myself, to see how Mr. Wilson gallops towards heaven, and I do but creep at a snail's pace."* Indeed, his treasure was in heaven, and his heart was there also. This excellent trait in his character will appear from the following anecdote:—During the insurrection in 1648, the soldiers took from him a legacy of a hundred pounds left to his daughter, though it was afterwards restored. But when the money was gone, being asked whether he was not much troubled, he replied, "No; I was no more troubled when I heard the money was carried off, than when it was brought to my house."†

Mr. Wilson's great piety was most manifest in his affliction and death. When the bridegroom came, he had his lamp trimmed, oil in his vessel, and his light burning. He endured

* Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 22—49.

† Ibid. p. 51.

his extreme pain with exemplary patience: he mourned, but never murmured. He was willing to drink his heavenly Father's bitter cup. When lying upon his death-bed he called his family around him. He desired his wife not to be cast down, or to sorrow as those who have no hope; but to trust in the Lord; and added, "Though we must now be separated for a season, we shall meet again to part no more for ever." He exhorted his children to fear the Lord, saying, "Look you to it, that you meet me not in the day of judgment in an unconverted state." He praised God, and spoke much of the preciousness of Christ. The prospect of his approaching death afforded comfort to his soul. To a pious lady of his acquaintance, who was leaving Maidstone, he pleasantly said, "What will you say, Mrs. Crisp, if I get the start of you, and get to heaven before you get to Dover?" Another person saying, "Sir, I think you are not far from your Father's house;" he immediately replied, "That is good news indeed, and is enough to make one leap for joy." To those who mourned over him, he said, "I bless God, who hath suffered me to live so long to do him some service; and now I have finished the work appointed for me, that he is pleased to call me away so soon." *He fought the good fight, he finished his course, he kept the faith,* and died in peace, towards the end of the year 1653, aged fifty-two years. He had a clear understanding, a quick invention, a sound judgment, a tenacious memory, and was a hard student, a good scholar, an excellent preacher, and *clothed with humility*.* Mr. Wilson was twice married, and by his second wife he had eleven children, ten of whom were living at his death. Mr. Thomas Wilson, ejected in 1662, is supposed to have been his son.† When upon his death-bed he recommended Mr. John Crump, afterwards ejected in 1662, to be his successor.‡ We are informed that Mr. Wilson was a baptist, and in the year 1638, joined Mr. John Spilsbury's church, London;§ but whether he continued to adhere to the baptists' sentiments, and acted upon them to the end of his days, we are unable to ascertain. He was author of a sermon preached before the house of commons, entitled, "Jerechoe's Down-fall," 1643; and probably some others.

* Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 34, 52—64.

† Palmer's Noncon, Mem. vol. ii. p. 182.

‡ Ibid. p. 332.

§ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i, p. 149.—Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 632, 633.

NATHANIEL WARD, A. B.—This excellent person was the son of Mr. John Ward, and brother to Mr. Samuel Ward, both celebrated puritan divines; was born at Haverhil in Suffolk, about the year 1570. He received a liberal education, and was intended for the law; but afterwards travelling into Prussia and Denmark, where he was honoured with the intimate friendship of the celebrated David Pareus of Heidelberg, from whom he received the most valuable instruction, he purposed, upon his return home, to enter upon the christian ministry. He became preacher at St. James's, Duke's-place, London, in the year 1626; and afterwards became rector of Standon Massey in Essex,* where he felt the iron hand of Archbishop Laud. Previous to the year 1633, he was often convened before this intolerant prelate for nonconformity; and, after frequent attendance, for refusing to subscribe according to the canons, he was excommunicated and deprived of his ministry. The good man remained a long time under the prelate's heavy censure.+ It does not indeed appear that he was ever released. For having found that his release could not be obtained without the most degrading submission, contrary to the light of conscience and the testimony of scripture, he left his native country, and in the year 1634 retired to New England. Upon his arrival he was chosen pastor of the church at Ipswich, where he continued in high reputation, frequent labours, and great usefulness, about eleven years. In 1645 he returned to England, and became minister of Shenfield in Essex. He subscribed the Essex testimony as minister of this place, and was sometimes called to preach before the parliament. He greatly lamented the confusions of the times, and discovered great loyalty to the king, and much solicitude for his majesty's welfare.‡ He died at Shenfield in the year 1653, aged eighty-three years.§ He is classed among the learned writers of Emanuel college, Cambridge.|| He was a learned man, a pious christian, an excellent preacher, and the author of many articles, full of wit and good sense, the titles of which have not reached us.

ROBERT ABBOT, A. M.—This person received his education in the university of Cambridge, where he took his

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 917, vol. ii. p. 545.

+ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 525.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 401.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 167.

|| Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

degrees in arts, and was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became vicar of Cranbrook in Kent, and minister of Southwick in Hampshire. A minister of the same name, and no doubt the same person, was a great sufferer under the tyrannical oppressions of Bishop Pierce of Bath and Wells. This learned prelate compelled Mr. Abbot and others, contrary to law and justice, to raise sums of money towards carrying on the war against the Scots.* In the beginning of the year 1643, according to Dr. Walker, he was dispossessed of his vicarage by order of the house of commons; because he had taken another living, which, from his own confession, was inconsistent.† Whether this be indeed correct we are unable to ascertain; but be this as it may, it appears that, upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament, united himself to the puritans, and became rector of St. Austin's church, Watling-street, London, where he continued in peace and quietness all the rest of his days. In each of these situations he was happy among the people of his charge. They were much attached to him, and often warmly pressed him to appear in print. He lived to a good old age, and was living in the year 1653; but when he died we have not been able to learn.‡

His Works.—1. Be Thankful London and her Sisters, 1626.—2. Four Sermons, 1639.—3. Tryal of our Church-forsakers, 1639.—4. Milk for Babes; or, a Mother's Catechism for her Children, 1646.—5. Three Sermons, 1646.—6. A Christian Family Builded by God; or, Directions for Governors of Families, 1653.

JOHN SPILSBURY was a minister of the antipædobaptist denomination. Upon his embracing these sentiments, he is said to have gone into Holland to be baptized by Mr. John Smyth; after which he returned to England, and began to baptize adults by immersion. Crosby, however, attempts to clear him of this, and to prove that he did not go abroad for this purpose; but with what degree of success we will not undertake to determine.§ In the year 1633, part of Mr. John Lathorp's church, in London, having espoused the sentiments of the baptists, desired to be dismissed from the church, and to be allowed to form a distinct congregation. "The church," it is observed,

* Impeachment of Bishop Pierce, p. 8.

† Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 183.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 800.

§ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 96, 103, 104.

“having grown very numerous, and being more than could in those times of persecution conveniently meet together, and believing that those persons acted from a principle of conscience, and not obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired.” They formed themselves, therefore, into a distinct church, September 12, 1633, and chose Mr. Spilsbury to the office of pastor. This church, which settled in Wapping, is thought to have been the first baptist congregation in England.* In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and other celebrated persons, became members of this church,† and the society appears to have been in a flourishing condition.

In process of time, however, some disputes arose among the members, on the subject of mixed communion. Those who opposed it withdrew, and formed a separate society, under the care of Mr. Kiffin. This separation is said to have taken place in 1653, soon after which the present baptist meeting-house in Devonshire-square was built, where Mr. Kiffin and his church assembled for public worship.‡ Mr. Spilsbury, in 1644, subscribed the confession of faith set forth in the name of the seven baptist congregations in London; but when he died we have not been able to learn. It appears that after the above separation he went to Ireland, where he was highly respected. Henry Cromwell, in a letter dated Dublin, March 8, 1654, addressed to Secretary Thurloe, speaks in high terms of him.§ He was a man of an excellent spirit and great moderation.|| He published a piece entitled, “The peculiar Interest of the Elect in Christ and his Saving Grace.”

CUTHBERT SYDENHAM, A. M.—This divine was born at Truro in Cornwall, in the year 1622, and educated in St. Alban's-hall, Oxford. He continued at Oxford till after the commencement of the civil wars, and the place was garrisoned by the royal forces; at which time he left the university, and espoused the cause of the parliament. About the year 1644, he became lecturer of St. Nicholas church, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; “where,” says Wood, “by his constant and confident preaching, he gained more respect than any venerable minister in that or another

* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 347.—Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 148, 149.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 41, 42.

‡ Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 401.

§ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 149.

|| Bailie's Anabaptism, p. 94, 118.

corporation." This could not indeed be his fault. He was undoubtedly most deserving of it. In the year 1650, by virtue of letters from the commissioners of parliament, for regulating the university of Oxford, he was created master of arts. In those letters they gave him a most excellent character. He was a constant and zealous preacher, and a man of great learning and piety, frequently exercising a holy jealousy over his own heart.* But retiring to London for the benefit of his health, and to superintend the printing of some of his books, he there died, about March 25, 1654, aged thirty-two years.

HIS WORKS.—1. A Christian, Sober, and Plain Exercitation of the two grand practical Controversies of these Times, Infant Baptism and Singing of Psalms, 1653.—2. The great Myserie of Godliness, opened in several Sermons, 1654.—3. Hypocrisie Discovered in its Nature and Workings, being the Sum of Seven Sermons, 1654.—4. The False Brother; or, the Mapp of Scotland, drawn by an English Pencil.—5. Anatomy of Joh. Lilbourn's Spirit and Pamphlets; or, a Vindication of the Two Honourable Patriots, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Governor of Ireland, and Sir Arth. Haselrigg, Knight and Baronet; wherein the said Lilbourn is demonstratively proved to be a common Lier, and unworthy of civil Converse.

WILLIAM ERBERY, A. B.—This person was born at Roath-Dagfield in Glamorganshire, in the year 1604, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he entered into the ministerial office, retired into Wales, and became vicar of St. Mary's in Cardiff. Wood says that he was always schismatically inclined, that he preached in conventicles, and that, for refusing to read the king's declaration for sports on the Lord's day, he was brought several times into the high commission court at Lambeth, where he suffered for his obstinacy.+ The Bishop of Landaff, visiting his diocese in the year 1634, pronounced Mr. Erbery a schismatical and dangerous preacher; and, for disobeying his majesty's instructions, he gave him judicial admonition, and threatened to proceed further against him if he did not submit. Refusing to debase himself by submission, contrary to truth and his own conscience, the bishop, the year following, preferred articles against him in the high commission court, threatening to punish him according to his deserts. In 1636 his lordship complained of the slow prosecution against

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 100, 101.

† Ibid. p. 103.

him, and observes, that "this made him persist in his by-ways, and his followers judge him faultless." Though the prosecution was slow, it was sure. It was committed into the hands of proper persons, and success was certain. Therefore, in the year 1638, Mr. Erbery was forced to resign his vicarage, and he left the diocese in peace.*

Being thus deprived of his living, and driven from his flock, he most probably went from place to place through the country, and preached as he could obtain an opportunity, as did his brethren, Messrs. Wroth, Cradock, and Powell. In the year 1640, says Wood, he shewed himself openly, preached against the bishops and ceremonies, and made early motions towards independency.+ Mr. Edwards, with his usual scurrility, gives the following account of him: "In the beginning of the parliament, he was an independent, but by degrees is fallen to many gross errors, holding universal redemption, &c. and is now a seeker, and I know not what. This man was a chaplain in the Earl of Essex's army a great while, and there did broach many antinomian doctrines, and other dangerous errors: but having left the army a good while since, he was about London, and did vent his opinions here. About last spring he betook himself to the Isle of Ely for his ordinary residence, from whence he takes his progress into one county or another in private houses, venting his opinions amongst well-affected people, under the habit of holiness. In July last he was at Bury, where he exercised in private, some forty persons being present, and declared himself for general redemption; that no man was punished for Adam's sin; that Christ died for all; and that the guilt of Adam's sin should be imputed to no man. He said also, that within a while God would raise up apostolical men, who should be extraordinary to preach the gospel; and after that shall be the fall of Rome. He spake against gathering churches, the anabaptists' re-baptizing, and said men ought to wait for the coming of the Spirit, as the apostles did. 'Look, as in the wilderness they had honey and manna, but not circumcision and the passover till they came into Canaan; so now we may have many sweet things, conference and prayer, but not a ministry and sacraments. And then, after the fall of Rome, there shall be new heavens and a new earth: there shall be new Jerusalem; and then shall the church be one, one street in that city, and no more.'

* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 538—555.

+ Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 103.

Not long after he went to Northampton, where in a private meeting the main scope of his exercise was, to speak against the certainty and sufficiency of the scriptures, alleging that there was no certainty to build upon them, because there were so many several copies. He was also at Oundle, Newport Pagnel, and appointed shortly to return again to Bury.* The reader will judge for himself how far this account, from the unworthy pen of Mr. Edwards, is deserving of credit.

After the surrender of Oxford in 1646, Mr. Erbery, still a chaplain in the parliament's army, was sent thither; where, says Wood, "he kept his conventicles in a house opposite to Merton college church, and used all the means in his power in opposing the doctrine of the presbyterian ministers, who were sent by the parliament to preach the scholars into obedience."† He was certainly held in high favour and esteem among the soldiers, but is said to have envied the reputation of the presbyterians. While he was at Oxford he opposed them in several public disputations. At one time the subject of debate was, "Whether the ministry of the church ought to be entrusted to a select number of persons?" In the conclusion, Mr. Erbery and his party are said to have put the presbyterian disputants under the same difficulty as our Lord did the unbelieving Jews, by his question about John's baptism. For, demanding of them, "whence they had their orders," they durst not say, "from the bishops," whom both sides confessed to be antichristian; nor could they deny it, as they had all been episcopally ordained; so the shout went in favour of Erbery's party, and the meeting was dissolved, to the great disturbance of the presbyterian disputants. Afterwards Mr. Erbery had a disputation with Mr. Cheynel, one of the presbyterian ministers. The debate was conducted in St. Mary's church, when, it is said, he maintained, among other things, "That the saints shall have the same worship, honour, throne, and glory, as Christ now hath; and shall be endowed with a greater power of working miracles than Christ had when he was on earth." The contest, which lasted about four hours, was not carried without tumult; and in the conclusion, each party retired claiming the victory.‡ The account of this dispute was afterwards published by the adverse party, entitled, "A Relation of a

* Gangræna, part i. p. 109, 110. Second edit.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 104.

‡ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 125, 126.

Disputation in St. Mary's church in Oxon, between Mr. Cheynel and Mr. Erbery," 1646. A particular detail of other disputes which he had with the visitors was also published by his opponents, entitled, "An Account given to the Parliament by the Ministers sent by them to Oxford," 1647. In this piece they give a circumstantial account of their disputations with Mr. Erbery, but not sufficiently interesting to deserve the reader's particular attention. Mr. Erbery had a public dispute with one Mr. Nichols, of which he gave a particular account in a piece entitled, "A Dispute at Cowbridge, (Glamorganshire,) with Mr. Henry Nichols, Pastor of an Independent Church, and Parson of a Parish-Church."* But this is not more interesting than the former.

Upon Mr. Erbery's departure from Oxford, says Wood, "he went to London, where he vented his blasphemies in several places against the glorious divinity and blood of Jesus Christ, especially in his conventicle at Christ-church within Newgate, where those of his opinion met once a week. He was at length brought before the committee of plundered ministers at Westminster; when, to the admiration of those who had heard his blasphemies, he began to make a solemn profession of his faith in orthodox language: but the chairman took him up, and commanded him silence, saying, 'We know your tricks well enough.' To say the truth," adds our author, "he had language at command, and could dissemble for matter of profit, or to avoid danger; and it was well known he was a mere canter." This account, from the bigotted historian, is extremely partial and incorrect, as appears from a particular narrative published by Mr. Erbery himself, in which he denies many of the charges alleged against him, and acquits himself of others. The piece is entitled, "The Honest Heritique; or, Orthodox Blasphemer, accused of Heresie and Blasphemie, but cleared of both by the judgment of God, and of good Men, at a Committee for Plundered Ministers of the Parliament, March 9th, 1652: With a double Answer to Articles charged against him; whereupon he was freed from his Prison, and liberty granted by the Lord to preach again."†

"October 12, 1653, Mr. Erbery and Mr. John Webster endcavoured," says Wood, "to knock down learning and the ministry together, in a disputation they had with two

* Erbery's Testimony, p. 252.

† Ibid. p. 310.

ministers in a church in Lombard-street. Erbery then declared, that the wisest ministers and purest churches were at that time befooled, confounded, and defiled by learning. He said, also, that the ministers were monsters, beasts, asses, greedy dogs, and false prophets; that they are the beast with seven heads and ten horns; that Babylon is the church in her ministers; and that the great Whore is the church in her worship. So that with him," he adds, "there was an end of ministers, and churches, and ordinances together. While these things were babbled to and fro, the multitude being of various opinions, began to mutter, and many to cry out, and immediately there was a tumult, wherein the women bore away the bell, but some of them lost their kerchiefs. And the dispute was so hot, that there was more danger of pulling down the *church* than the ministry."*

It is observed of Mr. Erbery, by one who appears to have been well acquainted with him, that the four principal things upon which he chiefly dwelt in his ministry, were the following: "That there was a measure of a pure appearance of spirit and truth in the days of the apostles.—That about the latter end of their days, or soon after, the spirit of the Lord withdrew itself, and men substituted an external and carnal worship in its stead.—That this apostacy was not yet removed from the generality of professing christians, notwithstanding their pretence of deliverance; but that they still lay under it, and were likely so to do for some time.—That when the appointed season came, the apostacy should be removed, and the new Jerusalem come down from God, of which some glimpse might now appear in particular saints; yet the full view and accomplishment thereof seemed to be at some distance."†

Mr. Baxter denominates him "one of the chief of the anabaptists," and Mr. Neal calls him "a turbulent antinomian;"‡ whereas he was neither the one nor the other. Primitive baptism, he thought, consisted in going into the water *ankle-deep*, and not in a total immersion; but judged that none have now any right to administer that ordinance without a fresh commission from heaven. In his views of the trinity he was of the Sabellion cast; and it appears from the general strain of his writings, that he drunk very deep in the spirit of mysticism. He was an admirer of the

* Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 104.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 397.

‡ Erbery's Testimony, Pref.

Quakers, with whom his wife united,* and from whom he expected great things, but did not unite with them. He had formerly laboured under a sore affliction, which had deeply affected his head; previous to which he was a man of good parts and an excellent scholar, zealous and successful in his ministry, and particularly grave and religious in his life.† Mr. Christopher Love thus observes: “As for Mr. Erbery, though he is fallen into dangerous opinions; yet, he being my spiritual father, I do naturally care for him; and my heart cleaves more to him than to any man in the world. I speak to the praise of God, he was the instrument of my conversion nearly twenty years ago, and the means of my education at the university; for which kindness, the half of what I have in the world I could readily part with for his relief. It is true, about eight or nine years since, he was plundered in Wales, and came to see me at Windsor castle; but a son could not make more of a father than I did of him, according to my ability. When I had not twelve pounds in the world, I let him have six of it; and I procured him to be chaplain to Major Skippon’s regiment, where he had eight shillings per day.”‡ He is characterized by those of his own persuasion, as a holy and harmless person, for which the world hated him.§ He died in the month of April, 1654, aged fifty years.

His WORKS.—1. The great Myserie of Godliness: Jesus Christ our Lord God and Man, and Man with God, one in Jesus Christ our Lord, 1640.—2. Ministers for Tythes, proving they are no Ministers of the Gospel, 1653.—3. Sermons on several Occasions, one of which is entitled, “The Lord of Hosts,” 1653.—4. An Olive Leaf: or, some peaceable Considerations to the Christian Meeting at Christ’s Church in London, 1654.—5. The Reign of Christ, and the Saints with him on Earth a Thousand Years, one Day, and the Day at hand, 1654.—6. The Testimony of William Erbery, left upon Record for the Saints of succeeding Ages, 1658.—This contains several of the foregoing pieces.

JEREMIAH WHITAKER, A. M.—This excellent person was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, in the year 1599, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge, where he was held in high estimation. He was religiously thoughtful from a child; and when a boy at school he used to travel, in company with others, eight or ten miles to hear the gospel, and unite with them in prayer and other religious exercises.

* Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 3199. Edit. 1747.

† MS. Account.

‡ Love’s Vindication, p. 36. Edit. 1651.

§ Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 104.

He often said, in the days of his youth, "I had much rather be a minister of the gospel than an emperor." While at the university, he made considerable progress in the various branches of useful literature; and, upon his removal, he settled at Oakham in Rutlandshire, where, for some time, he taught school. Here he became intimate with Mr. William Peachy, an eminent scholar and preacher, whose daughter he afterwards married. Having been at Oakham about four years, he accepted the pastoral charge at Stretton in the same county. He naturally cared for the souls of the people, and the preaching of the gospel was his beloved work. His heart was so deeply engaged in the work, that, having received an invitation to become master of a college, he returned this reply: "My heart," said he, "doth more desire to be a constant preacher than to be master of any college in the world."

Upon the publication of the Book of Sports, this amiable divine, with multitudes of his brethren, was exposed to the persecution of the ruling prelates. Though, for refusing to read it, he was involved in some difficulties, he happily escaped the malicious threatenings of his enemies. Being afterwards required to afford pecuniary assistance for the purpose of carrying on the war against the Scots, he refused, and openly told the bishop, or his chancellor, that he could not do it with a good conscience; for which, if one of his friends had not paid the money, he would have suffered suspension and deprivation.*

Mr. Whitaker, having preached at Stretton thirteen years, was chosen, in the year 1643, one of the assembly of divines. This called him up to London, when he accepted an invitation to the pastoral office of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in Southwark; and he became one of the morning lecturers at the Abbey church, Westminster. In 1647 he was appointed a member of the first provincial assembly holden in London, and was once chosen to the office of moderator. During the same year, by an order from the house of lords, he was appointed, with Dr. Thomas Goodwin, to have the oversight and examination of the papers to be printed for the assembly of divines.† The year following he was in danger of being deprived of his lecture at Westminster for refusing the engagement; but,

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 264, 265.

† Dissenting Brethren's Propositions.

on account of his universal esteem and great moderation, he continued unmolested.*

This worthy divine, during the latter part of his life, was afflicted with most racking pains, but was of a most humble, meek, and quiet spirit. Under these tormenting agonies, he never murmured, but, in the exercise of faith and patience, was entirely resigned to the will of God. He manifested so excellent a spirit through the whole of his long and painful affliction, that many persons were of opinion that God designed him for a pattern of patience to posterity. When his friends asked him how he did, he usually replied, "The bush is always burning, but not consumed. And though my pains be above the strength of *nature*, they are not above the supports of *grace*." About two months before his death, his pains became more extreme than ever, when he cried thus unto the Lord: "O thou Father of mercies, pity me. Do not contend for ever. Consider my frame, that I am but dust. My God, who hast made heaven and earth, help me. Oh! give me patience, and inflict what thou wilt. If my patience was more, my pain would be less. Dear Saviour, why dost thou cover thyself with a thick cloud? Blessed is the man that endureth temptation. Consider, Lord, that I am thy servant. Lord, drop some sweet comfort into these bitter waters. O that the blood of sprinkling may allay my pains! I am in a fiery furnace. Lord, be with me, and bring me out refined from sin. When I have sailed through the ocean of these pains, and look back, I see they are all needful. I fly unto thee, O God! Hide me under the shadow of thy wings, till the terrible storm be overpast. O, my God! break open the prison door, and set my poor captive soul at liberty. But enable me willingly to wait thy time. No man ever more desired life than I desire death. When will that day arrive that I shall neither sin nor sorrow any more? When shall this earthly tabernacle be dissolved, that I may be clothed upon with that house which is from heaven? Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; for they rest from their labours."

Through the whole of his affliction he exercised an unshaken confidence in God, and enjoyed an uninterrupted assurance of his favour. He called him *my Father* and *my God*, and said, "Consider, and save me, for I am thine. How long,

* Clark's Lives, p. 266.

how long, shall I not be remembered? Yes, I am remembered: blessed be thy name. This is a fiery chariot, but it will carry me to heaven. Blessed be God, who has hitherto supported me; who has delivered me, and will deliver me." As the agonizing fits of pain were coming upon him, he usually said, "Now, in the strength of the Lord God, I will undergo these pains. Oh! my God, put underneath thine everlasting arms, and strengthen me." Notwithstanding all his pains and roarings, he often told his friends, that he would not, for a thousand worlds, exchange states with any man on earth whom he looked upon as living in a state of sin. The grand adversary of souls could never shake his confidence. He often said, "Through mercy, I have not one repining thought against God." As he felt the fits coming on, he requested his friends to withdraw, that they might not be grieved by hearing his groanings; and he blessed God they were not obliged to hear his doleful lamentations. As the period of his dissolution approached, his agonizing fits became more frequent and more painful; but the Lord was, at length, pleased to deliver him out of them all. He died June 1, 1654, aged fifty-five years, and his mortal remains were interred in Bermondsey church, when vast numbers of people honoured his funeral by their attendance.* His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Simeon Ashe, and afterwards published, entitled, "Living Loves betwixt Christ and Dying Christians. A Sermon preached at M. Magdalene, Bermondsey in Southwark, near London, June 6, 1654, at the Funerall of the faithful Servant of Christ, Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, Minister of the Gospel, with a Narrative of his exemplary Life and Death," 1654.

After Mr. Whitaker's death, his body was opened in the presence of several physicians; when they found both his kidneys full of ulcers, and one of them swelled to an enormous size, and filled with purulent matter. In the neck of his bladder, they found a stone about an inch and half long, and an inch broad, weighing about two ounces, which is supposed to have occasioned his racking pains.† "He was a constant and an excellent preacher, an universal scholar, an eminent theologian, an able disputant, and much given to acts of charity and liberality."‡ Mr. Leigh says, "he was a pious and learned divine, mighty in

* Clark's Lives, p. 267—272.

† Ibid. p. 273.—Ashe's Fun. Ser. for Mr. Whitaker.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 266.

the scriptures, laborious in his ministerial function, zealous for God's glory, and of a humble, melting spirit, and a wonderful instance of patience during the whole of his heavy affliction.* Fuller includes him among the learned writers of Sidney college, Cambridge.† We have not been able to collect any long list of his writings; only he published certain sermons preached before the parliament, and probably some others. Mr. William Whitaker, ejected in 1662, was his son.‡

Mr. Whitaker, during his heavy affliction, wrote a letter to the Protector Cromwell, the sight of which will be highly gratifying to every inquisitive reader. It is transcribed from the original in Mr. Whitaker's own hand, and though there be no date, it was evidently written in the year 1651. It is addressed "To his Highness the Lord Protector," of which the following is a copy:§

"May it please your highness to pardon this boldness in presenting this book, composed by some godly men, to appease the heat of the present controversies, wherein is proved—'That the office of the ministry is not the intrusion of men, but the institution of Jesus Christ.—That the necessity of this office is perpetual.—That the ministry was so preserved under antichrist, that it is not antichristian.—That this office is peculiar to some, and not common to all.—And that they who assume this office must be called lawfully at present, and also hereafter.' Ordination in general is necessary, and how that is to be observed is justifiable.

"I cannot come to tender it, being confined to my chamber under extreme tormenting pains of the stone, which forceth me to cry and sorrow night and day. But blessed for ever be the Lord, who hath begotten us to a lively hope and joy by Jesus Christ; that the thoughts of eternity do sweeten the bitter things of time: that, when we are weary of the things of this life, we may greatly rejoice in hope of a better. In this dying condition, give me leave to tender many thanks to your highness for taking away the engagement, whereby you have greatly refreshed the consciences of many. The good Lord recompense this great act of mercy, and enlarge your heart to prevent the like snares in future, at which the worst of men frown, and the best of men mourn. And the same God who hath raised you above other men, still raise you to be higher than yourself, far

* Leigh's Religion and Learning, p. 364.

† History of Cambridge, p. 154.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 157.

§ Sloane's MSS. No. 4159.

above all these dominions, and thrones, and powers; that you may account all these things low and little, dregs and dust, dung and dross, in comparison of things eternal. Also, what poor things are Pompey, Cæsar, Nimrod, and Nebuchadnezzar, to the Abels, whose thoughts are fixed on things everlasting!

“May it please your highness to consider seriously, how religion is not only weakened by divisions, but almost wasted by the daily growing of alterations. The reins of government a long time have been let loose, and are now lost in the church totally: in families extremely so, that masters know not how to order their servants, nor parents their children. All grow willing to command, but unwilling to be commanded: sabbaths are generally profaned, ordinances despised, the youth playing whilst the minister is preaching, the consciences of many growing wanton, abusing liberty to all licentiousness. And there are none left in places to put offenders to shame for any of these abominations. The good Lord persuade your heart to appoint such justices whose principles and practice lead them to restrain vice; who do account the sabbath their delight, that the inferior officers may be by them encouraged.

“I beseech you also, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to remember the many poor prisoners in the land, who in uprightness of their heart lent the greatest part of their estate upon public faith. The Romans were forced in like straits to borrow of the people; but it is recorded to their glory, that their wars were no sooner ended than these public debts were discharged. Let not paganish Rome rise up in the day of judgment to condemn unfaithful England. The neglect of this will involve the land in national guilt. I am persuaded, if the Lord help you to defray these debts, that you shall win the hearts of very many, and stop the mouths of your greatest adversaries.

“And now that I have taken upon me to speak, let not your highness be angry with your poor servant, if he implore your pity and candour, and petition for the safe return of Mr. Cawton, a sincere servant of Christ; who, being involved in the business for which Mr. Love suffered death, half a year since suffered a voluntary banishment in great extremity and hardship. May not the blood of Love suffer for that offence? Have not others in other kinds done as much and more, and yet found favour? I beseech your honour's protection, that the beginning of your government may be with acts of grace; and oh that such a day of

release might come that your highness might see it, both for your honour and safety, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them who have been long bound. The God of glory help you to lay such foundations in common equity and righteousness, that you may leave the nation in a better condition when you die than you found it: that you may give up your account with joy; which is the hearty prayer of,

“Your highnesses humble servant,

“JER. WHITAKER.”

HIS WORKS.—1. Christ the Settlement of Unsettled Times, a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late public Fast, 25 Jan. 1642, printed 1642.—2. The Christian's Hope Triumphant, in a Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the House of Lords, in Abbey-church, Westminster, May 18, being the Day appointed for solemn and public Humiliation, 1645.—3. The Danger of Greatness; or, Uzziah, his Exaltation and Destruction, a Sermon before the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, in the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, January 14, 1645, being a special Day of Humiliation set apart to seek God's Direction in the settling of Church Government, 1646.

WILLIAM STRONG, A. M.—This excellent minister received his education in Katherine-hall, Cambridge, of which he was chosen fellow. The master of the college was the celebrated Dr. Sibbs. Upon leaving the university, he was presented to the living of Long Crichill in Dorsetshire, where he continued till he was forced to flee from the cavaliers.* He then fled to London, where he often preached before the parliament, was chosen one of the additional divines to the assembly, and minister of St. Dunstan's in the West. After some time he gathered a congregation upon the plan of the independents, which assembled in Westminster abbey, and was composed of many parliament men and persons of quality residing in Westminster.† He was chosen to the office of pastor in this society, December 9, 1650, upon which occasion he delivered a sermon on the order of a gospel church, which may be seen among his select sermons published after his death. He was afterwards nominated one of the triers for the approbation of preachers.‡

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 139.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 41.

‡ Bishop Kennet pours great calumny upon those learned divines who were appointed triers. “By the questions they were wont to ask,” says

Mr. Strong died in the vigour of life, and was buried in the Abbey church, July 4, 1654; but his remains were dug up at the restoration and thrown into a pit dug on purpose in St. Margaret's church-yard; but of this brutal transaction a more particular account is given in another place.* Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, who preached his funeral sermon, says, "that he was so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study, so frequent, exact, and laborious in preaching, and, in a word, so eminently qualified for all the duties of the ministerial office, that he did not know his equal."† Mr. Strong published several sermons and theological treatises in his life-time; and others were published after his death. Among these we find, in quarto, "Thirty-one select Sermons, preached on special Occasions. By William Strong, that godly, able, and faithful Minister of Christ, lately of the Abbey at Westminster, 1656." To this volume there is a preface by Dr. Thomas Manton, Mr. John Rowe, and Mr. George Griffith. There is another preface by Dr. Henry Wilkinson, dean of Christ's Church, who gives the following account of Mr. Strong's character:

"There is an excellent vein in his sermons, as one saith in the like case, the farther you search the richer treasure you are likely to find. That which made his sermons pass with so great approbation of the most judicious hearers, when he was alive, and will be a passport to his writings though posthumous, was, that he followed the advice of the Apostle to Timothy, studying to shew himself *approved to God, a workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth*. He made preaching his work. He was so much taken up in this work, that to my knowledge he was often in watchings a great part of the night, besides his pains in his day studies. But, besides that very great diligence and travail of head and heart, and that unseasonable and hard study, that he laid out in his sermons, he had a special faculty of keeping close to his text and business in hand; which, as it is very requisite in a preacher, so it is very advantageous to commend a discourse to the most judicious ear. That which further contributed to his excellency in preaching, was his skill and deep insight into the mystery of godliness, and the doctrine of the free grace of God. And as to the mystery of iniquity within us, he was well studied in the soul's anatomy, and could dexterously

he, "a man could not tell what they aimed at, except it was to advance Quakerism, or make way for Mahometism."—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 103.—*Kennet's Chronicle*, p. 714.

* See Art. Dr. William Twisse.

† Strong's Funeral Sermon.

dissect the old man. He understood well the mystery of iniquity without us, of Satan and antichrist; and, by his knowledge of these mysteries, he was able to advance the kingdom and honour of our Lord Christ in the hearts and lives of his hearers; to discover Satan's depths, and to disappoint his plots and devices. There was one thing more which added very much unto him and to his labours in preaching, and made him successful in clearing dark places, and searching further into the deep mines of the word, and that was his constant recourse to the originals, in which he had good skill. By these means he went beyond most of his brethren in the work of the ministry; so that his sermons had always something above the ordinary reach, and a certain strain answering the advantage and happiness of the age in which he lived. There was so great a weight, both of words and sense, in this our author's sermons, and so much of worth, that they appeared as good upon a narrow disquisition as they seemed to be when they were delivered. The ignorance or want of a clear knowledge of the doctrine of the covenant of grace, God's rich and free grace in the business of our salvation, was formerly, and is still, the cause of many errors in the church. The author of these sermons had arrived to an excellency and height in this doctrine, beyond the most that I ever read or knew. Had he lived to have perfected his labours about the covenant of grace, I presume I may say they had surpassed all that went before. Though his adversaries did very much endeavour to asperse him, yet he proved them to be unjust and false. He was as happy in the purity and innocency of his life as he was for the fervour which, through grace, he erected in his preaching.*

Mr. George Griffith, in his preface to Mr. Strong's sermons, entitled, "The Heavenly Treasure," 1656, gives the following account of the author: "It is abundantly manifest to most of the godly through the nation, but more especially in the city of London, with what singular ability, strong affection, and good success, Mr. Strong employed and spent himself in the service of the gospel. He did the work of him who sent him while it was day; because, as he often said, the night was coming when no man can work. While he had the opportunity, neither the flatteries nor the frowns of men could hinder him from his beloved exercise. He preached the word with much freedom and boldness, and

* Wilkinson's Preface to Mr. Strong's Thirty-one Sermons.

without fear or partiality. He was not of them who corrupt the word of God, but declared all the divine counsel. He often told me that one chief object of his study and prayer to God was, that he might be led into all truth, and teach the same both seasonably and profitably. God appointed him to labour in those places where all his abilities might be exercised, and shine forth in all their lustre. Though he commonly preached four times a week, and frequently oftener, his sermons were not filled with empty notions; but were well studied and enriched with substantial matter, the composition being close, elaborate, and pithy. And while he laboured more to profit than to please, he never failed to please as well as profit those who heard him. What he delivered harmonized one part with another, and was ever supported with strong arguments. He compared spiritual things with spiritual; yet not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in full demonstration of the Spirit. Being filled with the Spirit, he was enabled to do much work in a little time. He did not wear out with *rusting*, but with *using*. He exhorted professors of the gospel, however they might differ about matters of discipline, *to maintain good works, and bring forth the fruits of righteousness*. He laboured to bring all parties to live a holy life. Indeed, he well knew that persons zealous about external matters, might shew with what party they sided; but by the holiness of their lives only, could they know that they were on the *Lord's* side. Hence he pressed the duties of self-examination and self-denial with great earnestness and exactness, lest any persons should profess christianity out of faction, carrying a pagan heart under a christian name.*

The learned Mr. Theophilus Gale, who published Mr. Strong's "Discourse of the Two Covenants," in 1678, gives him the following character: "He was a wonder of nature for natural parts, and a miracle of grace for deep insight into the more profound mysteries of the gospel. He had a spirit capacious and prompt, sublime and penetrant, profound and clear; a singular sagacity to pry into the more difficult texts of scripture, an incomparable dexterity to discover the secrets of corrupt nature, a divine sapience to explicate the mysteries of grace, and an exact prudence to distribute evangelical doctrines, according to the capacity of his auditors. He was a star of the first magnitude in the right hand of Christ, to diffuse the resplendent light of the gospel. And as he

* Griffith's Preface to Mr. Strong's Heavenly Treasure.

transcended most of this age in the explanation of evangelical truth, so, in his intelligence and explication of the *Two Covenants*, he seems to excel himself: this being the study of his life, and that whereon his mind was mostly intent. The notices I received from his other works gave me a great impression of his divine wisdom; but what mine eyes have seen, and my thoughts imbibed of his incomparable intelligence, from his elaborate *Discourse of the Two Covenants*, assures me, that not *the half was told* me by his works formerly published. He was, indeed, a person intimately and familiarly acquainted with the deepest points in theology; but especially those which relate to the covenant of grace.* The learned Dr. Thomas Manton styles him "an eminent and a faithful servant of God, a man eloquent and mighty in the scriptures, and a burning and shining light in the church of Christ."†

His WORKS.—1. Thirty-one Select Sermons, preached on special Occasions, 1656.—2. The Heavenly Treasure, 1656.—3. Communion with God, the Saint's Privilege and Duty, 1656.—4. A Treatise on the Subordination of Man's Will to the Will of God, 1657.—5. Hell Torments, 1672.—6. A Discourse of the Two Covenants, 1678.‡—7. The Parable of the Prodigal.

THOMAS GATAKER, B. D.—This celebrated divine was the son of Mr. Thomas Gataker, another puritan divine, the pastor of St. Edmund's, Lombard-street, London. He was born in the metropolis, September 4, 1574, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he had Mr. Henry Alvey for his tutor. He greatly distinguished himself by his assiduous application; and he is mentioned among those ardent students who attended the private Greek lectures given by the learned Mr. John Boys, in his chamber, at four o'clock in the morning.§ He was afterwards chosen fellow of Sidney college, in the same university. He entered with great reluctance on the ministerial work while he was at the university, when he engaged with Mr. William Bedell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, and some others, in the pious and laudable work of preaching every Lord's day in the adjacent

* Gale's Summary, prefixed to Mr. Strong's "Discourse of the Covenants."

† Manton's Preface to Mr. Strong's Heavenly Treasure.

‡ This is very evangelical, and uncommonly judicious.—*Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 448.

§ Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 408.

country, where their labours were most wanted. Having continued these exercises some time, he removed to London, and became domestic chaplain to Sir William Cook, to whose lady he was nearly related. His admirable talent for preaching soon gained him so great a reputation, that, in the year 1601, he was chosen preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's-inn; where, for the space of ten years, he laboured with great acceptance, popularity, and usefulness. Previous to Mr. Gataker's settlement in this situation, Mr. Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough and lord treasurer, having been present, with his lady, when Mr. Gataker preached at St. Martin's in the Fields; on their return home she asked an old servant how he liked the preacher. "Why truly," said the man, "he's a pretty pert boy; and he made a reasonable good sermon." Not many weeks after, Mr. Ley, returning from Lincoln's-inn, said to his lady, "I will tell you some news. That young man, whom you heard at St. Martin's, is chosen lecturer at Lincoln's-inn." The old servant standing by and hearing this, said, "What! will the benchers be taught by such a boy as he?" Mr. Gataker having observed in one of his sermons, that it was as lawful for the husbandman to cultivate his ground as for counsellors to confer with their clients and give advice on the Lord's day; the appropriate admonition was well received, and occasioned the alteration of the time of public worship; for, instead of preaching at seven o'clock in the morning, as had been the constant practice, he was desired to preach at the usual hour of morning service. He did not, however, entirely leave Sir William Cook's family, but in the vacations went down to their seat in Northamptonshire, where, during his stay, he preached constantly, sometimes in their domestic chapel, and sometimes in the parish church. In this he acted purely from the motive of christian piety, uninfluenced by any worldly considerations, as very clearly appeared from the following circumstance, peculiarly honourable to his memory: our author, after stating this fact, immediately adds, "And this he did with an apostolical mind, not for filthy lucre, but freely making the gospel a burden only to the dispenser. Yet such was the devotion of that religious pair, (Sir William and his lady,) that they would not serve God without cost; for they afterwards, in consideration of those pains, freely taken, settled upon Mr. Gataker an annuity of twenty pounds per annum, which he indeed received a few years; but afterwards he remitted it unto the heir of that family, forbearing to use the right he had, and forbidding his executor to claim any

arrears of that annuity. This is mentioned to shew the generous temper of his christian soul.”*

Mr. Gataker's learned preaching to the above society, as it gave him much satisfaction, so it gained him great reputation; and, if it had accorded with his views, would have procured him considerable preferment. But when various valuable benefices were offered him, he refused to accept of them, concluding that the charge of *one* congregation was sufficient for *one* man. He therefore chose to remain in his present situation, in which, though his salary was small, his employment was honourable, and his condition safe. Moreover, it afforded him great leisure for the pursuit of his studies, in which he was very assiduous, particularly the holy scriptures in the original languages, the fathers of the church, and the best writers among the Greeks and Romans.

In the year 1611, he was prevailed upon, not without some difficulty, to accept of the rectory of Rotherhithe in Surrey, a living of considerable value, with which he was much importuned to hold his former office; but that being inconsistent with his principles, he absolutely refused. In this situation, notwithstanding an almost perpetual head-ache with which he was afflicted from his youth, he continued for many years to discharge his numerous pastoral duties with unremitting and indefatigable industry, and to feed the flock of Christ over which the Holy Ghost made him overseer, God greatly blessing his labours. Although he had not committed any of his learned productions to the press; yet his celebrity for erudition was so great, that he held a regular correspondence with the learned Dr. Usher, afterwards the celebrated primate of Ireland. Some of his epistles are still preserved, and afford sufficient testimonies of the nature and extent of his studies, and of his unremitting care to preserve the unpublished works of some of the ancient divines. These letters contain very shining proofs of his modesty and humility, which do not always accompany profound literary acquirements. Mr. Gataker's first letter is dated from Rotherhithe, March 18, 1616, in which he informs Usher, that he had in his possession a manuscript, containing certain treatises which he could not learn ever to have been printed; among which was “*Guillemus de Santo Amore, de periculis novissimorum temporum*,” and an oration delivered in writing to the Pope at Lyons, by Robert Grosthead, formerly Bishop of Lincoln.

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 148—151.

"Some of these," says he, "peradventure, if they be not abroad already, might not be unworthy to see the light, nor should I be unwilling, if they should be so esteemed, to bend my poor and weak endeavours that way. But, of that oration to the pope, certain lines, not many, are pared away in my copy, though so as the sense of them may be guessed and gathered from the context; and in the other treatises there are many faults that cannot easily, or possibly some of them without help of other copies, be amended. My desire is to understand from you, whether, at your being in England, for I wot well how careful you were to make inquiry after such monuments, you lighted upon any of these, and where, or in whose hands they were."

In another letter to Usher, dated from Rotherhithe, June 24, 1617, he writes thus:—"I esteem myself much beholden unto you, as for your former love, so for this your late kindness, in vouchsafing me so large a letter, with so full instructions concerning this business, that I was bold to break unto you, though the same, as by your information appeareth, were wholly superfluous. True it is, that though not fully purposed to do ought therein myself, willing rather to have offered mine endeavours and furtherance to some others." Having mentioned two of the manuscripts, he adds, "But I perceive now, by your instructions, that the one is out already, and the other perfect and fit for the press, in the hands of one better furnished and fitter for the performance of such work than myself, whom I would therefore incite to send what he hath perfect abroad, than by his perfect copy, having pieced out mine imperfect one, to take his labours out of his hand. I have heard, since I wrote to you by Mr. Bill, that Sir Henry Savile is about to publish Bishop Grosthead's epistles, out of a manuscript remaining in Merton college library. If I meet with your countryman Malachy, at any time, I will not be unmindful of your request. And if any good office may be performed by me for you here, either about the impression of your learned and religious labours, so esteemed and desired, not of myself alone but of many others of greater judgment than myself, or in any other employment that my weak ability may extend itself unto, I shall be ready and glad upon any occasion to do my best therein."*

Dr. Usher and Mr. Gataker had an ardent predilection for publishing the remains of ancient divines, which introduced them to an acquaintance with each other, and occasioned their

* Parr's Life of Usher, p. 37—76.

friendly correspondence. The letters of our divine, it is said, shew his true genius and disposition, and will account for that hot and eager opposition which his writings met with, when he ventured to publish his opinions from the press. As he never wrote upon any subject which he had not fully studied, and thoroughly examined what had been said upon it by men of all ages and all parties; so his penetrating skill in distinguishing truth, and his honest zeal in supporting it, laid him continually open to the clamours of those who had nothing in view, but the maintenance of those systems to which they were attached from their education, or the magnifying of such notions as were popular in those times; and, by defending which, they were sure to have numerous admirers, though their want of learning, and the weakness of their arguments, were ever so conspicuous. But in these kind of disputes, such furious opponents were sure to have the worst; and how considerable soever they might be, either in figure or number, they served only to heighten the lustre of his triumph. For, it is added, as the modesty of his nature withheld him from printing any thing till he was forty-five years of age; so by that time his judgment was so confirmed, and his learning, supported by an extraordinary and almost incredible memory, so greatly extended, that he constantly carried his point, and effectually baffled all the attempts to envelope again in darkness and obscurity any subject that he had once proposed to enlighten.

The great regularity of his life, his unblemished character, and the general esteem in which he was held by the greatest and best men in the nation, fortified him sufficiently against all those low and little artifices by which a writer, deficient in any of these respects, would certainly have suffered. He had not the least tincture either of spleen or arrogance in his nature; and though it be true that he gave no quarter to the *arguments* of his adversaries, nothing could provoke him to strike at their *persons*. He always remembered that the prize contended for was *truth*, and that, for the sake of obtaining it, the public undertook to sit as judges: he was cautious, therefore, of letting fall any thing that was unbecoming, or that might be indecent or ungrateful to his readers to peruse. He was not, however, so scrupulous as to forbear disclosing vulgar errors, through fear of giving the multitude offence. His modesty might, indeed, hinder his preferment, but it never obstructed his duty. He understood perfectly well how easily the people may be wrought either to superstition or profaneness; and no man could be more sensible than he

was, that true religion was as far distant from the one as from the other. He was well acquainted with the arts of hypocrites, and thought it as necessary to guard against them as to avoid the allurements of open libertines. He understood that souls might be ensnared, as well as seduced; and that canting words, and a solemn shew of sanctity, might enable presumptuous or self-interested persons to put a yoke upon the necks of christians, very different from the yoke of Jesus Christ.*

This is certainly a very high character of our learned divine. He was very careful, in the exercises of the pulpit, to preach not only sound, but suitable doctrine, such as might edify any christian congregation; and was particularly appropriate to the people of his charge. His desire to discharge his duty induced him, among other subjects, to discourse on one both curious and critical, which he applied to common use. This was the *nature of* LOTS, about which much had been written, and more spoken; from which, in the opinion of the learned Gataker, some very great inconveniencies had arisen. He, therefore, thought, that, by a minute investigation of the subject, it might give his congregation clear and correct views of the nature, use, and abuse of lots, and might prove very beneficial to them. This induced him to handle the matter, as he did all subjects, freely, fully, and fairly; without suspecting, however, that this would oblige him to have recourse to the press, and involve him in a long and troublesome controversy. Some ill-disposed persons reported that he defended dice and cards, with other groundless stories; which induced him to publish his thoughts on the subject in a small treatise, "in which," says my author, "it is hard to say whether the accuracy of the method, the conclusiveness of his reasoning, or the prodigious display of learning, deserves most to be admired." He dedicated his work to Sir Henry Hobart, bart. chief justice of the common-pleas, with all the benchers, barristers, and students of Lincoln's-inn, as a mark of his gratitude and respect for their past favours. This piece made a great noise in the world, and gained the author great reputation.

The title of this learned treatise is, "Of the Nature and Use of Lots, a Treatise Historical and Theological, written by Thomas Gataker, B. of D. sometime Preacher at Lincoln's-inn, and now Pastor of Rotherhithe," 1619. In the preface to the judicious and ingenuous reader, he observes,

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2160.

that how backward he had ever been to publish any thing from the press, they knew best who had often pressed him thereto, but had never till that time prevailed. "A twofold necessity," says he, "is now imposed upon me of doing somewhat in this kind, partly by the importunity of divers christian friends, religious and judicious, who having either heard, being partakers of my public ministry, or heard of by the report of others, or upon request seen some part of this weak work, have not ceased to solicit the further publishing of it; as also partly, and more especially, by the iniquity of some others; who, being of a contrary judgment on some particulars therein disputed, have been more forward than was fit, by unchristian slanders, and uncharitable censures, to tax and traduce both me and it." He then remarks, that, if any should surmise that these kind of writings might occasion too much liberty, a thing not necessary in that licentious age; he answers briefly, "First, that it is unequal, that, for the looseness of some, the consciences of those that be godly should be entangled and ensnared; and, secondly, that whosoever shall take no more liberty than is here given shall be sure to keep within the bounds of piety and sobriety, of equity and of charity, than which I know not what can be more required. For no sinister ends, I protest before God's face, and in his fear, undertook I this task; neither have I averred or defended any thing therein but what I am verily persuaded to be agreeable to God's word."

The first chapter describes what a lot is, and treats of lottery in general; the second, of chance or casualty, and of casual events; the third, of the several sorts or kinds of lots; the fourth, of ordinary lots; the fifth, of the lawfulness of such lots, with cautions to be observed in the use of them; the sixth, of ordinary lots lusurious, and of the lawfulness of them; the seventh contains an answer to the principal objections against lusurious lots; the eighth, an answer to the lesser arguments used against them; the ninth, of cautions to be observed in the use of them; the tenth, of extraordinary or divinitary lots; the eleventh, of the unlawfulness of such lots; the twelfth contains an admonition to avoid them, with an answer to some arguments produced in the defence of them, and the conclusion of the whole. The second edition of this treatise, revised, corrected, and enlarged by the author, was published in 1627.

The publication of the first edition of this work drew Mr. Gataker into a public controversy, which continued many years. A very warm writer, who had been misled by com-

mon report, tendered what he took to be a refutation of his doctrine, to those who were then intrusted with the licensing of the press. But his performance, being written with greater appearance of anger than argument, was stopped; which the passionate writer considered as an additional injury, and of which he so loudly complained, that our author, who only sought the investigation of truth, generously interposed, and opened the way as well for his adversary as for himself. He was, indeed, convinced that he could not better defend his own character and sentiments against evil reports, than by affording his virulent adversary the fairest opportunity. He did not, however, treat him with total silence. After the publication of his opponent's angry piece, he employed his pen in a most learned refutation of his arguments and objections, in a work entitled, "A just Defence of certain Passages in a former Treatise concerning the Nature and Use of Lots, against such exceptions and oppositions as have been made thereunto by Mr. J. B. *i. e.* John Balmford, wherein the insufficiency of his Answers given to the Arguments brought in defence of a Lusurious Lot is manifested; the imbecility of his Arguments produced against the same further discovered; and the point in controversy more fully cleared," 1623.

About twelve years after, Mr. Gataker had to contend with more learned opponents, and he found himself under the necessity of publishing a defence of his sentiments in Latin, against two very learned men who had written on the same subject. His treatise is entitled, "Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Antithesis partim Gulielmi Amesii partim Gisberti Vætii de sorte Thesisibus reposita," 1637. In this performance he discovered, as in all the productions of his pen, his great piety, modesty, and erudition.*

Mr. Gataker, in the year 1620, made a tour into the Low Countries, which gave him a very favourable impression of the protestantism of the Dutch, and doubtlessly inclined him to the religious moderation by which he was characterized. While he gave much satisfaction to the protestants, by his preaching to the English church at Middleburg, he excited the warm displeasure of the catholics, by disputing with great freedom and boldness against the ablest of their priests. Though he might not convert them, he certainly confounded them, which occasioned their great resentment. His mother, therefore, knowing his fervent zeal in the cause of truth, and

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2160—2165.

the provocation his works had already given, had certainly some cause to apprehend his danger from a party never famous for their moderation. Upon his return he applied himself, with his former assiduity, to his beloved studies and the duties of his charge. He also addressed a letter to his learned and pious friend Usher, now preferred to a bishopric, in which he gives a very affecting description of the state of the foreign protestants. In this letter, dated from Rotherhithe, September 29, 1621, he expresses himself as follows :

“ My duty to your lordship remembered. This messenger so fitly offering himself to me, I could not but in a line or two salute your lordship, and therefore signify my continued and deserved remembrance of you, and hearty desire of your welfare. By this time I presume your lordship is settled in your weighty charge of oversight, wherein I beseech the Lord in mercy to bless your labours and endeavours, to the glory of his own name and the good of his church, never more oppressed and opposed by mighty and malicious adversaries, both at home and abroad; never in foreign parts generally more distracted and distressed than at present. Out of France there is daily news of murders and massacres, cities and town taken, and all sorts put to the sword. Nor are those few that stand out likely to hold long against the power of so great a prince, having no succours from without. In the Palatinate likewise all is reported to go to ruin. Nor do the Hollanders sit, for ought I see, any surer; for that the coals that have been heretofore kindled against them about transportation of coin, and the fine imposed for it, the quarrels of the East Indies, and the command of the narrow seas, the interrupting of the trade into Flanders, &c. are daily more and more blown up, and fire beginneth to break out, which I pray God may not burn up both them and us.

“ I doubt not, worthy sir, but you see as well, yea much better I suppose, than myself and many others, being able further to pierce into the state of the times, and the consequences of these things, what need the forlorn flock of Christ hath of hearts and hands to help to repair her ruins; and to fence that part of the fold that as yet is not so openly broken down, against the incursions of such ravenous wolves, as, having prevailed so freely against the other parts, will not in likelihood leave it also unassaulted: as also what need she hath, if ever, of prayers and tears (her ancient principal armour) unto Him who hath the hearts and hands of all men in his hand, and whose help (our only hope as things now stand) is oftentimes then most present when all human helps

and hopes do fail. But these lamentable occurrences carry me farther than I had purposed when I put my pen to paper. I shall be right glad to hear of your lordship's health and welfare, which the Lord vouchsafe to continue; gladder to see the remainder of your former learned and laborious work abroad. The Lord bless and protect you. And thus ready to do your lordship any service I may in these parts, I rest, &c.*

Mr. Gataker had not yet finished all his writings on points of controversy. His zeal and courage in the cause of protestantism engaged him to enter the list of disputants against the popish party. Observing that the papists laboured to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation to be agreeable to the holy scriptures, he resolved to shew, in the most convincing manner, the absurdity and impossibility of their attempts; and, having driven them from this, which was their strongest post, he prosecuted his attack, and forced his opponents to quit every other refuge. This he did in his work entitled "Transubstantiation declared by the Popish Writers to have no necessary Foundation in God's Word," 1624. He also published a "Defence" of this work. His learned performances in this controversy proved a great and seasonable service to the cause of protestants, and very deservedly rendered him conspicuous in the eyes of the most worthy persons of those times, who admired his erudition and his fortitude as much as his humility and his readiness to serve the church of Christ.†

In the year 1640, he was deeply engaged in the controversy about justification, which greatly increased his reputation. In 1643, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended during the session. His endeavours in this learned synod, for promoting truth and suppressing error, were equally strenuous and sincere; yet his study of peace was so remarkable, that when his reason concerning Christ's obedience in order to our justification, could not obtain the majority of that assembly, by whom the question was determined contrary to his sense, his peaceable and pious spirit caused him to keep silence, and hindered him from publishing the discourses which he had designed to publish on that subject. In the year 1644, he was chosen one of the committee for the examination of ministers. He was repeatedly urged to take his doctor's degree, but he always

* Parr's Life of Usher, p. 76.
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† Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2164.
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refused: and when he was offered the mastership of Trinity college, Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester, he declined the honourable preferment.*

Mr. Gataker, content with his own pastoral charge, was more ambitious of doing good to others than of exalting himself; he therefore assiduously applied himself in those turbulent times to his ancient studies, which could give offence to no party, and which might entitle him to the gratitude and approbation of all the friends of good literature. With this object in view he published his judicious and laborious discourse on the name by which God made himself known to Moses and the people of Israel. In this performance he shewed himself a very great master of Hebrew; and the work was so well received by all competent judges, that it has been often reprinted. This very profound, curious, and instructive treatise is entitled, "*De nomine Tetragrammati Dissertatio, quâ vocis Jehovah apud nostros receptæ usus defenditur, & a quorundam cavillationibus iniquis pariter atque inanibus vindicatur,*" 1645. The work was reprinted in 1652; it is also inserted amongst his "*Opera Critica*;" and it found a place among the ten Discourses upon this subject, collected and published by Hadrian Reland, the first five of which were written by John Drusius, Sextinus Amama, Lewis Capel, John Buxtorff, and James Alting, who opposed the received usage, which is defended in the other five dissertations, the first of which was written by Nicholas Fuller, the second by our author, and the three others by John Leusden.

This celebrated scholar, by his continual application to the study of the best Greek authors, his wonderful memory, his uncommon penetration, and his accurate judgment, was enabled to look into the very principles and elements of that copious, elegant, and expressive language. This might seem beneath the attention of so great a man; but he resolved to vindicate these inquiries, and to shew how much a thorough knowledge of grammatical learning contributes to the improvement of science. He was aware that the singularities of his opinion might lessen his reputation, if they were not clearly and fully established. He knew that they did not spring either from a naked imagination, or an affectation of opposing common opinions; but were in reality the produce of much reading and reflection, and they had, at least to himself, the appearance of certain, though not vulgar truths. It

* Clark's Lives, p. 152—155.

was from these motives, therefore, that he ventured to publish a work which would scarcely have been noticed from any other hand, but which, from its own merit, and the respect due to its author's skill, especially in Greek literature, was very well received, and highly commended, by able and candid judges. This learned and critical work is entitled, "*De Diphthongis sive Bivocalibus Dissertatio Philologica, in qua Literarum quarundam sonus germanus natura genuina figura nova et scriptura vetus veraque investigatur*," 1646. This is also printed amongst his "*Opera Critica*." The point which he endeavours to establish is, that there are in reality no diphthongs, and that it is impossible two vowels should be so blended together as to enter into one syllable. This, as we have observed, was one of our author's singularities. We shall not enter into this controversy, nor attempt to decide whether he was right or wrong in his views of orthography.*

Notwithstanding Mr. Gataker's assiduous application to these deep and critical studies, he paid the most exact attendance to his pastoral duties, and to the assembly of divines. In obedience to their appointment, he wrote the annotations upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, published in the Assembly's Annotations on the Bible.† Though he was a divine most distinguished for moderation, he disapproved of many things in the national church, but would have been satisfied with moderate episcopacy. He was of opinion, that bishops and presbyters, according to the New Testament, were the same. He was always opposed to the great power and splendour of the prelates; and concluded, that they ought to be divested of their pompous titles and their seats in parliament.‡ He differed more than once with the very learned Dr. Lightfoot, in their meetings at the assembly; and though they sometimes debated warmly, they never lost their tempers, or indulged any rancour on account of these disputes.

As our divine advanced in years, his incessant labours, both of body and mind, brought upon him those infirmities which slackened his speed, but did not wholly stop the progress of his studies. For even under these infirmities, and when confined to his chamber by the direction of his physicians, he was continually employed in his beloved contemplations.

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2165.

† This useful work is improperly ascribed to the assembly of divines, but was undertaken by certain divines appointed by the parliament, part of whom were members of the assembly. Each person had his portion of scripture appointed him by those who set him on work. Several of them were celebrated puritans, as the reader will find noticed in this work.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 256, 257.

But when, through the excellency of his constitution, his temperate manner of living, and the skilful efforts of the faculty, he recovered a moderate share of health, he betook himself again to the duties of his ministry; but was afterwards under the necessity of declining the exercises of the pulpit, though he continued to administer the sacraments, and to deliver short discourses at funerals. The chief part of his time was now employed in study, and in composing several learned works. He employed his learning, his zeal, and his moderation in the antinomian controversy, by publishing a work, entitled, "A Mistake or Misconstruction removed, (whereby little difference is pretended to have been acknowledged between the antinomians and us,) and Free Grace, as it is held forth in God's Word, as well by the Prophets in the Old Testament, as by the Apostles and Christ himself in the New, shewed to be other than is by the Antinomian Party in these times maintained. In way of Answer to some Passages in a Treatise of Mr. John Saltmarsh, concerning that subject," 1646. This is written in answer to Mr. Saltmarsh's "Free Grace, or the Flowings of Christ's Blood freely to Sinners; being an Experiment of Jesus Christ upon one who hath been in Bondage of a troubled Spirit at times for twelve years," 1645. Mr. Gataker in his work observes, "That it seems a thing much to be feared, that this course, which I see some effect, and many people are much taken with, of extracting divinity in a kind of chymical way, even chimerical conceits, will, if it hold on, as much corrupt the simplicity of the gospel, and the doctrine of faith, as ever the quirks and quillets of the old schoolmen did." During the same year he published "Shadows without Substance, in the pretended New Lights," in answer to Saltmarsh's "Shadows flying away." Also his "Mysterious Clouds and Mists," in answer to Mr. J. Simpson.

Mr. Gataker soon after published his discourse on the style of the New Testament, in which he opposed the sentiments of Pfochenius, who maintained that there were no Hebraisms in those sacred writings, which he endeavoured to prove as well by authorities as arguments. All this our author undertook to overthrow, which, in the opinion of the best critics, he most effectually accomplished; and more than this, he so clearly and concisely explained the true meaning of many texts in the Old as well as the New Testament; corrected such a variety of passages in ancient authors; and discovered such a consummate skill in both the living and dead languages, as very justly gained him the character of

one of the ablest philologists of the age. His work is entitled, "*Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis de Novi Testamenti stylo Dissertatio: qua viri doctissimi Sebastiani Pfochenii de Linguae Græcæ Novi Testamenti puritate, in qua Hebraismis quæ vulga finguntur quam plurimis larva detrahi dicitur diatribe ad examen revocatur; Scriptorumque qua sacrorum qua profanorum loca aliquam multa obiter explicantur atque illustrantur. Cum indicibus necessariis,*" 1648.

The author tells us, in the first chapter of his Dissertation, that, meeting with the treatise of Sebastian Pfochenius, a German divine, published in 1629, he read it with great attention, and found it very weighty in matter, and abundantly full of good literature. Notwithstanding this, he found many of the author's sentiments repugnant to his own, and in his judgment not agreeable to truth. He saw likewise that many learned and great men were censured without cause, and sometimes represented as speaking a language very different from what he took to be their real sentiments. These observations induced him to examine a multitude of questions started in that treatise, or that which naturally flowed from them, in which he shews his candour to be every way equal to his skill in criticism. He does not use harsh expressions or hard names, but contents himself with discovering mistakes, and shewing the grounds of them. In following this method, he opens a field of very curious and instructive learning, and shews such quickness of penetration, such soundness of judgment, and such compass of reading, as are truly admirable. He begins by refuting a principle that Pfochenius had assumed, viz. that the Greek, Latin, German, &c. are original tongues; whereas, in Mr. Gataker's opinion, it is very difficult to know which are original, but with respect to the Latin he maintains that it is not. He shews from the authority, both of ancient and modern writers, that it was a compound of several languages spoken by the Sabines, Oscans, and other old inhabitants of Italy, but more especially of Greek; and to demonstrate this more effectually, he takes the first five lines of Virgil, one of the purest and most elegant of the Latin poets, and proves that there is scarcely a single word in them which is not derived from the Greek. Thus he saps the very foundation of Pfochenius's system, by making it evident, that there can be no assurance of the purity of any language, in the sense in which he understands it.

In the fifth chapter he states Pfochenius's three principal questions, first, whether the text of the New Testament be truly Greek, or not different from that used by profane

authors. Next, whether if Homer, Pindar, Plato, Demosthenes, &c. were to rise from the dead, they would be able to understand the New Testament? And lastly, by what name the language of that book is to be called, whether Græcanic, Hellenistic, or Græcian? Our author observes, that the last question is merely a dispute about words, with which he will have nothing to do. On the other two questions he gives his opinion plainly, and without reserve. When it is alleged in proof of the first, that the phrases used by the writers of the New Testament are likewise used by profane authors, he denies that this is conclusive; "for," says he, "who that has any taste of the purity of the Latin tongue, will allow that it is to be found in scholastic writings, notwithstanding that the words, and even the phrases in which Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Terence, &c. wrote, are here and there found in them?" He adds further, that those who do not see that though the sacred writers used the same words, and even the same phrases, that are to be found in profane authors in another manner than they do, and to convey a different sense, must not only be said to see indifferently and obscurely, but that they willingly shut their eyes. He then produces many Latin words used by the sacred writers, though written in Greek characters, or disguised with Greek terminations. He also produces Hebrew and Syriac words to the same purpose; and from hence he concludes, that though Pfochenius could really shew, which however he undertakes to prove that he has not done, that the sacred writers make use of a multitude of phrases to be met with in profane authors, yet this would not amount to what he has asserted, if the former have also used many words and phrases which are not to be met with in authors who are allowed to write pure Greek.

As to the second question, he tells Pfochenius, that it can be granted or denied him only in part. Notwithstanding some places might in a measure be understood by those great men whom he mentions, if it were possible for them to come from the dead; yet this would but go a little way towards proving what he has asserted; because, though they might understand some parts, yet others they could not understand. He puts a parallel case in reference to the writings of Apuleius, which, says he, if Cicero were to rise from the dead, he might for the most part understand; but would any competent judge conclude from thence, that the Latin of Apuleius resembles that of Tully, or of the age in which Tully wrote? But, says Pfochenius, Paul conversed with the Greeks of his time, and was he not understood by them? and

if by them, why not by the ancients? "I could readily grant you that," says our divine, "and yet deny the consequence that you would draw from it. For the Greek language itself was much declined, in the time of the apostles, by the admission of a multitude of exotic words and phrases borrowed from the Italians, Sicilians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, partly from their being under the same government, and partly from their commercial intercourse with those nations. But, after all," says he, "if Demosthenes could live again, it is most likely he would find many obstacles in reading Paul's writings, and would object to many of the words and phrases." He then quotes a long passage from Beza's Annotations on the Acts of the Apostles, in which that learned commentator shews the reasons why the apostles were not studious about their style, but endeavoured to make themselves understood by those with whom they conversed, rather than to render their discourses elegant from their pure and correct language.

In the same manner he proceeds through the rest of his treatise, in which he explains, as they occur, a multitude of passages in sacred and profane authors, correcting some and commending other critics who have gone before; but with so much mildness and moderation, with such apparent candour and respect to truth above all things, that it is impossible for the reader not to admire his excellent temper, while he ruins the reputation of the contrary party. In the forty-fourth chapter, Mr. Gataker gives a recapitulation of the whole dispute between him and Pfochenius, and observes, that the true state of the question is, whether the style of the New Testament in Greek is every where the same with that which was used by the ancient writers, at the time when the language was in its greatest purity? Or, whether it is not such as frequently admits of Hebraisms and Syriasms? Pfochenius affirms the former, and denies the latter; while our learned critic maintains the opposite sentiments. Mr. Gataker concludes by observing, that, notwithstanding all that Pfochenius has urged, he does not doubt that nearly *six hundred* phrases might be produced from the New Testament, and a much greater number from the Greek version of the Old Testament, the purity of which Pfochenius seems tacitly to maintain, in which there are plain characters of the Hebrew or the Syriac tongues, and not the least resemblance of the ancient Greek, so far as men of the greatest labour and erudition have hitherto discovered.* The venerable primate of Ireland,

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2167—2169.

than whom there could not be a better judge, shewed his great respect both for our author and his performance, by sending it with his own Annals as a present to Dr. Arnold Boate, then residing at Paris.*

Though this literary production was a very considerable work, and greatly increased the author's reputation, it was, indeed, no more than a specimen of a much larger work, in which he had been employed for many years. He at first intended his discourse against Pfochenius only as an appendix to this celebrated performance; but that treatise being ready for the press, and it being very doubtful whether he should live to complete the other, he judged it most expedient to publish that alone, particularly that he might see what kind of reception his larger work was likely to meet with from the republic of letters. Finding this specimen universally applauded, he determined to publish the first two books of the other, the whole being divided into six, to which he gave this title: "*Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Cinnus; sive adversaria miscellanea animadversionum veriarum libris sex comprehensa: quorum premores duo nunc primitius prodeunt reliquis deinceps (Deo favente) seorsim insecuturis,*" 1651. In the preface the author shews, that these collections were published in fulfilment of his promise made in his dissertation on the style of the New Testament; which promise would have been fulfilled much sooner, had he not been prevented by his numerous avocations, and by a dangerous eruption of blood, by which he was brought very low, and for a long time withheld from his studies. The first book is divided into eleven chapters, and the second into twenty, but they are mostly independent one of another. The account given of the foregoing work renders it unnecessary to enlarge upon this performance. They are exactly the same in their nature, except that this tends to no one particular point, but discovers, in numerous instances, the author's opinion on difficult passages in the Old and New Testaments, the primitive fathers, modern critics, and, as his subjects occasionally led him, he illustrates a vast variety of obscure or perplexed places both in Greek and Latin authors; and there are some observations on words and phrases in our own language. This work was received with the highest commendation. Morhoff particularly applauds the author for his singular happiness in distinguishing the true sense of the most difficult passages, and of making it appear that what he defends is

* Parr's Life of Usher, p. 559.

the true sense, and this in few words, without any ostentation, and without ever insulting those whom he corrects: but, on the contrary, he ascribes their mistakes, sometimes as a slip of the memory, and at others, to the bad editions of the books which they used.* The remaining books of this collection were published after his decease, by his son Mr. Charles Gataker, with the following title: "Adversaria Miscellanea Posthuma, in quibus sacræ Scripturæ primo deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis multis Lux affunditur," 1659.

Mr. Gataker's natural modesty, as well as his christian moderation, kept him from that publicity of character which, from his great abilities, and his numerous friends, he might easily have attained. Notwithstanding the mildness of his temper, and his aversion to whatever might render him the object of public discourse; yet the trial of the king moved him to make a public declaration of his sentiments. He was, accordingly, the first of the forty-seven London ministers who subscribed their "Letter to the Generall and his Councell of Warre," commonly called their "Declaration" against the king's death. In this address they firmly remind them of their duty to the parliament, and of the obligations they were under, as well as the parliament, to defend his majesty's person and maintain his just rights. They told the general and his council that the one could not be injured, or the other invaded, without manifest breach of many solemn oaths, particularly the covenant: they taught them to distinguish between God's approbation and permission; they set, in its true light, the folly of pretending to secret impulses in violation of God's written laws; they made it evident that necessity was a false plea; and they concluded by recommending them to follow the rule of John the Baptist, *Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely*, and scrupled not to tell them, that, if they persisted in their design, their sin would surely find them out.†

During the year in which Mr. Gataker published the first two books of his Miscellanies, he printed a small piece on infant baptism, which was very much admired. He was deeply versed in that controversy; therefore, in addition to this, he wrote several other discourses, in which he treated the main questions with great seriousness and solidity of argument. He published two Latin discourses on this subject, which, in point of modesty, learning, and argumentation, it is said, were not at all inferior to any of the other

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2169, 2170.

† Letter to the Gen.

productions of his pen. The first of these is entitled, "*De Baptismatis Infantilis vi & efficacia Disceptatio privatim habita inter V. C. Dom. Samuelem Wardum, theologiæ sacræ doctorem, & in academia Cantabrigiensi Professore, & Thomam Gatakerum,*" 1651. The other is entitled, "*Stricturæ ad Epistolam Joannis Davenantii de Baptismo Infantum,*" 1654.

In the year 1652, he favoured the world with his admirable edition of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus's *Meditations*, to which he prefixed a preliminary discourse on the philosophy of the Stoics, which, in the opinion of the ablest critics, both at home and abroad, is allowed to be a most complete and correct treatise, as well as a most useful compendium of morality. He added also an exact translation, together with a commentary. In some of his former works he had given occasional specimens of his perfect acquaintance with the works of this imperial philosopher, whose celebrity has always been as high among the learned as his station was in the world; therefore, when the work was published, men's expectations were highly raised, and abundantly gratified. It had been published in Greek by Conrad Gesner, with a Latin translation by William Hylander, and had passed through several editions. Mr. Gataker found both the text and the translation exceedingly faulty, and spent nearly forty years in considering how the former might be amended, and a new translation made, which might do justice to so exquisite a production. He found prodigious difficulties in the arduous undertaking, being able to meet with very few manuscript copies, and receiving very slender helps from those learned persons, whose assistance he solicited in the progress of his endeavours. He sent indeed a list of his principal difficulties to the celebrated Salmasius, who, in his answer, very gratefully acknowledged, and warmly commended his undertaking; but gave him, at the same time, a dismal prospect of the obstacles he had to overcome: as, innumerable corruptions, frequent chasms, more frequent transpositions, and many other misfortunes, for the removal of which he promised his assistance; which, however, his frequent journies and other occurrences prevented. Mr. Gataker, nevertheless, persevered in the arduous work, and, with the few helps he enjoyed, his own sagacity, and the comparing of various copies, at length completed his design, and, to the great satisfaction of the learned world, published his admirable edition of this valuable work about two years before his death, under the following title: "*Marci Antonini Imperatoris de rebus suis sive de iis quæ ad se pertinere censebat Libri xii. cum*

Versione Latinâ & commentariis Gatakeri," 1652. The work was reprinted in 1697, with the addition of the Emperor's life, by Mr. Dacier, together with some select notes of the same author, by Dr. George Stanhope, who, in his dedication to the Lord Chancellor Somers, gives a high character of our author.*

Mr. Gataker, in the evening of his days, when he earnestly desired that repose which his labours so well deserved, was warmly attacked by an active and angry adversary, who was infinitely beneath him in point of knowledge, but who had credit with certain persons high in office, and who was esteemed by the vulgar as a person of transcendent abilities. This was Mr. William Lilly, the famous astrologer, who, finding that our author had a very bad opinion of his pretended art, and a worse opinion of his personal character, had the confidence to take up his pen against him; but he experienced the disappointment which he might easily have foreseen. Mr. Gataker, who possessed all the sacred and profane learning relative to this subject, not only defended himself with great strength of argument, but very clearly detected all the plausible sophisms that could be urged in support of this pretended science. The ground of this controversy was Mr. Gataker's Annotations on Jeremiah x. 2., in which chapter the Jews are warned against listening to the predictions of astrologers, and complying with the practice of idolaters, the two great sins to which they would be tempted in a state of captivity. Our author considered it his duty to expose the vanity of predictions from the stars, and to shew to the christian world, that it was not only folly and ignorance, but great wickedness to rely upon them. His exposition is curious, full of solid sense and sound learning, and effectually destroys the credit of that delusive art, by which, in all ages, weak and wandering minds have been misled.

These annotations roused all the tribe of astrologers against our learned author, from the highest to the lowest. William Lilly, John Swan, and Sir Christopher Heydon, took great offence, and wrote against him without mercy. This induced Mr. Gataker to publish a discourse in defence of himself, and what he had before advanced against the illuminated stargazers, which is entitled, "A Vindication of the Annotations on Jeremiah, chap. x. ver. 2., against the scurrilous aspersions of that grand impostor Mr. William Lilly; as also against the various expositions of two of his advocates, Mr. John Swan, and another by him cited but not named. Together with the

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2171.

annotations themselves; wherein the pretended grounds of judiciary astrology, and the scripture proofs produced for it, are discussed and refuted," 1653. In this treatise he fully and openly exposed his opponents and their pretended science; and enforced all that he had said against it by substantial arguments, and produced, in support of his own sentiments, a numerous train of respectable authorities. This excited their scurrility and abuse more than ever; which induced him to publish a reply to their raillery and bitter language, in a piece entitled, "A Discourse Apolegitical, wherein Lillies lewd and lowd lies in his Merlin or Pasquil for the year 1654, are clearly laid open; his shameful desertion of his own cause is further discovered; his shameless slanders fully refuted; and his malicious and murtherous mind inciting to a general massacre of God's ministers, from his own pen evidently evinced: together with an advertisement concerning two allegations produced in the close of his postscript; and a postscript concerning an epistole dedicatory of one I. Gadburie," 1654. In this treatise our venerable author speaks of the most considerable transactions of his life, relates at large the manner in which he arrived at his several preferments, and completely refutes all the idle and malicious reflections of Lilly and his associates. He mentions, among other particulars, his sentiments upon church government, and declares that he never was an advocate for the power and splendour of the prelacy; but that, on the contrary, he had always inclined to a moderate episcopacy. As, for the sake of doing good in his generation, he had submitted to the bishops; so, when they were taken away by what he esteemed the supreme power, he submitted to that likewise, yet never sought any preferment, but refused it from both parties. This, it appears, was written a very little time before his death.

Although Mr. Gataker convinced all judicious and impartial inquirers after truth of the vanity of this delusive science, he could never silence his conceited and obstinate antagonist, whose bread, indeed, was in some degree at stake; and who was, therefore, bound by one of the strongest ties to defend that craft by which he lived. By his frequent publications, he vilified and persecuted our venerable divine to the end of his days, and, contrary to all the rules of religion or humanity, insulted him when laid in his silent grave.* As for the pious and learned Mr. Gataker, he pursued the same peaceable and useful course, till his years, his infirmities, and his perpetual labours, wore out his constitution.

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2172—2175.

In his last sickness his faith and patience were strikingly manifest. To a servant who waited upon him when confined to his bed, and who told him that his head did not lie right, he said, "It will lie right in my coffin." The day before his departure, being exercised with extreme pain, he cried, "How long, Lord, how long? come speedily!" A little before he died, he called his son, his sister, and his daughter, to each of whom he delivered his dying charge, saying, "My heart fails, and my strength fails: but God is my fortress, and the rock of my salvation. Into thy hands, therefore, I commend my soul; for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth.—Son," said he, "you have a great charge, look to it. Instruct your wife and family in the fear of God, and discharge your ministry conscientiously.—Sister," said he "I thought you might have gone before me, but God calls me first. I hope we shall meet in heaven. I pray God bless you.—Daughter," said he, "mind the world less and God more; for all things, without religion and the fear of God, are nothing worth." He then wished them all to withdraw and leave him to rest, when he presently expired, July 27, 1654, aged seventy-nine years, having been forty-three years pastor at Rotherhithe. His funeral sermon was preached by his very esteemed friend Mr. Simeon Ashe, and afterwards published with the following title: "Gray Heyres crowned with Grace, a Sermon preached at Redriff, August 1, at the Funeral of that reverend and eminently learned and faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Gataker."

This venerable divine was married four times. His third wife was sister to Sir George Farwell. He would never suffer his picture to be taken; but the following is said to be a just description of his person. He was of a middle stature, a thin body, a lively countenance, and a fresh complexion. He was temperate in diet, free and cheerful in conversation, and addicted to study, but did not seclude himself from useful company. He possessed a quick apprehension, a solid judgment, and so extraordinary a memory, that, though he used no common-place book, he had in readiness whatever he had read. His house was a private seminary for both Englishmen and foreigners, who resorted to him, lodged at his house, and received instructions from him. His extensive learning was admired by the great men of the age, both at home and abroad, with whom he held a regular correspondence. It is said, "Of all the critics of this age who have employed their pens in illustrating polite learning, there are few, if indeed any, who deserve to be preferred to Thomas Gataker for

diligence and accuracy, in explaining those authors whose writings he has examined." He is styled "a writer of infinite learning and accurate judgment;"* and his name as a scholar is paralleled with those of Selden and Usher.† He was an ornament to the university, a light to the church, a loving husband, a discreet parent, a faithful friend, a kind benefactor, a candid encourager of students, and a stout champion for the truth; yet so much for peace and moderation, that he maintained unity and affection towards those who differed in lesser matters.‡ Echard says, "He was remarkable for his skill in Greek and Hebrew, and the most celebrated among the assembly of divines;" and adds, "it is hard to say which was most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferment."§

His WORKS, in addition to those whose titles have been already given.—1. David's Instructor.—2. The Christian Man's Care.—3. The Spiritual Watch.—4. The Gain of Godliness.—5. The Just Man's Joy, with Signs of Sincerity.—6. Jacob's Thankfulness.—7. David's Remembrances.—8. Noah's Obedience.—9. A Memorial of England's Deliverance.—10. Sorrow for Zion.—11. God's Parley with Princes, with an Appeal from them to Him.—12. Eleazer's Prayer, a Marriage Sermon.—13. A Good Wife God's Gift.—14. A Wife Indeed.—15. Marriage Duties.—16. Death's Advantage.—17. The Benefit of a Good Name, and a Good End.—18. Abraham's Decease, delivered at the Funeral of Mr. Richard Stock, late Pastor of All-hallows, Bread-street.—19. Jeroboam's Son's Decease.—20. Christian Constancy Crowned by Christ.—The above Sermons, of which the pious Bishop Wilkin's gives a very high character,|| were published separate, but, in 1637, collected and published in one volume folio.—21. Francisci Gomari Disputationis Elencticæ, de Justificationis, &c., 1640.—22. Animadvertionis in J. Piscatoris & L. Lucii scripta adversaria, de causa meritoria Justificationis, 1641.—23. Mr. Anthony Wotton's Defence, 1641.—24. A true Relation of Passages between Mr. Wotton and Mr. Walker, 1642.—25. An Answer to Mr. Walker's Vindication, 1642.—26. Stricturæ in Barth. Wigelini Sangallensis de obedientia Christi disputationum Theologicam, 1653.—27. Ejusdam Vindicatio adversus Capellum.—28. The Decease of Lazarus.—29. St. Stephen's last Will and Testament.—30. God's Eye on his Israel.—31. A Defence of Mr. Bradshaw against Mr. J. Canne.—The celebrated Hermannus Witsius, in the year 1698, collected and published in one volume all Mr. Gataker's critical works, entitled, "Opera Critica;" which will stand a monument to his memory as durable as time.

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2175, 2176.

† Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 408.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 256—260.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 771.

|| Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

SAMUEL BOLTON, D. D.—This excellent divine was born in the year 1606, and educated in the university of Cambridge. He afterwards became minister of St. Martin's church, Ludgate-street, London; where he continued about three years. Upon his removal from this situation, he was chosen minister at St. Saviour's, Southwark, where he continued seven years, and then removed to St. Andrew's, Holborn. At each of these places his ministry was made a blessing to many souls. He was nominated one of the additional members in the assembly of divines. Upon the death of Dr. Bainbrigge, he was chosen master of Christ's college, Cambridge, which he governed with great wisdom and prudence the rest of his days. Having strong desires to win souls to Christ, though he was master of a college, and had no ministerial charge of his own, he preached gratuitously every Lord's day for many years. In the year 1648, a minister of his name, and probably the same person, attended the Earl of Holland upon the scaffold when he was beheaded in the palace-yard, Westminster.*

During his last sickness, which was long and painful, he exercised great patience, and often said, though the providence of God was dark towards him, he had light and comfort within. A little before he died, he said to a person moving him in bed, "Let me alone; let me lie quietly. I have as much comfort as my heart can hold." The last time Mr. Calamy visited him he was anxious to be with Christ, saying, "Oh this vile body of mine! when will it give way, that my soul may get out and go to my God? When will it be consumed, that I may mount up to heaven?" When he perceived any symptoms of his approaching dissolution, he rejoiced exceedingly, calling them, "the little crevices through which his soul peeped." He died greatly lamented, October 15, 1654, aged forty-eight years, and was buried in St. Martin's church, mentioned above. He gave orders, in his last will and testament, to be interred as a private christian, and not with the outward pomp of a doctor; "because," as he observed, "he hoped to rise in the day of judgment, and appear before God, not as a *doctor*, but as an *humble christian*." Numerous elegies were published on his death.

Dr. Bolton was a person of good parts and considerable learning, a burning and shining light in his day, and a man of great piety and excellent ministerial abilities. He was ortho-

* Whittlecke's Mem. p. 387. Edit. 1732.

dox in his judgment, philanthropic in his spirit, and a celebrated interpreter of scripture. He studied, not only to *preach* the word, but to *live* as he preached. His life was an excellent comment on his doctrine. He was the voice of God crying aloud to those around him, by his exemplary life as well as his holy doctrine. He was a man of much prayer, reading, meditation, and temptation, the four things which, in the opinion of Luther, make a preacher. He was assaulted with manifold temptations, and very probably with more than many hundreds of his brethren. He laboured under the buffetings of Satan, that, being himself tempted, he might be better able to comfort those who were tempted. The words from which Mr. Calamy preached his funeral sermon had often been a source of great joy to his soul: "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able even to subdue all things to himself."*

HIS WORKS.—1. A Vindication of the Rights of Law and the Liberties of Grace, 1645.—2. The Arraignment of Error, 1646.—3. The Sinfulness of Sin, held forth in a Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, upon the late Solemn Day of Humiliation, March 25, 1646—1646.—4. A Guard of the Tree of Life, 1647.—5. The Dead Saint speaking to Saints and Sinners, 1657.—6. A Word in Season to a Sinking Kingdom.—7. The Wedding Garment.

JOHN MURCOT, A. B.—This very pious man was born at Warwick, in the year 1625, and educated in Merton college, Oxford, under the tuition of Mr. Ralph Button. Oxford being garrisoned by the king's forces, he, to avoid bearing arms, fled from the place in disguise, and went to live with Mr. John Ley, vicar of Great Budworth in Cheshire, where he continued several years in close application to his studies. Upon his entrance on the work of the ministry, he was ordained according to the presbyterian form at Manchester, and settled first at Astbury in Cheshire; afterwards, he removed to Eastham, and, upon the death of Mr. Ralph Marsden, to West Kirby, both in the same county. In each of these situations he was much beloved, and his labours were rendered particularly useful. About the time of his last removal, he married Mr. Marsden's daughter. The Oxford historian says, that he at last removed to Chester; where, by

* Calamy's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Bolton.—Clark's Lives, part i. p. 43—47.

his carriage, (meaning, undoubtedly, his exceeding great piety,) he became *ridiculous to the wicked*.* It does not appear, however, that he ever settled at Chester. For the writer of his life, who is very particular in specifying his various removals, gives no intimation of the kind.

Though he never settled in that city, yet, after labouring some time at Kirby, and finding himself unable to promote church discipline according to his wishes, he went to Ireland and settled in the city of Dublin. He was there chosen one of the preachers in ordinary to the lord deputy and council, and was greatly admired and followed. In this situation he was in labours more abundant than most of his brethren, and the Lord suffered him not to labour in vain. He was instrumental in the conversion of many sinners, and in the establishment of many saints. The Lord, who had prepared him for this service, blessed his endeavours in winning multitudes of souls to Christ. In matters of worship and ceremonies, he was zealous in opposing the inventions and impositions of men, closely adhering in all things to the word of God. A public disputation was held at Cork, May 26, 1652, between the pædobaptists and the antipædobaptists, in which Dr. Harding, Dr. Worth, and Mr. Murcot, were particularly engaged, though we have no further account of it.†

During his last sickness his mind was most serene and happy. Apprehending that the hour of his departure was at hand, he said to his friends, "I must now tell you I am not long for this world;" and, raising himself up, he cried, "Lord, remember me in this trying hour." To his affectionate wife he said, "Haste, haste, love, for my time is very short. I shall not reach midnight. These raptures tell me I must quickly be gone." His sister, asking him whether he was in charity with all the Lord's people, though in certain things they differed from him; "Yes," said he, stretching forth his arms; and with a loud voice added, "Lord Jesus, draw me up to thyself;" and breathed his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer, December 3, 1654, aged twenty-nine years. His remains were interred with great funeral solemnity in St. Mary's chapel, Dublin; when the lord deputy, the council, and the mayor and aldermen of the city followed, with great lamentation, his body to the grave.‡

Though Wood, with most palpable untruth, denominates him "a forward, prating, and pragmatistical precisian, who

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 112.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 312.

‡ Mr. Murcot's *Life* prefixed to his *Works*. Edit. 1657.

gave up the ghost *very unwillingly*;* it appears from his life, "that he was an eminently humble, holy, and happy man; and a most zealous, laborious, and useful preacher." Granger says, "he was an admired preacher, a man of great industry in his profession, and of uncommon strictness of life."† Mr. Murcot's works, consisting of various articles, were published at different times; but were afterwards collected and published with his life prefixed, in one volume quarto, 1657.

JOSHUA HOYLE, D. D.—This learned divine was born at Sawerby, near Halifax, Yorkshire, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. Afterwards, being invited into Ireland, he became fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, took his degrees in divinity, and was chosen divinity professor in that university. In his daily lectures he expounded the whole Bible, seldom taking more than one verse at a time, which lasted about fifteen years; and in about ten years more he went through greatest part of the sacred volume a second time. In the year 1634 he sat in the convocation held at Dublin. But, upon the commencement of the rebellion in Ireland, in 1641, he fled from the terrible effusion of blood,‡ returned to England, and became vicar of Stepney, near London; but, according to Wood, he being too scholastical, did not please the parishioners.§ In the year 1643 he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended. He was witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial, when he attested that the archbishop had corrupted the university of Dublin, by the arbitrary introduction of the errors of popery and arminianism.|| In the year 1645 he was elected one of the committee of accommodation; and in 1648 he became master of University college, Oxford, and king's professor of divinity in that university. In the office of professor he has incurred the severe animadversion of

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 113.

† Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 49.

‡ According to the computation of the popish priests themselves, who were actively employed in this rebellion, upwards of *one hundred and fifty-four thousand* protestants were massacred in Ireland in the space of a few months: but, during the continuance of the rebellion, according to Sir J. Temple, there were above *three hundred thousand* cruelly murdered in cold blood, or ruined in some other way. Cardinal Richelieu was deeply concerned in this massacre; and, according to Rapin, King Charles I. "spread abroad that the catholics had his authority for what they did."—*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 386.

§ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 113.

|| Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 178, 359.

Dr. Walker. This abusive writer says that he opened his lectures by a speech void of all spirit and learning; and that his lectures had neither method nor argument in them, and shewed him to be ignorant even of the most common rules of logic.* Wood however styles him "a person of great reading and memory, much devoted to study, profound in the faculty of divinity, a constant preacher, and a noted puritan;" and says, "he was highly respected by the famous Archbishop Usher."† In vindication of this learned prelate, he wrote "A Rejoynder to Will Malone Jesuit his Reply concerning the Real Presence," 1641. Dr. Hoyle was a member of great honour and esteem in the assembly of divines, as master of all the ancient learning of Greek and Latin fathers, and one who reigned in his chair and in the pulpit.‡ He died December 6, 1654, and his remains were interred in the old chapel belonging to University college. His successors in the offices of master and professor were Mr. Francis Johnson and Dr. John Conant, both silenced nonconformists in 1662.§

ANDREW PERNE, A. M.—This worthy minister was born in the year 1596, and afterwards chosen fellow of Katherine-hall, Cambridge, where he probably received his education. Having finished his studies at the university, he became rector of Wilby in Northamptonshire, where he continued a laborious, faithful, and successful preacher twenty-seven years. One of his name and degree was of Peter-house, and elected master of the Charter-house in 1614;|| and the year following he became vicar of Southminster or Sudminster in Essex. But this could not be the same person.¶ In the year 1643 Mr. Perne was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended during the whole session. He often preached before the parliament, and several of his sermons were published; one of which is entitled, "Gospel Courage, or a Christian Resolution for God and his Truth, in a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Margaret's, Westminster, at a Publique Fast, the 21 of May, 1643"—1643. Being called up to London, he gained a high reputation, and was offered considerable

* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 141.

† Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 113.

‡ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 472.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 229, 257, 433.

|| Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. ii. p. 359.

¶ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 537.

preferments; but he refused them all, resolving to return to his charge at Wilby. In this place, by his awakening sermons, and exemplary life and conversation, a most signal and happy reformation was effected; and his people revered and loved him as a father. "He was full of spiritual warmth," says Mr. Ainsworth, "filled with an holy indignation against sin, active in his work, and never more in his element than when he was in the pulpit." As his life was holy, so his death was happy. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die; nay, he earnestly desired to be gone; and often cried out, during his last sickness, "When will that hour come? One assault more, and this earthen vessel will be broken, and I shall be with God."* He died December 13, 1654, aged sixty years. Mr. Samuel Ainsworth, one of the silenced nonconformists, preached and published his funeral sermon. His remains were interred in the chancel of Wilby church; where, at the foot of the altar, is the following monumental inscription erected to his memory :†

Here lieth
interred MR. ANDREW PERNE,
a faithful servant of Jesus Christ,
a zealous owner ever of God's cause
in perilous times,
a powerful and successful preacher
of the gospel,
a great blessing to this town
and country,
where he lived twenty-seven years.
He departed December 13,
1654.

ALEXANDER GROSS, B. D.—This pious man was born in Devonshire, and educated first in Caius college, Cambridge, then in Exeter college, Oxford, where he was admitted to the reading of the sentences. Entering upon the work of the ministry, he became preacher at Plympton, in his own county, afterwards rector of Bridford, near Exeter, and at length vicar of Ashburton, in his own county; at each of which places he was much followed, especially by persons of serious piety. He was a zealous puritan, and, upon the commencement of the civil wars, he espoused the cause of the parliament.‡ He was a man of a strong memory, a sound judgment, and great integrity, abhorring all kinds of super-

* Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 128.

† Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 155.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 103.

stition. He was a judicious, faithful, laborious, and constant preacher, and deeply versed in a knowledge of the scriptures, and furnished with an excellent gift in prayer. His public ministry was accompanied with the rich blessing of God, and made abundantly useful in the conversion of souls. His holy life was an excellent practical comment upon his holy doctrine. While he urged the necessity of holiness upon others, he practised holiness himself. He was a burning and shining light. In a word, he spent his strength, his life, his all, for the honour of God and the good of souls.* He died in a good old age, in the year 1654.

His WORKS.—1. Sweet and Soul-persuading Inducements leading unto Christ, 1632.—2. The Happiness of enjoying and making a true and speedy use of Christ, 1640.—3. Several Sermons, 1640.—4. The Mystery of Self-denial; or, the Cessation of Man's living to Himself, 1642.—5. Man's Misery without Christ, 1642.—6. The Way to a Blessed Life, 1643.—This is sometimes entitled, "The Fiery Pillar."—7. Buddings and Blossomings of Old Truths, 1656.—8. The Anatomy of the Heart.—9. Of Sacred Things.

JOHN GRAILE, A. M.—This worthy minister was born in Gloucestershire, in the year 1614, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. Upon his leaving the university, he became a famous puritanical preacher; and, about the year 1645, succeeded Mr. George Holmes as master of the free-school at Guildford in Surrey. Towards the close of this year, he married the daughter of Mr. Henry Scudder; and, the year following, he lived at Collingborn-Dukes in Wiltshire, where he was most probably exercised in the ministerial function. Afterwards he became rector of Tidworth in Hampshire, where he was much followed by the *precise* and *godly party*, as they are contemptuously called. Wood says "he was a presbyterian, but tinged with arminianism."† Whether he was or was not tinged with arminianism, we shall not undertake to determine; but in his work entitled "A modest Vindication of the Doctrine of Conditions in the Covenant of Grace, and the Defenders thereof, from the Aspersions of Arminianism and Popery," 1655, he certainly labours much to repel the charge. He was a man of great learning, humility, integrity, and christian circumspection; and a pious, faithful, and laborious minister of Christ, being ever opposed to the use of superstitious ceremonies. He lived much

* Gross's Blossomings of Old Truths, Pref.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 105.

respected, and died greatly lamented.* During his last sickness, when afflicted with extreme pain, he discovered becoming submission to the will of God. He said, "I could be contented, if the Lord see it good, to abide a while in this condition, amongst these poor people. It may be, I shall do more good amongst them, in my sickness, than they have received from all my labours during the time of my health."† He died in the year 1654, and the fortieth of his age. His remains were interred in Tidworth church, when Dr. Chambers preached his funeral sermon to a very numerous congregation. This sermon was afterwards published, from which part of the above account is collected.

RICHARD VINES, A. M.—This learned and excellent divine was born at Blason in Leicestershire, about the year 1600, and educated in Magdalen college, Cambridge. From the university he was chosen schoolmaster at Hinckley in his native county; and afterwards, on the death of Mr. James Cranford, he obtained a presentation to the rectory of Weddington in Warwickshire. Here he was a zealous and faithful labourer in the vineyard of Christ. His ministry was very much followed; and his endeavours were made a great blessing to the people. He also preached at Caldecot, a place near Weddington, and, at the death of the incumbent, was presented to the living. With great care and diligence he served both parishes, the profits of which amounted only to eighty pounds a year. He also delivered a lecture at Nuneaton in the same county, to which multitudes resorted. Mr. Evans, afterwards ejected in 1662, succeeded him in his two livings, who, it is said, found that side of the country well stocked with religious knowledge and solid christians, produced by the preaching of many excellent men, but especially his worthy predecessor.‡

On the breaking out of the civil war, Mr. Vines was driven from his flock, and forced to take shelter in Coventry. Indeed, there were about thirty worthy ministers in that city, who, driven from their flocks, fled thither for safety from the plunder of soldiers and popular fury, though they never meddled in the wars.§ The heavy judgments of God being now inflicted upon the nation, these divines set up a morning lecture in

* Chambers's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Graile.

† Graile's Doct. of Conditions, Pref.

‡ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 744, 745.

§ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 44.

that city, in which Mr. Vines was frequently engaged, as well as on the Lord's day.

In the year 1643, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended during the session. Here his excellent abilities and great moderation were called forth into daily exercise; and how much good he did, in the matter of church government, says our author, may be safely concealed, but can scarcely be expressed without giving offence to some.* In 1644, he was appointed by the parliament one of the assistant divines at the treaty of Uxbridge. The Oxford historian, speaking of Dr. Hammond, one of the king's party, on this occasion, thus triumphantly observes: "It being his lot to dispute with Richard Vines, a presbyterian minister, who attended the commissioners appointed by parliament, he did, with ease and perfect clearness, disperse all the sophisms that he brought against him."† How far this statement is correct, we are unable to say. Whitlocke, a writer far more correct and impartial, however, speaking of this treaty, says, "That while Dr. Steward and Dr. Sheldon argued *very positively*, that the government by bishops was *Jure Divino*; Mr. Vines and Mr. Henderson argued *as positively*, but *more moderately*, to the contrary, and that the government of the church by presbyteries was *Jure Divino*."‡

Mr. Vines was chosen a member of the committee of accommodation, and was chairman at their meetings.§ On the subject of a general accommodation of all parties, he wrote an excellent letter to Mr. Baxter, discovering his mild and accommodating spirit.|| He was, at the same time, appointed master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester, and, it is said, few persons were better qualified for the situation. Here he promoted true religion and sound literature to the utmost of his power, and restored the college to a very flourishing state, till, in the year 1649, he was turned out for refusing the engagement.¶ In the year 1645, he was one of the committee of learned divines appointed by the assembly to prepare the Confession of Faith.** In 1648 he was appointed, by order of the parliament, one of the assistant divines at the treaty of the Isle of Wight; on which

* Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 48.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 159.

‡ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 119, 123, 126.

§ Sylvester's Baxter, part ii. p. 147.

** Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 350.

§ Papers of Accom. p. 2.

¶ Ibid. part i. p. 64.

occasion he was much applauded by his own party, particularly for proving the sufficiency of presbyterian ordination. Ministers, he observed, who had been ordained by the presbyterian churches in France and the Low Countries, were formerly owned and acknowledged, to all intents and purposes, by our bishops, as lawfully ordained, both to preach and administer the sacraments.* During the treaty, he had much converse and some disputation with the king.† His majesty highly valued him for his ingenuity, and seldom spoke to him without touching his hat, which Mr. Vines returned with most respectful language and gestures.‡

Dr. Grey, in his answer to Mr. Neal, relates, that when Mr. Vines returned from this treaty, he addressed one Mr. Walden, saying, "Brother, how hath this nation been fooled! We have been told that our king is a *child* and a *fool*; but if I understand any thing by my converse with him, which I have had with great liberty, he is as much of a christian prince as ever I read or heard of, since our Saviour's time. He is a very precious prince, and is able of himself to argue with the ablest divines we have. And, among all the king's of Israel and Judah, there was none like him." This account is said to have been given about the year 1675, by one Nathaniel Gilbert of Coventry, in an information subscribed by his own hand, having himself heard Mr. Vines. Dr. Grey transcribed it from an attested copy of the original, which original was in possession of his father, to whose grandmother the above Gilbert was half brother!§

When sentence of death was pronounced upon the king, Mr. Vines, and several of his brethren, presented their duty to his majesty, with their humble desires to pray with him, and perform other serviceable offices, if he would be pleased to accept them. The king returned them thanks for their kind offers, but declined their services.|| About the year 1653, Mr. Vines was appointed, by order of the parliament, one of the divines to draw up the Fundamentals, to be presented to the house.¶

When Mr. Vines first went up to London, he was chosen minister of St. Clement's Danes, where many persons of quality were his constant hearers. After some time, by the solicitation of the Earl of Essex, he resigned the place and

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 215.

† Whitlocke's Mem. p. 336, 339.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, pt. ii. p. 134.

§ Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 414.

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 522.

¶ Sylvester's Baxter, part ii. p. 197.

removed to Walton in Hertfordshire. He afterwards accepted an invitation to St. Lawrence Jewry, London; where his excellent talents were still employed in promoting the Redeemer's glory, and the salvation of his people. Many flocked to his ministry, and his labours were made a blessing to their souls. While pastor of St. Lawrence, he was chosen one of the weekly lecturers at St. Michael's, Cornhill, and was often called to preach before the parliament. It is but just, however, to observe, that our divine, with several of his brethren, preached too warmly against the baptists.* On the death of the Earl of Essex, the parliament appointed a public funeral for him, which was performed with great solemnity in St. Peter's church, Westminster, when Mr. Vines preached his funeral sermon to a very great audience, composed of persons of very high distinction.†

After a laborious and useful life, Mr. Vines, at length, became the subject of painful bodily affliction. Though afflicted with racking pain in his head, which nearly took away his sight, yet he would not desist from his public labours. He was resolved to spend and be spent in the work of the Lord. The day before he died, he preached and administered the Lord's supper; and about ten o'clock the same evening he was taken with bleeding at the nose, and died betwixt two and three next morning, aged fifty-five years. His remains were interred, with great lamentation, in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, February 7, 1655; when Dr. Thomas Jacombe preached his funeral sermon, giving the following high commendations of his character:—He was a burning and shining light in his day, and possessed very excellent parts, even taller by the head than most of his

* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 150.

† Robert, Earl of Essex, was only son of the unfortunate favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and inherited much of his father's popularity. He was a nobleman of very upright intentions. Owing to the compassion of his nature, and the sincerity of his zeal for the essentials of religion, he shewed great kindness to the persecuted puritans. He was one of those few noblemen in parliament who dared to attack the "great monster the prerogative." But he never appeared to so great an advantage as at the head of an army. He acquired a great reputation as a soldier; a kind of merit that was despised by James I. and overlooked by Charles. His courage was great, and his honour was inflexible; but he rather waited than sought for opportunities for fighting; and knew better how to gain than improve a victory. When he took the command of the parliament's army, he was better qualified than any man in the kingdom for the post; but he is said to have been soon eclipsed by a new race of soldiers, who, if not his superiors in the art of war, went far beyond him in spirit and enterprise. He died September 14, 1646; and his death laid a foundation for the advancement of Cromwell.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 161, 168. Edit. 1778.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 332. ii. 249.

brethren. He was mighty in the scriptures, and an interpreter one of a thousand. He was an accomplished scholar, a perfect master of the Greek, an excellent philologist, and an admirable orator. He was a ready and close disputant, and approved himself, to the admiration of many, in the treaties of Uxbridge and the Isle of Wight. He was a solid, judicious, and orthodox divine, mighty in points of controversy, giving a death-wound to error. His spiritual and powerful ministry was principally upon the doctrine of justification, debasing man and exalting the Saviour. He wished to die praying or preaching. That which would have made some keep their beds, did not keep him out of the pulpit: and as he preached, so he lived and died. He was of an heroical and undaunted spirit; and, like Luther, nothing would hinder him from a courageous and conscientious discharge of his duty.* He was accounted "the very prince of preachers, a thorough Calvinist, and a bold, honest man, void of pride and flattery."† Fuller styles him "an excellent preacher, and the very champion of the assembly;" and adds, "that he was constant to his principles, yet moderate and charitable towards those who differed from him."‡ Wood says nothing of him, only denominates him a zealous puritan.§

Dr. Grey insinuates a reflection on the simplicity and integrity of Mr. Vines, by a story of his praying in the morning of an Easter Sunday, before the Marquis of Hertford, for the king's restoration to his throne and regal rights: but, in the afternoon, when the Marquis was absent, and Lord Fairfax come to church, he prayed in *stylo parliamentario*, that God would turn the heart of the king, and give him grace to repent of his grievous sins, especially all the blood he had shed in those *civil, uncivil* wars. On this it was observed, that Mr. Vines was much more altered between the forenoon and afternoon, than the difference between an English *marquis* and an Irish *baron*.|| The reader, however, will easily perceive, that each of these prayers might have been very consistently offered up by the same person.

When Mr. Vines was schoolmaster at Hinckley, he had for one of his pupils Mr. John Cleiveland, a noted royalist and popular poet in the reign of Charles I., who, it is said, "owed the heaving of his natural fancy, by the choicest elegancies in

* Jacombe's Fun. Ser. for Mr. Vines.

† Clark's Lives, part i. p. 48—51.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 134, 135.

§ Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 891.

|| Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 175, 176.

Greek and Latin, to Mr. Vines.*—A few days before the death of our pious divine, as he was preaching at St. Gregory's church, a rude fellow cried aloud to him, "Lift up your voice, for I cannot hear you:" to whom Mr. Vines replied, "Lift up your ears, for I can speak no louder."†

HIS WORKS.—1. A Treatise on the Sacrament, 1657.—2. Christ the Christian's only Gain, 1661.—3. God's Drawing and Man's Coming to Christ, 1662.—4. The Saint's Nearness to God, 1662.—5. Funeral Sermon for the Earl of Essex.—6. Funeral Sermon for Mr. William Strong.—7. Caleb's Integrity in following the Lord fully, a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn Fast, Nov. 30, 1642.—8. The Posture of David's Spirit, when he was in a Doubtful Condition, a Sermon before the Commons, 1644.—9. The Happiness of Israel, a Sermon before both Houses, 1645.—He was author of some other Sermons.

HUGH ROBINSON, D. D.—This learned person was born in St. Mary's parish, Anglesea, and educated first at Wickham school, then at New College, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts, and was admitted perpetual fellow. After finishing his studies at the university, he was chosen principal master of Winchester school; and, taking his degrees in divinity, he became archdeacon of Winton, canon of Wells, and archdeacon of Gloucester. In the beginning of the civil war he lost all his preferment, joined himself to the puritans, espoused the cause of the parliament, took the covenant, and afterwards became rector of Hinton, near Winchester. He was an excellent linguist, an able divine, and very well skilled in ancient history.‡ He died March 30, 1655; and his remains were interred in the chancel of St. Giles's in the Fields, London.

HIS WORKS.—1. Pieces, written for the Use of the Children of Winchester School, in Latin and English, 1616.—2. Grammaticalia quædam, in Latin and English, 1616.—3. Antiquæ Historiæ Synopsis, 1616.—4. The Latin Phrases of Winchester School, 1654.—5. Annalium Mundi Universalium, 1677.—He also wrote a piece in Vindication of the Covenant.

* Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 628. Edit. 1778.

† Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 135.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 117.

JOHN ANGEL, A. M.—This pious divine was born in Gloucestershire, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having taken his degrees, he left the university and entered upon the ministerial work. Previous to the year 1629, Mr. Higginson, being chosen by the mayor and aldermen of Leicester to be the town preacher, but refusing the office, on account of his growing nonconformity, he recommended Mr. Angel, then a learned and pious conformist, to their approbation. They accordingly made choice of him; when he removed to Leicester, and continued in the office of public lecturer, with some interruption, upwards of twenty years.* Though at first he was conformable to the established church, he afterwards imbibed the principles of the puritans, and became a sufferer in the common cause. Archbishop Laud, giving an account of his province in the year 1634, observes, "That in Leicester the dean of the arches suspended one Angel, who hath continued a lecturer in that great town for divers years, without any license at all to preach; yet took liberty enough." His grace adds, "I doubt his violence hath cracked his brain, and do therefore use him the more tenderly, because I see the hand of God hath overtaken him."† Mr. Angel most assuredly had the license of those who employed him, and who paid him for his labours, though he might not have the formal allowance of his diocesan or the archbishop. What his lordship can mean by insinuating that "his violence had cracked his brain, and the hand of God having overtaken him," is not very easy to understand. If he laboured under some afflictive, mental, or bodily disorder, as the words seem to intimate, he was surely more deserving of sympathy and compassion than a heavy ecclesiastical censure. But the fact most probably was, that Mr. Angel was deeply involved in spiritual darkness about his own state, and in painful uncertainty concerning his own salvation. "For," says Mr. Clark, "there was a great light, Mr. Angel, formerly of Leicester, afterwards of Grantham, but now with God, who being under a sore and grievous desertion, received much comfort from the conversation of Mr. Richard Vines."‡ This undoubtedly refers to the same affliction.

Though it does not appear how long Mr. Angel continued under suspension, he was afterwards restored to his ministry; and he continued his lecture till the year 1650, when he was

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 73.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 531.

‡ Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 50.

turned out for refusing the engagement. About the same time the company of mercers in London made choice of him as public lecturer at Grantham in Lincolnshire; and not long after he was appointed assistant to the commissioners of that county, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, but did not long survive the appointment. He died in the beginning of June, 1655, when his remains were interred in Grantham church. Having gained a distinguished reputation, and being so exceedingly beloved while he lived, his funeral was attended by a great number of ministers, when Mr. Lawrence Sarson delivered an oration at his grave, in high commendation of his character. Wood denominates him "a frequent and painful preacher; a man mighty in word and doctrine among the puritans;" and adds, "that as his name was Angel, so he was a man indeed of angelical understanding and holiness, a burning and shining light, and he continued to shine as a burning light, until God translated him to shine as a star in the kingdom of heaven for ever."* Mr. Henry Vaughan, ejected at the restoration, was his successor at Grantham.†

His WORKS.—1. The right ordering of the Conversation, 1659.—2. Funeral Sermon at the Burial of John Lord Darcey, 1659.—3. Preparation for the Communion, 1659.—4. The right Government of the Thoughts; or, a Discovery of all vain, unprofitable, idle, and wicked Thoughts, 1659.

RALPH ROBINSON.—This holy minister was born at Heswall in Cheshire, in the month of June, 1614, and educated in Katherine-hall, Cambridge. Here, for several years, he made good use of his time and academical advantages, and came forth well qualified for the ministry. Upon the commencement of the national confusions, in 1642, he left the university and went to London, where he gained considerable reputation. Being richly furnished with gifts and graces, he was greatly beloved by the London ministers, and his preaching rendered him exceedingly popular. He accepted an invitation to the pastoral charge at St. Mary's, Woolnoth, and was ordained presbyter, by fasting and prayer and the imposition of hands. In the year 1647 he was chosen one of the scribes to the first provincial assembly in London. In 1648 he united with the London ministers in

* Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 118.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 417.

declaring against the king's death.* And in 1651 he was concerned in Love's plot; but, upon his petitioning for pardon, and promising submission to the existing government in future, he was released.†

Mr. Robinson died in the meridian of life. When he was seized with his last sickness, having no great degree of pain, he was unapprehensive of his approaching change. When he was requested to make his will, he said, "I will do it with all readiness, though I perceive not myself in any danger of death:" adding, "I pray you flatter me not. If my physician apprehend danger, let me know it; for, I bless God, the thoughts of death are not dreadful to me." To an intimate friend he said, "I bless God, I have loved fasting and prayer with all my heart." And being asked what was the present state of his mind, he replied, "Though I have not ravishing joys, I enjoy uninterrupted and satisfying peace; not in the least questioning my everlasting happiness, through the grace of God in Christ Jesus." Being reminded of the rest to be found in the bosom of Christ, he said, "Oh! true rest can be found no where else;" with which words he breathed his last, June 15, 1655, aged forty-one years. He was a person of exemplary piety; and, in his judgment and practice, a thorough presbyterian, and ever true and steady to his principles. He was an indefatigable, orthodox, and useful preacher; a loving husband, a tender father, a vigilant pastor, a cheerful companion, and a faithful friend.‡ Many poems and elegies were published on his death. He was author of the following works: "Self Conduct; or, the Saint's Guidance to Glory, opened in a Sermon at the Funeral of the virtuous and religious Gentlewoman, Mrs. Thomasin Barnardiston," 1654.—"The Christian completely Armed," 1656.—"Christ All and in All," 1656.

NATHANIEL ROGERS.—This excellent minister was born at Haverhil in Suffolk, about the year 1598; and at the age of fourteen was sent to Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he became a hard student, made great proficiency in all kinds of useful learning, and was a great ornament to the college. He was son of Mr. John Rogers, famous for his ministry and nonconformity at Dedham in Essex. Under the pious

* Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 744.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 77.

‡ Ashe's Fun. Ser. for Mr. Robinson, entitled, "The Good Man's Death Lamented."—Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 57—60.

instructions of his excellent parents, he feared the Lord from his youth ; and, as he grew up to the age of man, he trod in the footsteps of his honoured and worthy father. Though he was indeed a person of most exemplary piety ; yet it is related, that, through the hurry of business, he went one morning from home without attending to his usual private devotions, when his horse stumbled and fell, by which he lost much blood, and was exceedingly bruised. This event, however, taught him a valuable lesson. It awakened him to so deep a sense of his omission of duty, that, from that time to the day of his death, no engagements whatever would hinder him from attending upon the exercises of the closet.

Mr. Rogers, having finished his studies at the university, became domestic chaplain to a person of quality, when he gave the first specimen of his ministerial abilities. After he had continued in this situation about two years, he became assistant to Dr. Barkam, at Bocking in Essex. The doctor being a high churchman, and particularly intimate with Bishop Laud, many people wondered that he employed for his curate the son of one of the most noted puritans in the kingdom. Mr. Rogers was much beloved by the people, and they were remarkably kind to him. Though the doctor treated him with civility, he did not allow him *one-tenth* of his benefice, amounting to many hundreds a year, when he did above *three-fourths* of the work. Mr. Rogers now began to examine the controversy about ecclesiastical matters, and, as the result of his inquiries, he became thoroughly dissatisfied with the ceremonies and discipline of the church. Afterwards, the doctor being present at a funeral, and observing that Mr. Rogers did not use the surplice, he was so completely disgusted, that he advised his curate to provide for himself, and so dismissed him. What a sad crime was it to bury the dead without a surplice !

After he had preached about five years at Bocking, he was presented to the living of Assington in Suffolk, where the Bishop of Norwich allowed him to go on in the Lord's work, without molestation, for about five years. His preaching was highly esteemed, and greatly blessed among persons of all descriptions. He had commonly more hearers than could crowd into the church. The ignorant were instructed, the careless awakened, and the sorrowful comforted. He was a "fisher of men," and, by the blessing of God upon his endeavours, many were caught in the gospel-net. At length, the ruling ecclesiastics were resolved to stop the mouths of

all ministers who refused to conform to their arbitrary injunctions; on which account great numbers of the most laborious and useful preachers in the kingdom were either buried in silence, or forced to abscond, to avoid the fury of the star-chamber and of the high commission. Mr. Rogers, perceiving the approaching storm, chose to *prevent* rather than *receive* the terrible sentence of those tribunals; and therefore he resigned his living into the hands of his patron. Not being satisfied to lay down his ministry, he forsook the neighbourhood of his father, with all his prospects of worldly advantage; and, casting himself and his young family on the providence of God, embarked for New England, where he arrived November 16, 1636. Mr. Ralph Partridge, another puritan minister, accompanied him in the same ship.*

Upon their arrival, Mr. Rogers was chosen co-pastor with Mr. Norton over the church at Ipswich. These judicious and holy men, whose hearts were cordially united in promoting the glory of God and the salvation of souls, were rendered a peculiar blessing to this religious society. Mr. Rogers was much afflicted, especially with the spitting of blood. When the complaint was upon him, he used to comfort himself by observing, "Though I should spit out my own blood, by which my life is maintained, I shall never cast out the blood of Christ, or lose the benefits of that blood which cleanseth us from all sin." Under one of these afflictions, Mr. Cotton wrote him a consolatory letter, dated March 9, 1631, in which he addressed him as follows:—"I bless the Lord with you, who perfecteth the power of his grace in your weakness, and supporteth your feeble body to do him still more service. You know who said, 'Unmortified strength posteth hard to hell: but sanctified weakness creepeth fast to heaven.' Let not your spirit faint, though your body do. Your soul is precious in God's sight. 'Your hairs are all numbered.' The number and measure of your fainting fits, and wearisome nights, are all weighed and limited by him who hath given you his son Jesus Christ to take upon him your infirmities, and bear your sicknesses."† During the last conflict, he was full of heavenly conversation, and closed his life and labours saying, *My times are in thy hands*. He died July 3, 1655, aged fifty-seven years. He was an eminently holy man, an admirable preacher, and an incomparable master of the Latin tongue. "And I shall do an injury

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 104—106.

† Ibid. p. 107.

to his memory," says our author, "if I do not declare that he was one of the greatest men and one of the best ministers that ever set his foot on the American shore."*

JEROM TURNER, A. B.—This worthy person was born at Yeovil in Somersetshire, in the year 1615, and educated at Edmund's-hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became schoolmaster at Bear in Devonshire, where he also preached as assistant to his friend and kinsman, Mr. Hugh Gundry, for the space of two years. At the expiration of this period, he removed to Exmouth in the same county, where, for about two years, he was assistant to Mr. William Hook, afterwards silenced at the restoration.† He next removed to Compton, near the place of his nativity, and afterwards became chaplain to Sir Thomas Trenchard. But, upon the commencement of the civil war, he was forced to flee for safety, when he took refuge at Southampton. There he abode during the national confusions, and preached among the puritans with considerable approbation. Upon the conclusion of the wars, in 1646, he became pastor at Netherbury in Dorsetshire, where he continued a zealous and useful preacher to the time of his death. In the year 1654 he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners of Dorsetshire, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers. Wood says, "his love to learning was very great, and his delight in the ministerial exercise was greater than his weak body could bear. He had a strong memory, was well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, and was a constant, zealous, fluent, and useful preacher; but," says he, "too much addicted to *Calvinism*."‡ He died at Netherbury, November 27, 1655, aged forty years.

HIS WORKS.—1. A Breast-plate for the Keeping of the Heart, 1660.—2. A Rich Treasure for the Promises, 1660.—3. An Exposition on the first Chap. of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians.

STEPHEN MARSHALL, B. D.—This celebrated person was born at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. He was some time minister at Wethersfield in Essex, then presented to the benefice of Finchingfield in the same county; but his memory has greatly

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 106—108.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 184.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 121, 122.

suffered from men of opposite principles. In the former situation, his people, from their warm attachment to him, expended fifty pounds to purchase him a library, and performed for him many friendly offices. It is further observed, that "he was sensible of their kindness, and engaged himself by a voluntary promise never to leave them. He had not continued long in this situation before Mr. Pickering, a reverend and learned divine, minister of Finchingfield, died. The fatness of the benefit," it is said, "helped the patron to suitors enow, but, amongst all, our Marshall was the man whom his affection made choice of to bestow his presentation upon; who having unluckily married himself to Wethersfield, knows not what course to take to sue out a bill of divorce. The great living, worth £200 a year, is a strong temptation to the holy man's concupiscible appetite; however, Wethersfield holds him to his promise, *never to leave them*. A little assembly of divines is called; and it is there debated how far Mr. Marshall's promise is obligatory. The casuists, knowing his mind before, conclude, that it bound him not to leave them for a *lesser salary*, but left him at liberty to take a *bigger* living when he could get it. Indeed, there is no reason why any promise, though ever so solemnly and deliberately made, should stand a perpetual palisado to any godly man's preferment. This decision satisfies his corvan. For he leaves Wethersfield, and away he goes to Finchingfield. This," it is added, "is the first noted essay that he gave of his fidelity in keeping his promise."*

In this partial and curious account of Mr. Marshall, it is also thus observed: "He was as conformable as could be desired, reading divine service, wearing the surplice, receiving and administering the sacrament kneeling; approving, commending, and extolling episcopacy and the liturgy; observing all the holidays with more than ordinary diligence, preaching upon most of them. This he did so long as he had any hopes of rising that way. His ambition was such," says this writer, "I have great reason to believe that he was once an earnest suitor for a deanery, which is the next step to a bishopric; the loss of which made him turn schismatic. His son-in-law Nye was heard to say, 'that if they had made his father a bishop, before he had been too far engaged, it might have prevented all the war; and since he cannot rise so high as a bishop, he will pull the bishops

* Life of Marshall, p. 5. Edit. 1680.

as low as himself: yea, if he can, lower than he was himself when he was at Godmanchester.'”*

This is the representation of a known adversary, and is evidently designed to cast a stigma upon his character. Notwithstanding his conformity, as here represented, after his removal to Finchamfield he was silenced for nonconformity; and he remained a long time in a state of suspension. Upon his restoration to his ministry, in 1640, he did not return to his former charge, but was appointed lecturer at St. Margaret's church, Westminster. Although he was greatly despised and reproached by the opposite party, he was a man of high reputation, and was often called to preach before the parliament, who consulted him in all affairs of importance relating to religion. “And without doubt,” says Clarendon, “the Archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the councils at court, as Mr. Marshall and Dr. Burgess had upon the houses of parliament.”† November 17, 1640, was observed as a day of solemn fasting by the house of commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, when these two divines were appointed to conduct the public service of the day; on which occasion, it is said, they prayed and preached at least *seven hours*. The service being closed, the house voted thanks to both the preachers, desiring them to print their sermons; and, to afford them encouragement in future, a piece of plate was, by order of the house, presented to each.‡

Lord Clarendon, with other historians of a similar spirit, brings against him a charge unworthy of any honest man. The accusation relates to the ministers' petition presented to the parliament; and, says he, “The paper which contained the ministers' petition, was filled with very few hands, but that many other sheets were annexed for the reception of numbers who gave credit to the undertaking. But when their names were subscribed, the petition itself was cut off, and a new one, of a very different nature, annexed to the long list of names; and when some of the ministers complained to Mr. Marshall, with whom the petition was lodged, that they never saw the petition to which their names were annexed, but had signed another petition against the canons, Mr. Marshall is said to reply, that it was thought fit by those who understood the business better than they, that the latter petition should be preferred

* Life of Marshall, p. 10.

† Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 239.

‡ Nalson's Collec. vol. i. p. 530, 533.

rather than the former."* This, indeed, is a charge of a very high nature, and ought to have been well substantiated. Dr. Walker, notwithstanding his extreme bigotry and enmity against the puritans, seems not to give full credit to the noble historian. "It is *probable*," says he, "that Mr. Marshall was deeply enough concerned in this affair;" but he appears unwilling to affirm it as a matter of fact.† If, however, the above account had been true, why did not the ministers complain to the committee appointed by the house of commons to inquire into their regular methods of procuring hands to petitions? The learned historian answers, that they were prevailed upon to sit still and pass it by; for the truth of which we have only his lordship's word, as nothing of the kind appears in Rushworth, Whitlocke, or any other impartial writer of those times. The whole affair has, therefore, the appearance of a mere forgery, designed to blacken the memory of Mr. Marshall and the rest of the puritans.

Few persons have censured our divine with greater severity than the anonymous author of "A Letter of Spiritual Advice, written to Mr. Stephen Marshall in his Sickness," 1643. "When I heard of your sickness," says this writer, "I assure you I found in myself such a different apprehension of your state, from that of other ordinary sick men, that I think you will not wonder if all the king's subjects, who wish good success to his majesty in this war, cannot impute your visitation to any thing but the just severity and revenge of Almighty God, for having had so strong an influence upon the ruin of this kingdom and church. For, sir, is it not apparent that your eminent gifts of preaching have been made use of for the kindling of those flames of rebellion and civil war, and most unchristian bloodshed? Have not you, with all the earnestness and zeal imaginable, persuaded your hearers to a liberal contribution for the maintaining of this unnatural war? Have not you forsaken your own charge, to accompany and strengthen the general of your army in his resolutions and attempts against the just power and life of his and your *anointed sovereign*? Does not the whole kingdom impute almost all the distractions and combustions therein as much to the *seditions* sermons of the preachers of your faction, as to the contrivances of those persons who set you on work? Let your own conscience be your own judge

* Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 161, 162.

† Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 15.

in this matter, and it will tell you, that if all these new designs should succeed to your wish, and there should happen to be a change of government, you would think yourselves wronged if you should not be acknowledged very effectual instruments in that change. These things therefore being so, you cannot accuse of uncharitableness those who think these designs not only unjust, but ruinous both to justice and religion, if they attribute it to God's mercy to them, and vengeance on you, if he take such a fire-brand as you out of the world."*

While this anonymous calumniator thus reproaches Mr. Marshall for his zeal in the cause of the parliament, he is extremely lavish in the dignified compliments conferred upon his majesty, styling him "God's anointed, and a most righteous christian king." Wood says, "that, upon the approach of the troublesome times in 1640, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Burgess, and some others, first whispered in their conventicles, then openly preached, that for the cause of religion it was lawful for subjects to take up arms against the king."† "As to Mr. Marshall," says Dr. Calamy, "he was an active man, and encouraged taking up arms for securing the constitution, when it appeared not only to him and his brethren, but to a number of as worthy gentlemen as ever sat in St. Stephen's chapel, to be in no small danger; yet I am not aware that he can be justly charged with any concurrence in those things which afterwards overthrew the constitution, and tended to confusion. He wrote a defence of the side which he took in our civil broils, and I cannot hear that it was ever answered."‡

Mr. Marshall, at the same time, took an active part in the controversy concerning church government. The celebrated Bishop Hall having published his work in defence of episcopacy and the liturgy, called, "An Humble Remonstrance to the high Court of Parliament," 1640, he united with several of his brethren in writing the famous book, entitled, "An Answer to a Book, entitled, 'An Humble Remonstrance;' in which the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is discussed, and Queries propounded concerning both. The Parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated; the Occasion of their Imparities in Antiquity discovered; the Disparity of the ancient and our modern Bishops manifested; the Antiquity of Ruling

* Letter of Advice, p. 1, 2.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 235, 236.

‡ Calamy's *Contin.* vol. ii. p. 737.

Elders in the Church vindicated: the Prelatical Church bounded. Written by SMECTYMNUUS," 1641. The word smectymnuus is composed of the initials of its authors' names, who were Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstowe. "The work," it is said, "is certainly written with great fierceness of spirit and much asperity in language, containing eighteen sections, in the last of which the differences between the prelatists and puritans are aggravated with great bitterness." The same author, on the same page, says, "it was, indeed, a very well written piece, therefore we find frequent reference to it in all the defences and apologies for nonconformity, which have been since published." Mr. Calamy affirms, that it "gave the first deadly blow to episcopacy." The learned Dr. Kippis says, "it was a production of no small importance in its day; and was drawn up in a style of composition superior to that of the puritans in general, and, indeed, of many other writers at that period." The learned Bishop Wilkins represents it as "a capital work against episcopacy."*

The book is concluded by a postscript, in which is contained an historical narrative of the bitter effects of episcopacy, as, pride, luxury, bribery, extortion, rebellion, treason, &c.; and the whole is closed thus:—"The inhuman butcheries, blood-sheddings, and cruelties of Gardiner, Bonner, and the rest of the bishops in Queen Mary's days, are so fresh in every man's memory, as that we conceive it a thing altogether unnecessary to make mention of them. Only we fear lest the guilt of the blood then shed should yet remain to be required at the hands of this nation, because it hath not quickly endeavoured to appease the wrath of God, by a general and solemn humiliation for it. What the practices of the prelates have been ever since, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth to this present day, would fill a volume, like Ezekiel's roll, with lamentation, mourning, and woe to record. For it hath been their great design to hinder all further reformation; to bring in doctrines of popery, arminianism, and libertinism; to maintain, propagate, and much increase the burden of human ceremonies; to keep out, and beat down the preaching of the word, to silence the faithful ministers of it, to oppose and persecute the most zealous professors, and to turn all religion to a pompous outside; and to tread down the power of godliness. Insomuch, as

* Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 132, 136. Edit. 1778.

it is come to an ordinary proverb, that when any thing is spoiled, we use to say, *The bishop's foot hath been in it.* And in this, and much more which might be said, fulfilling Bishop Bonner's prophecy, which, when he saw that in King Edward's reformation there was a reservation of ceremonies and hierarchy, is credibly reported to have used these words, '*Since they have begun to taste our broth, they will not be long ere they will eat our beef.*'"^{*}

Upon the publication of the above work, Bishop Hall wrote his "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the frivolous and false Exceptions of Smectymnuus," 1641. To this, Smectymnuus published a reply, entitled, "A Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, from the unjust Imputations of Frivolousness and Falsehood: wherein the cause of the Liturgy and Episcopacy is further debated," 1641. The learned prelate concluded the dispute by publishing his piece entitled, "A short Answer to a tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus," 1641.⁺

In this year, Mr. Marshall was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Essex's regiment in the parliament's army. Dr. Grey, in contempt, denominates him and Dr. Downing "the two famed casuistical divines, and most eminent camp-chaplains;" and charges them, on the authority of Clarendon and Echard, with publicly avowing, "that the soldiers lately taken prisoners at Brentford, and released by the king upon their oaths, *that they would never again bear arms against him*, were not obliged by that oath; but by their power they absolved them, and so engaged those miserable wretches in a second rebellion."[‡] This, as well as the foregoing account, has all the appearance of forgery, with a view to calumniate the two excellent divines. Priestly absolution was as remote as possible from the practice of the puritans; and they rejected all claims to the power of it with the utmost abhorrence. The parliament's army, at the same time, stood in so little need of these prisoners, which were only 150 men, that there is good reason to suspect the whole account to be a falsehood.[§]

In the year 1643, Mr. Marshall was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and was a most active and valuable member. In this public office it was impossible for him to escape the bitter censures of the opposite party. One of

^{*} Smectymnuus, p. 77, 78. Edit. 1654.

⁺ Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2492. Edit. 1747.

[‡] Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 16.

[§] Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 3, 4.

them, speaking of him as a member of the assembly, says, "He quickly grows to be master, and is so called by all. They sit, not to consult for the reformation of religion in things that are amiss, but to receive the parliament's commands to undo and innovate religion. In which work, or rather drudgery of the devil, our active Stephen needs neither whip nor spur: tooth and nail he bends himself to the overthrow of the hierarchy, root and branch."* Dr. Heylin, with his usual modesty, calls him "the great bellwether of the presbyterians;"† and affirms, that though he had the chief hand in compiling the directory, he married his own daughter by the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer; which he had no sooner done than he paid down five pounds to the churchwardens of the parish, as a fine for using any other form of marriage than that contained in the directory.‡ The truth of this representation of so excellent a person as Mr. Marshall, especially from the pen of Dr. Heylin, is extremely doubtful, if not unworthy of the smallest credit.

Mr. Marshall frequently united with his brethren in the observance of public fasts, when the services were usually protracted to a very great length. On one of these occasions, it is said, "that Dr. Twisse having commenced the public service with a short prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed in a wonderful, pathetic, and prudent manner for *two hours*. Mr. Arrowsmith then preached an hour, then they sung a psalm; after which Mr. Vines prayed nearly two hours, Mr. Palmer preached an hour, and Mr. Seaman prayed nearly two hours. Mr. Henderson then spoke of the evils of the time, and how they were to be remedied, and Dr. Twisse closed the service with a short prayer."§

* Life of Marshall, p. 11.

† Dr. Peter Heylin, preaching at Westminster abbey, before Bishop Williams, and endeavouring to justify the church in the imposition of doctrine and ceremonies, and to censure the nonconformists, he said, "Instead of hearkening to the voice of the church, every man hearkens to himself, and cares not if the whole miscarry so that he himself may carry his own devices. Upon which stubborn height of pride, what quarrels have been raised? what schisms in every corner of the church?—To inquire no further, some put all into open tumult rather than conform to the lawful government derived from Christ and his apostles." On expressing these words, the bishop, sitting in the great pew, knocked aloud with his staff upon the pulpit, saying, "No more of that point, no more of that point, Peter." To whom Heylin immediately answered, "I have a little more to say, my lord, and then I have done; when he proceeded to finish his subject. *Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 2597. Edit. 1747.

‡ Heylin's *Examen Historicum*, p. 264.

§ *Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 512. Edit. 1773.

In the year 1644, he attended the commissioners of parliament at the treaty of Uxbridge. In 1645, he was chosen one of the committee of accommodation, to secure the peace of the church, and promote, as far as possible, the satisfaction of all parties. The year following, he was appointed, together with Mr. Joseph Caryl, chaplain to the commissioners who were sent to the king at Newcastle, in order to an accommodation for peace. Removing thence, by easy journies, to Holmby-house in Northamptonshire, the two chaplains performed divine worship there; but his majesty never attended.* He spent his Lord's day in private; and though they waited at table, he would not so much as allow them to ask a blessing. The Oxford historian, who mentions this circumstance, relates the following curious anecdote:—"It is said that Marshall did, on a time, put himself more forward than was meet to say grace; and, while he was long in forming his chaps, as the manner was among the saints, and making ugly faces, his majesty said grace himself, and was fallen to his meat, and had eaten up some part of his dinner, before Marshall had ended the blessing; but Caryl was not so impudent."†

About the above period, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye were, by order of the parliament, appointed to attend the commissioners to Scotland, whose object was to establish an agreement with the Scots.‡ In their letter to the assembly, they assure their brethren, that the ministers in the north are wholly on the side of the parliament. They conclude their *canting* letter, as Dr. Grey calls it, in the following words: "We scarce ever saw so much of Christ for us as this day, in the assembly's carrying of this business: such weeping, such rejoicing, such resolution, such pathetical expressions, as we confess hath much refreshed our hearts, before extremely saddened with ill news from our dear country; and hath put us in good hope that this nation (which sets about this business as becometh the work of God and the saving of the kingdoms) shall be the means of lifting up distressed England and Ireland."§

In the year 1647, Mr. Marshall was appointed, together

* Dr. Grey, on the authority of "An Apology for the Bishops," says, that Mr. Marshall having once petitioned the king for a deanery, and at another time for a bishopric, and being refused, his majesty told him at Holmby, that he would on this account overthrow all.—*Grey's Exam.* vol. i. p. 392.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 375.

‡ Clarendon's *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 232.

§ Grey's *Examination*, vol. ii. p. 94.

with Mr. Vines, Mr. Caryl, and Dr. Seaman, to attend the commissioners at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, when he conducted himself with great ability and moderation. The house of commons having now many important affairs under consideration, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, by order of the house, December 31, 1647, were desired to attend the next morning to pray with them, that they might enjoy the direction and blessing of God in their weighty consultations.* In the year 1654, when the parliament voted a toleration of all who professed to hold the fundamentals of christianity, Mr. Marshall was appointed one of the committee of learned divines, to draw up a catalogue of fundamentals to be presented to the house.+ About the same time he was chosen one of the tryers.

A writer already mentioned, who employs thirty quarto pages in little else than scurrility and abuse, gives the following account of him: "Because the church could not be destroyed without the king, who was more firmly wedded to it than Mr. Marshall was either to his wife or his first living; the king, and all who adhered to him, and the church, must be destroyed together: to whose ruin Mr. Marshall contributed not a little. His thundering in all pulpits; his cursing all people who were backward in engaging against him; his encouraging all those whose villany made them forward in undertaking that great work, warranting them no small preferment in heaven if they would lay down their lives for the cause; his menaces and private incitations, becoming drum-major or captain-general to the army, praying from regiment to regiment at Edgehill. His religion stood most in externals: in a Jewish observation of the sabbath, praying, preaching, fasts, and thanksgivings. Under these specious shews," adds the unworthy biographer, "the mystery of iniquity lay hid."‡

Mr. Echard, with his usual candour, denominates him "a famous incendiary, and assistant to the parliamentarians; their trumpeter in their fasts, their confessor in their sickness, their counsellor in their assemblies, their chaplain in their treaties, their champion in their disputations;" and then adds, "This great Shimei, being taken with a desperate sickness, departed the world *mad and raving*;"§ than which there never was a more unjust aspersion. Mr. Baxter,

* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 220, 287, 336.

+ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 197—199.

‡ Life of Marshall, p. 13, 17.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 783.

who knew him well, calls him “a sober and worthy man;”^{*} and used to observe, on account of his great moderation, that if all the bishops had been of the same spirit as Archbishop Usher, the independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, and the prebyterians like Mr. Stephen Marshall, the divisions of the church would soon have been healed. He was, indeed, taken ill, and obliged to retire into the country for the benefit of the air, when the Oxford Mercury published to the world that he was distracted, and in his rage constantly cried out, that he was damned for adhering to the parliament in their war against the king. But he lived to refute the unjust calumny, and published a treatise to prove the lawfulness of defensive war, in certain cases of extremity. Upon his retirement from the city, he spent his last two years at Ipswich. His last words when upon his death-bed, according to Mr. Petyt, were, *King Charles, King Charles*, and testified much horror and regret for the bloody confusions he had promoted.⁺ This representation appears to be void of truth, and only designed to reproach his memory. For Mr. Giles Firmin, who knew him in life, and attended him in death, observes, in a preface to one of Mr. Marshall’s posthumous sermons, “That he left behind him few preachers like himself; that he was a christian in practice as well as profession; that he lived by faith, and died by faith, and was an example to the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and in purity. And when he, together with some others, conversed with him about his death, he replied, ‘I cannot say, as one did, I have not so lived that I should now be afraid to die; but this I can say, I have so *learned Christ*, that I am not afraid to die.’”[‡] He enjoyed the full use of his understanding to the last; but, for some months previous to his death, he lost his appetite and the use of his hands.

He was justly accounted an admired preacher;[§] but, to

^{*} Sylvester’s Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 199.

⁺ Grey’s Examination, vol. iv. p. 146.

[‡] Neal’s Puritans, vol. iv. p. 19.

[§] Mr. Marshall was certainly a useful as well as admired preacher, of which the following instance is preserved on record:—Lady Brown, wife to an eminent member of the long parliament, was under great trouble about the salvation of her soul. For some time she refused to attend upon public worship, though it had formerly been her great delight. She asked what she should do there, and said it would only increase her damnation! In this state of mind she was persuaded, and almost forced to hear Mr. Marshall; when the sermon was so exactly suited to her case, and so powerfully applied to her mind, that she returned home in transports of joy.—*Calamy’s Contin.* vol. i. p. 467.

refute this account of his character, Dr. Grey quotes several passages from his sermons preached on public occasions; among which are the following:—"Beloved, our days are better than they were seven years ago; because it is better to see the Lord executing judgment, than to see men working wickedness; and to behold people lie wallowing in their blood, rather than apostatizing from God, and embracing idolatry and superstition, and banishing the Lord Christ from amongst men.—Carry on the work still. Leave not a rag that belongs to popery. Lay not a bit of the Lord's building with any thing that belongs unto anti-christ's stuff; but away with all of it, root and branch, head and tail; throw it out of the kingdom.—I could easily set before you a catalogue of mercies. You have received many peculiar to your own persons, to your souls and bodies, your estates and families, privative mercies, positive mercies. You eat mercies, drink mercies, wear mercy's clothes, are compassed about and covered with mercies, as much as ever the earth was in Noah's flood."* These sermons, of which this is a specimen, so abound with striking comparisons, and contain so pointed an appeal to the hearers, that though they are not suited to the taste of modern eloquence, it is easy to conceive how they might gain great admiration in those times. The doctor's refutation, therefore, refutes itself.

Another author endeavours to expose Mr. Marshall to public contempt, on account of his sentiments delivered in his sermons before the parliament. We give these sentiments in his own words, as transcribed from his sermons: "Christ," says he, "breaks and moulds commonwealths at his pleasure. He hath not spoke much in his word how long they shall last, or what he intends to do with them: only this, that all kings and kingdoms that make war against the church, shall be broken in pieces; and that, in the end, all the kingdoms of the world shall be the kingdoms of our Lord and his saints; and they shall reign over them. Did ever any parliament in England lay the cause of Christ and religion to heart as this hath done? Did ever the city of London, the rest of the tribes, and the godly party throughout the land, so willingly exhaust themselves, that Christ might be set up? Let all England cry that our blood, our poverty, &c. are abundantly repaid in this, that there is such a concurrence to set the Lord Christ upon his throne,

* Grey's Examination, vol. iii, p. 183—185.

to be Lord and Christ over this our Israel."* There is more to the same purpose; but this contains a sufficient specimen.

Newcourt calls him "The Geneva-Bull, and a factious and rebellious divine;"† and Wood styles him "a notorious independent, and the archflamen of the rebellious rout."‡ The fact however is, he never was an independent, but lived and died an avowed presbyterian. And with respect to his rebellion, what is observed above will afford every impartial reader a sufficient refutation of the charge. Fuller has classed him among the learned writers of Emanuel college;§ and gives him the following character: "He was a minister well qualified for his work; yet so supple, that he did not break a joint in all the alterations of the times. Although some suspected him of deserting his presbyterian principles; yet upon his death-bed he gave full satisfaction of the contrary."|| He died in the month of November, 1655, when his remains were interred with great funeral solemnity in Westminster abbey, but were dug up, together with many others, at the restoration.¶ Mr. Hugh Glover, ejected in 1662, was his successor at Finchingfield.** Mr. Marshall wrote with considerable ability against the baptists, and published many sermons preached before the parliament, the titles of some of which we have collected.

HIS WORKS.—1. A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their public Fast, Nov. 17, 1640—1641.—2. A Peace-Offering to God, a Sermon to the Honourable House of Commons, at their public Thanksgiving, Sept. 7, 1641—1641.—3. Meroz Cursed; or, a Sermon to the Commons at their late solemn Fast, Feb. 23, 1641—1641.—4. Reformation and Desolation; or, a Sermon tending to the Discovery of the Symptoms of a People to whom God will by us be reconciled, preached before the Commons at their late public Fast, Dec. 22, 1641—1642.—5. The Song of Moses the Servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb, opened in a Sermon before the Commons at their late solemn Day of Thanksgiving, June 15, 1643—1643.—6. A Copy of a Letter written by Mr. Stephen Marshall to a Friend of his in the City, for the necessary Vindication of himself and his Ministry, against the altogether groundless, most unjust, and ungodly Aspersion cast upon him by certain Malignants in the City, 1643.—7. A Sermon of the Baptizing of Infants, preached in Abbey-church,

* L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 40, 55.

† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 265.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 375, 715.

§ Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

|| Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 52, 53.

¶ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 536.

** Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 200.

Westminster, at the Morning Lecture appointed by the Honourable House of Commons, 1644.—8. The Churches Lamentation for the Good Man's Loss; delivered in a Sermon to the Right Honourable the two Houses of Parliament and the Reverend Assembly of Divines, at the Funeral of that excellent Man, John Pym, esquire, a late Member of the Honourable House of Commons, 1644.—9. God's Master-Piece, a Sermon tending to manifest God's glorious appearing in the Building up of Zion, preached before the Right Honourable the House of Peers, March 26, 1645—1645.—10. The Strong Helper; or, the Interest and Power of the Prayers of the Destitute, for the Building up of Zion, opened in a Sermon before the Commons, upon the solemn Day of their monthly Fast, April 30, 1645—1645.—11. A Sacred Record to be made of God's Mercies to Zion: a Thanksgiving Sermon preached to the two Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, at Christ's Church, June 19, 1645—1645.—12. A Defence of Infant Baptism: In Answer to two Treatises, and an Appendix, lately published by Mr. Jo. Tombes, 1646.

TIMOTHY ARMITAGE, in the year 1647, was chosen pastor of the first independent church in the city of Norwich. So early as the year 1643, many pious people in Norwich joined Mr. Bridge's church at Yarmouth, who afterwards wished to have the seat of the church removed to the former place; but the majority of members residing at Yarmouth, the proposal was declined. Yet it was mutually agreed that they should form themselves into a separate church. This was done June 10, 1644, in the presence of several of their brethren from Yarmouth, who signified their approbation by expressions of the most tender and endeared affection. Indeed, many of the members of both churches had been companions in the patience of our Lord Jesus in a foreign land, when they enjoyed sweet communion together in the ordinances of the gospel, but returned home upon the commencement of the civil wars. The church at Norwich was no sooner formed than numerous additions were made to it. Mr. Armitage, after labouring several years with great usefulness, died much regretted in December, 1655. He published a work entitled, "Enoch's Walk with God." Mr. Thomas Allen, the silenced non-conformist in 1662, succeeded him in the pastoral office.* There were at this early period no less than fifteen congregational churches on the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk, under

* Meen's MS. Collec. p. 116.

the direction and encouragement of Mr. Armitage and Mr. Bridge.*

GILES WORKMAN, A. M.—This worthy person was the son of Mr. William Workman, born at Newton Bagpath in Gloucestershire, in the year 1605, and educated at Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. After finishing his studies at the university, he became vicar of Walford in Herefordshire, then master of the college school in Gloucester, and at length, by the favour of Matthew Hale, esq., afterwards lord chief justice, he became rector of Alderley in Gloucestershire. Wood says, “he was a quiet and peaceable puritan.”† He was brother to Mr. John Workman, another puritan divine, and a great sufferer under the oppressions of Archbishop Laud. Mr. Giles Workman died in 1655, aged fifty years; when his remains were interred in Alderley church. He published “A modest Examination of Laymen’s Preaching, discovered to be neither warranted by the Word of God, nor allowed by the Judgment or Practice of the Churches of Christ in New England,” 1646. He also published several sermons.

THOMAS YOUNG, D. D.—This pious and learned divine was probably educated in the university of Cambridge. He was afterwards preacher to the English merchants at Hamburgh; and, upon his return to his native country, he became vicar of Stow-Market in Suffolk, in which situation he continued almost thirty years. He was a person of great learning, prudence, and piety, and discovered great fidelity and ability in the work of the ministry.‡ In the year 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and proved himself a distinguished member during the whole session. Being called to the metropolis, he was chosen pastor at Duke’s-place in the city. In 1645 he was appointed one of the committee of accommodation;§ and about the same time was chosen master of Jesus college, Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester. In this public situation he discovered his great abilities and usefulness, till he was turned

* Palmer’s Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 11, 286.

† Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 122.

‡ Clark’s Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 194.

§ Papers of Accom. p. 13.

out, in 1650, for refusing the engagement.* Upon this he most probably retired to Stow-Market, where he afterwards died, in the year 1655, and his remains were interred in the church under a marble stone, with a monumental inscription. Mr. Baker says, "he left behind him the character of a learned, wise, and pious man."† Mr. Leigh styles him "a learned divine, very well versed in the fathers, and author of an excellent treatise, entitled "*Dies Dominica*." He was also one of the authors of *Smectymnus*.‡

JOHN PENDARVES, A. B.—This person was born in Cornwall, in the year 1622, and educated at Exeter college, Oxford. In the year 1642, when the nation was involved in war, he left the university, took part with the parliament, and, says the Oxford historian, "having a voluble tongue for canting, went up and down preaching in houses, barns, under trees, hedges, and elsewhere." Though this is evidently designed to blacken his memory, his conduct herein was surely as commendable as that of many of the episcopal clergy, who stretched all their power to obtain numerous rich livings, but did not preach at all. "But," says he, "at length he turned anabaptist; and having obtained a great multitude of disciples, made himself head of them, defied all authority, contradicted and opposed all orthodox ministers, challenged them to prove their calling, and spared not many times to interrupt them in their pulpits, and to urge them to disputes. After several challenges, Dr. Mayne, of Christ's Church, undertook to be his respondent; and, according to appointment, they met September 11, 1652, in Watlington church, Oxfordshire, when an innumerable company of people assembled: but Pendarves being backed by a great party of anabaptists, and the scum of the people, who behaved themselves very rudely, the disputation was interrupted, and so came to nothing."§ He was lecturer at Wantage in Berkshire, and pastor to the baptist church at Abingdon in the same county. Our author adds, that "he accounted himself a true-born Englishman; but, because he endeavoured utterly to undo the distressed and tottering church of England, he was undeserving of the name. And as he did these things for

* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 115.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 58.

‡ Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 369.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 127.

no other purpose than to obtain wealth, and make himself famous to posterity; so it would be accounted worthy, if by my omission of him his name could have been buried in oblivion." This bitter writer, nevertheless, allows him to have been a tolerable disputant.* Mr. Pendarves died in London, in the beginning of September, 1656, aged thirty-four years. His remains are said to have been carried to Abingdon, in a sugar-cask filled up with sand; where they were interred, with great funeral solemnity, in the baptists' burying-ground. He was a fifth monarchy man;† and, being famous among the party, his interment drew together so great a concourse of people, that the government took notice of it, and sent Major-general Bridges, with a party of soldiers, to attend at Abingdon on the occasion. The numerous assemblage of people spent several days in the religious exercises of praying and preaching, which was attended with some rude behaviour and confusion.‡

His WORKS —1. Arrows against Babylon; or, Queries serving to a clear Discovery of the Mystery of Iniquity, 1656.—2. Endeavours for Reformation of Saints' Apparel, 1656.—3. Queries for the People called Quakers, 1656.—4. Prefatory Epistle to a Book entitled, 'The Prophets Malachy and Isaiah prophesying to the Saints and Professors of this Generation,' 1656.—5. Several Sermons, 1657.—And various other small articles.

JOHN GIFFORD.—This person was born in the county of Kent; afterwards he became a major in the king's army during the civil wars. He was concerned in the insurrection raised in that county; for which he was apprehended, and, together with eleven others, received the sentence of death. But, the night before he was to suffer, his sister coming to visit him, and finding the centinels who kept the door of the prison fast asleep, and his companions in a state of intoxication, she urged him to embrace the favourable opportunity and escape for his life. Having made his

* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 127.

† The fifth monarchy men arose about the time of the death of Charles I. and during the commonwealth. They expected the immediate appearance of Christ to establish on earth a new monarchy or kingdom, and to commence his glorious personal reign of a thousand years. As there are four great empires mentioned in ancient history, which successively gained the dominion of the world, so these men, believing that this new spiritual kingdom of Christ was to be the *fifth*, received the appellation of *fifth monarchy men*.

‡ Meen's MS. Collec. p. 452.

escape, he fled into the fields and crept into a ditch, where he remained about three days, till search for him was over; and then, by the help of friends, he went in disguise to London. After concealing himself for some time in the city, and at various places in the country, he went to Bedford, where, though an entire stranger, he commenced the practice of physic; but still remained very debauched in his life. He was greatly addicted to drunkenness, swearing, gaming, and similar immoral practices. In his gaming he usually found himself a loser, which made him sometimes discontented, and resolve to leave off the practice; but his resolutions were soon broken, and he returned to his old course. One night, having lost fifteen pounds, he became almost outrageous, attended with most reproachful thoughts of God; but looking into one of Mr. Bolton's books, something laid fast hold upon his conscience, and brought him for the first time to a deep sense of his sins. Under these painful convictions he laboured for about a month, when God by his word so discovered to him the forgiveness of his sins, through faith in Jesus Christ, that, as he used to say, he never lost sight of it afterwards.

Mr. Gifford having thus tasted that the Lord was gracious, presently sought an intimate acquaintance with the religious people in Bedford, whom he had before grievously persecuted, and had even resolved to murder the minister who had occasionally preached to them. Indeed, he had been a man of so profligate and base a character, that they were for some time jealous of his profession; but he, being naturally of a bold spirit, still thrust himself among them, both in their public meetings and private company. Having made sufficient trial, they embraced him as a disciple and a brother; and after some time he began to preach among them. The very first sermon he preached was made instrumental in the conversion of a female, whose future life became an ornament to her profession. He afterwards collected the most pious persons in the congregation together; and, having repeatedly assembled and prayed to God for his direction and blessing, they formed themselves into a christian church. They were twelve in all, including Mr. Gifford, and all ancient and grave christians, and well known to one another. Here was laid the foundation of that religious society of which the celebrated Mr. John Bunyan was afterwards pastor, and which exists and flourishes at the present time. It was formed upon strict

congregational principles, admitting both pædobaptists and antipædobaptists, and still continues on the same broad foundation.

The members of this infant society, after giving themselves to the Lord and to one another, unanimously chose Mr. Gifford to the office of pastor. He accepted the charge, and gave himself up to the service of the Lord and his people, to walk with them, watch over them, and dispense among them the mysteries of the kingdom. This was about the year 1651. The principle on which they entered into church fellowship, and on which they added fresh members, was, "Faith in Christ and holiness of life," without respect to any outward circumstances whatever. "By this means," it is said, "grace and faith were encouraged, and love and amity maintained; disputing and occasion of janglings, and unprofitable questions, avoided; and many that were weak in faith confirmed in the blessings of eternal life." Mr. Gifford died September 21, 1656; who, on his death-bed, wrote a most excellent letter to the congregation, earnestly persuading them to continue in the faithful maintenance of their principles, and affectionately exhorting them to promote peace, holiness, and brotherly love.*

RICHARD CAPEL, A. M.—This worthy divine was born in the city of Gloucester, in 1586, and descended from the ancient family of that name, being a near relation to Lord Capel. His father was an alderman of the city; one who greatly promoted the cause of Christ in the place; and was a zealous friend to the suffering nonconformists. His son was educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he gained a considerable reputation, and was chosen fellow of the house. He had many learned pupils, who became famous in their day; among whom were Dr. Frewen, afterwards archbishop of York, and the celebrated Mr. William Pemble. Mr. Capel, being desirous of greater usefulness to souls, removed from the university and entered upon the ministerial work, first at Estington, then at Pitchcomb in his own county. He did not enter into the sacred office for a piece of bread, but for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom and the salvation of men. Therefore he had no sooner entered upon the work, than he gave himself wholly to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine; and his profiting

* Meen's MS. Collec. p. 313—317, 325; as transcribed from the original church-book at Bedford.

soon became so manifest to all, that he was justly reputed a man approved of God, rightly dividing the word of truth. In the exercises of the pulpit he was sometimes a Boanerges, the son of thunder; but more commonly a Barnabas, the son of consolation. Under the intolerance and oppressions of Bishop Laud, when the ceremonies were enforced with the utmost rigour, and the most grievous penalties were inflicted on the nonconformists, he became a sufferer with the rest of his brethren. And, upon the publication of the Book of Sports, in 1633, he could not read it with a safe conscience; therefore, to avoid deprivation, he peaceably resigned his living and turned physician; in which profession he was much esteemed, and very successful.*

The excellent Dr. Sibbs, who died in the year 1635, bequeathed legacies, in his last will and testament, to his numerous relations and friends; among whom was Mr. Capel, who received a small legacy.+ In the year 1641 he espoused the cause of the parliament, and renewed his ministerial exercises at Pitchcomb, where he had obtained a distinguished reputation. He still continued in the practice of physic, but preached to the people gratuitously all the rest of his days. In 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, but never attended, choosing rather to continue his uninterrupted labours among the people of his charge.

Towards the close of life, this worthy servant of Christ was exercised with many trials, which, by the help of God, he bore with patience and unshaken confidence. He cheerfully resigned himself to his heavenly Father's will. Being particularly desirous not to die a lingering death, the Lord was pleased to grant him his desire. For, having preached twice on the Lord's day, and performed the usual duties of the family and the closet, he went to bed and died immediately, being September 21, 1656, aged seventy years. Mr. Clark denominates him "a man of a quick apprehension, a strong memory, and great piety;" and says, "he was a living library, a full storehouse of all good literature, a judicious preacher, and a sound orthodox divine."‡ In the opinion of Wood, "he was a man of great eminence, and much followed by men of note, especially of the *Calvinian* party. At Estington he was eminent, among the puritans, for his painful and practical preaching, his

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 303, 309.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxviii. p. 445.

‡ Lives, p. 304, 311.

exemplary life and conversation, and for doing many good offices for his brethren in the ministry. He was esteemed an excellent preacher, and a true follower of Messrs. Dod, Claver, Hildersham, and Dr. Rainolds.* Mr. Daniel Capel, ejected at the restoration, was his son.†

HIS WORKS.—1. *God's Valuation of Man's Soul*, 1632.—2. *A Treatise of Temptations*, 1650.—3. *A brief Dispute touching Restitution in Cases of Usury*, 1650.—4. *Remains*, 1658.—5. *An Apology in Defence of some Exceptions in the Book of Temptations*, 1659.

JAMES NOYES.—This excellent minister was born at Chaldrington in Wiltshire, in the year 1608, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. His father was a learned minister and schoolmaster; and his mother was sister to Mr. Robert Parker, the famous puritan. Mr. Noyes, after finishing his studies at the university, became assistant to Mr. Thomas Parker, in his school at Newbury in Berkshire. Here he was converted under the united ministry of Mr. Parker and the celebrated Dr. Twisse, when he became admired for his great piety. He afterwards entered upon the ministerial work; but because he could not, with a safe conscience, observe the ecclesiastical impositions in the established church, he fled to New England. He sailed in the same ship with Mr. Parker, and safely arrived in the year 1634. These two worthy ministers preached, or expounded, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon, every day during the whole voyage. The sweetest affection subsisted betwixt them all their lives. They were true brethren, and never separated one from the other, till constrained by death. Upon their arrival in the new colony, Mr. Noyes preached about a year at Medford; at the expiration of which period he removed, with Mr. Parker and other friends, to Newbury, where they gathered a church, of which Mr. Noyes was chosen teacher, and Mr. Parker pastor. In this office Mr. Noyes continued above twenty years. Though his views of church discipline were different from some of his brethren, both parties exercised so much forbearance, that peace and good order continued uninterrupted. And though he was very averse to the English ceremonies, accounting them needless, in many respects offensive and hurtful, and the imposition of them

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 129.

† Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 254.

intolerable and abominable; yet he could have been satisfied with moderate episcopacy. He held a profession of faith and repentance, and a subjection to the ordinances of Christ, to be the rule of admission to church fellowship; but admitted to baptism the children of those who had been baptized, without requiring the parents to own any covenant or being in church fellowship. He, as well as his colleague, considered the sabbath as beginning on the Saturday evening.

Mr. Noyes, at the close of life, endured a long and tedious affliction, which he bore with christian patience and holy cheerfulness. He died triumphing in the Lord, October 22, 1656, aged forty-eight years. He possessed a quick invention, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and was a good linguist, an able disputant, an excellent counsellor, and one of the greatest men of the age.* He was much beloved by his people, and his memory is there respected at the present day. He published a piece entitled, "Moses and Aaron, or the Rights of Church and State;" and "A Catechism," for the use of his flock, which, to the honour of his memory, has lately been reprinted.†

EDWARD BRIGHT, A. M.—This worthy minister of Christ was born at Greenwich, near London, and educated in the university of Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow of his college.‡ Afterwards he became vicar of Goudhurst in Kent, where he fell under the displeasure of Archbishop Laud. In the year 1640 he was cited, with other puritan ministers in Kent, to appear before his lordship's visitors at Feversham, to answer for not reading the prayer against the Scots. According to summons, they appeared before Sir Nathaniel Brent, the archbishop's vicar-general, and other officers; when Mr. Bright was first called, and being asked whether he had read the prayer, he answered in the negative. Upon which the archdeacon immediately suspended him from his office and benefice, without the least admonition, or even giving him a moment of time for consideration. This rash act was deemed, even by the favourites of Laud, to be neither prudential nor canonical.§ It does not appear how long the good man continued under this cruel sentence;

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 145—148.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 43, 46, 47.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 81.

§ Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 15. Edit. 1672.

but he was most probably released upon the meeting of the long parliament, towards the close of this year.

Mr. Bright was afterwards chosen fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge; but he still continued in his beloved work of preaching. He was next chosen minister of Christ-church, London; but he did not long survive his removal. During his last sickness, he often said, "I thank God I came not to London for money. I brought a good conscience from Cambridge, and I thank God I have not lived to spoil it." He died in the month of December, 1656; when his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Samuel Jacomb, and afterwards published. He was zealous, courageous, and conscientious in the support of divine truth; yet of great candour, affection, and moderation. He was a man of great piety, good learning, excellent ministerial abilities, and admirable industry. Many elegies were published upon his death.* He had the character of a very good man, and was endowed with a considerable share of patience, which indeed he very much needed, having the affliction of a very froward and clamorous wife. On this account, many thought it a happiness to him to be dull of hearing. This worthy servant of Christ is, by mistake, included among the ejected ministers after the restoration.†

ROBERT PECK.—This zealous puritan was rector of Higham in Norfolk, to which he was preferred in the year 1605. He was a zealous nonconformist to the ceremonies and corruptions of the church, for which he was severely persecuted by Bishop Harsnet. Having catechized his family and sung a psalm in his own house, on a Lord's day evening, when some of his neighbours attended, his lordship enjoined him, and all who were present, to *do penance*, requiring them to say, *I confess my errors*. Those who refused were immediately excommunicated, and required to pay heavy costs. All this appeared under the bishop's own hand. For this, and similar instances of his oppression and cruelty, the citizens of Norwich, in the year 1623, presented a complaint against his lordship in the house of commons.

In the bishop's answer to this complaint, he had nothing to say against Mr. Peck's doctrine and life, only his non-conformity. He pleaded, in his own defence, "That

* Jacomb's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Bright.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 328.

Mr. Peck had been sent to him by the justices of the peace, for keeping a conventicle at night, and in his own house; that his catechizing was only an excuse to draw the people together; and that he had infected the parish with strange opinions: as, ‘that the people are not to kneel as they enter the church; that it is superstition to bow at the name of Jesus; and that the church is no more sacred than any other building.’” His grace further affirmed, that Mr. Peck had been convicted of nonconformity, and of keeping conventicles, in 1615 and 1617; and that, in 1622, he was taken in his own house, with twenty-two of his neighbours, at a conventicle.* How far the house of commons acquiesced in his lordship’s defence, or whether they considered it a sufficient justification of his arbitrary proceedings, we have not been able to learn.

Mr. Peck suffered much under the persecutions of Bishop Wren; when he was driven from his flock, deprived of his benefice, and forced to seek his bread in a foreign land.+ He is indeed said to have been deprived for non-residence, which was the case with many of his brethren. By the terrific threatenings of their persecutors, and having no better prospect than that of excommunication, imprisonment, or other ecclesiastical censure, they were driven from their beloved flocks, or they retired for a time into some private situation, in hope that the storm might soon be over; for which they were censured as nonresidents. This was no doubt the case with Mr. Peck. He and Mr. Thomas Allen are said to have had so much influence upon their parishioners, that, after the deprivation of the two ministers, none of them would pay any thing to those who served their cures. This shews how greatly they were beloved.‡ Having fled to New England, the church at Higham, in the new colony, rejoiced for a season in his light. He remained there several years; till afterwards he received an invitation from his old friends at Higham, in his native country, when he returned home, laboured among them, and was of eminent service to the church of God.§

The following account is given of Mr. Peck by one of our historians, the design of which is too obvious: “He was a man of a very violent schismatical spirit. He pulled

* MS. Remarks, p. 713—715.

+ Nalson’s Collec. vol. ii. p. 400, 401.—Rushworth’s Collec. vol. iii. p. 353.

‡ Wren’s Parentalia, p. 95.

§ Mather’s Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 214.

down the rails in the chancel of the church at Higham, and levelled the altar and the whole chancel a foot below the church, as it remains to this day; but, being prosecuted for it by Bishop Wren, he fled to New England, with many of his parishioners, who sold their estates for half their value, and conveyed all their effects to the new plantation. They erected the town and colony of Higham, where many of their posterity still remain. He promised never to desert them; but, hearing that the bishops were deposed, he left them to shift for themselves, and came back to England in 1646, after a banishment of ten years. He resumed his charge at Higham, where he died in the year 1656. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Nathaniel Joceline, and afterwards published;* but this we have not seen.

STEPHEN GEREE, A. B.—This person was elder brother to Mr. John Gere, another puritan divine; was born in Yorkshire, in the year 1594, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having finished his academical pursuits at the university, he entered upon the ministerial work, but laboured most probably in the two-fold capacity of minister and schoolmaster. On the approach of the civil wars, he took part with the parliament, became minister of Wonnesh, near Guildford in Surrey; but he afterwards removed to Abinger in the same county. Wood, in contempt, styles him “a zealous brother in the cause that was driven on by the saints.”† He appears to have been living in 1656, but died probably soon after that period. He published several sermons, one of which is entitled, “The Ornament of Women; or, a Description of the true Excellency of Women, at the Funeral of Mrs. Eliz. Machel, on Prov. xxxi. 29, 30”—1639. He also published “The Doctrine of the Antinomians by Evidence of God’s Truth plainly Confuted, in an Answer to divers dangerous Doctrines in the seven first Sermons of Dr. Tob. Crisp,” 1644; and “The Golden Meane, being some Considerations, together with some Cases of Conscience, resolved, for the more frequent Administration of the Lord’s Supper,” 1656.

* Blomefield’s Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 668.

† Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 132.

EDWARD CORBET, D. D.—This worthy person was born at Pontesbury in Shropshire, in the year 1602, descended from the ancient family of Corbets in that county, and educated in Merton college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He was made proctor of the university; but, refusing conformity in certain points, he was called before the vice-chancellor. He was no enemy to the church of England, but could not with a good conscience observe all its superstitious ceremonies. And while the vice-chancellor laid his case before Archbishop Laud, chancellor of the university, he petitioned his lordship for relief; but it was not likely he could obtain the least redress.* The civil war having commenced, and Oxford being garrisoned by the king's forces, he was deprived of his fellowship, and expelled from the college, for refusing to espouse the royal cause.† Archbishop Laud, being afterwards prisoner in the Tower, refused him the rectory of Chatham in Kent, because he was a puritan; and when he was appointed rector of that place, by order of parliament, his lordship still refused his allowance; but his refusal was to no purpose.‡ He was witness against the archbishop at his trial, and deposed “that, in the year 1638, his grace visiting Merton college, by his deputy, Sir John Lamb, one article propounded to the wardens and fellows was, ‘Whether they made due reverence, by bowing towards the altar, when they came into the chapel.’—That he and Mr. Cheynel were enjoined by the visitors and commissioners to use this ceremony; but they refused; for which, though he assigned his reasons for refusing, he was particularly threatened.—That, after this, Dr. Frewin, the vice-chancellor, told him that he was sent to him by the archbishop, requiring him to use this ceremony.—That the archbishop afterwards sent injunctions to Merton college, requiring them to bow towards the altar, and the visitors questioned those who refused.—And that in Magdalen college there was a crucifix placed over the communion table, and pictures in the windows; and a new crucifix was set up in Christ's church, none of which innovations were ever heard of before the time of this archbishop.”§

Mr. Corbet was chosen one of the assembly of divines, one of the committee for the examination and ordination of

* Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. ii. p. 155, 156.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 88.

‡ Prynne's *Breviate of Laud*, p. 27, 28.

§ Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 71.

ministers, and one of the preachers before the parliament. He was appointed one of the preachers to reconcile the Oxford scholars to the parliament, one of the visitors of that university, and orator and canon of Christ's Church, in the room of Dr. Hammond. It is observed, "that, though he was one of the visitors, he seldom or never sat among them. And when he usually preached at St. Mary's church, the year before the king was beheaded, he would, in his long prayer before sermon, desire 'that God would open the king's eyes to lay to heart all the blood that he had spilt. And that he would prosper the parliament and their blessed proceedings.' He was an easy man," it is added, "and apt to be guided by the persuasions of others; and, therefore, by Cheynel and Wilkinson, two violent and impetuous presbyterians, he was put into the roll of visitors, merely to make a nose of wax."* However, he did not continue long in this situation; but, being made rector of Great Hasely in Oxfordshire, he removed to the charge of his flock, where he continued to the end of his days. He took his doctor's degree in 1648, and died in London, in January, 1657, aged fifty-five years; when his remains were conveyed to Great Hasely, and interred in the chancel of the church.† He was a good divine, a valuable preacher, and a person remarkable for integrity. His wife was daughter of Sir Nathaniel Brent, and grand-daughter of Dr. Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury.‡ She was a lady of most exemplary piety. Her funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Wilkinson, and afterwards published, with some account of her excellent character.§ Dr. Corbet appears to have been author of "The Worldling's Looking-glass; or, the Danger of losing his Soul for Gain," 1630. "God's Providence, a Sermon before the House of Commons," 1642. And most probably some others. Some of Bishop Abbot's manuscripts fell into his hands, particularly his Latin Commentary upon the whole Epistle to the Romans. This learned and laborious work, in four volumes folio, Dr. Corbet deposited in the Bodleian library, Oxford, where it still remains.||

* Grey's Examination of Neal, vol. ii. p. 300.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 749.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 23. Edit. 1778.

§ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 72.—Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 414.

|| Biog. Britan. ibid. p. 34.

JAMES CRANFORD, A. M.—This excellent minister was the son of Mr. James Cranford, many years minister and master of the free-school in Coventry. He was born in that city in the year 1602, and educated in Baliol college, Oxford, where he took his degrees. Upon his leaving the university, he became minister in Northamptonshire, then removed to London, and became rector of St. Christopher le Stocks, near the old Exchange. This was in the year 1642. The following year he was appointed, by order of parliament, to be one of the licensers of the press for works in divinity. In the year 1644, he was appointed one of the London ministers to ordain suitable young men to the christian ministry. And in 1645, he was brought into trouble for speaking against several members of the house of commons. He was charged with saying, that they had carried on a correspondence with the royalists, and were false to the parliament; for which he was committed to prison; where he continued about five weeks, when the house of commons proceeded to an examination of his case, and passed upon him the following sentence:—"That the words spoken by Mr. Cranford against some members of the house of commons, and of the committee of both kingdoms, *that they kept intelligence with the king's party, and were false to the parliament*, were false and scandalous.—That Mr. Cranford, at a full exchange in London, and at Westminster, shall confess the wrong he hath done them in so scandalizing them.—That he shall pay five hundred pounds to each of those four members for damages.—And that he shall be committed to the Tower during the pleasure of the house."* Whether this heavy sentence was legal or illegal, we will not pretend to determine.

Though Mr. Cranford thus felt the vengeance of his superiors, he does not appear to have been a man of a turbulent spirit; and though he might be provoked to use the above unjustifiable expressions, he was a man who bore an excellent character, and was highly esteemed among his brethren. Wood denominates him an "exact linguist, well acquainted with the fathers, schoolmen, and modern divines; a zealous presbyterian, and a laborious preacher."† Fuller adds, "that he was a famous disputant, orthodox in judgment, and a person of great humility, charity, moderation, and kindness towards all men."‡ He died April 27, 1657,

* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 144, 145.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 133.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 118.

aged fifty-five years; when his remains were interred in St. Christopher's church.

His WORKS.—1. The Tears of Ireland, wherein is represented a list of the unheard-of Cruelties of the blood-thirsty Jesuits and the Popish Faction, 1642. —2. An Exposition on the Prophecies of Daniel, 1644.—3. Hæresco-Machia; or, the Mischief which Heresies do, and the Means to prevent them, 1646.—4. A Confutation of the Anabaptists.—He wrote also numerous Prefaces to other men's works.

THOMAS BLAKE, A. M.—This pious servant of Christ was born in the county of Stafford, in the year 1597, and educated in Christ's Church, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he entered upon the ministerial work, and obtained some preferment in the church. He became a faithful steward of the manifold mysteries of God. He was zealous in the work of the Lord, and his labours were made eminently useful. He was the faithful and laborious pastor of St. Alkmund's church, Shrewsbury, but it is doubtful whether this was the first place of his settlement. When the parliament prevailed, and episcopacy was abolished, Mr. Blake took the covenant; but was afterwards turned out for refusing the engagement.* In the year 1647, he accepted an invitation to Tamworth in his native county, where he continued in the ministerial work all the rest of his days. Here he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners of Staffordshire, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. He died at Tamworth, aged sixty years, and his remains were interred in his own church, June 11, 1657.† He was a man of great piety, good learning, and a constant and excellent preacher.

Mr. Anthony Burgess, afterwards ejected in 1662,‡ who preached Mr. Blake's funeral sermon, gives the following commendations of his character:—He was a man of many excellent qualifications. He possessed good natural talents, much improved by diligent application, and sanctified by the grace of God. The most eminent feature in his character was his great piety, for which he was highly esteemed. And as he was a man of considerable learning,

* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 124.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon, vol. ii. p. 133.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 350.

and that learning being directed to proper objects, he was enabled to do more work in the vineyard of Christ than many of his brethren. He did not overlook the younger part of his flock. Being well persuaded of the importance of early religious instruction, he discovered great diligence in catechizing the youth of his congregation. He possessed a peculiar tenderness of spirit, which fitted him in a more eminent degree for this part of his work. As a true shepherd over the flock of Christ, he sought not *theirs*, but *them*: not any worldly advantage, but the salvation of their souls. He was a wise and prudent counsellor. Persons under trouble of soul sought his advice, and he gave it with great ability and readiness. But, while he administered consolation to others, God sometimes left him to walk in spiritual darkness; yet, at length, he dispelled those gloomy fears, and caused him to rejoice in his salvation. Upon his death-bed he found the comfort of the doctrine he had preached. He had not the least doubt of the truth of it; and he left the world in full assurance of eternal life.*

Mr. Samuel Shaw, afterwards silenced at the restoration,† who delivered Mr. Blake's funeral oration, addressed the people as follows:—"While he lived, it was as impossible for him not to love you, as it is for you to make him an adequate return of love: and his care was answerable to his love. His writings were not read without satisfaction; and his sermons were never heard without approbation, and seldom without following advantage. His awful gravity and commanding presence could not be considered without reverence, nor his conversation without imitation. To see him *live* was a provocation to holy life: to see him *die* might have made us weary of life. When God restrained him from this place, he made his chamber his church, and his bed his pulpit; in which I heard him offer up many prayers to God for you. His death made him mindful of *you*, who have been too unmindful of his life. I did not see that any thing made him so backward to resign up his soul to God as his unparalleled care for you. His death seemed little to him in comparison of your happiness. I sat by him, and I only, when, with a flood of tears, he prayed: *Lord, charge not me with the ignorance of this*

* Funeral Sermon for Mr. Blake.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 404.

people. His wisdom, justice, and tenderness, were such predominant graces, that it is as much my inability to describe them as it is my unhappiness not to imitate them.*

His WORKS.—1. Birth's Privilege; or, the Right of Infants to Baptisme, 1644.—2. Infants Baptisme freed from Antichristianisme. In a full Repulse given to Mr. Ch. Blackwood, in his Assault of that Part of Christ's Possession which he holds in his Heritage of Infants, entitled, by 'The Storming of Antichrist,' 1645.—3. A Moderate Answer to the two Questions, 1. Whether there be sufficient Ground from Scripture to warrant the Conscience of a Christian to present his Infants to the Sacrament of Baptism?—2. Whether it be not sinful for a Christian to receive the Sacrament in a mixt Assembly? 1645.—4. An Answer to Mr. Tombes his Letter in Vindication of the Birth-privilege of Believers and their Issue, 1646.—5. Vindiciæ Fœderis. A Treatise of the Covenant of God with Mankind, 1653.—6. Infant Baptisme maintained in its Latitude, 1653.—7. The Covenant Sealed; or, a Treatise of the Sacrament of both Covenants, 1655.—8. Postscript to the Rev. and Learned Mr. Rich. Baxter, 1655.—9. Mr. Joh. Humphrey's Second Vindication of a Disciplinary, Anti-erastian, Orthodox, Free Admission to the Lord's Supper, taken into Consideration, 1656.—10. Answer to Mr. B. Cox about Free Admission to the Sacrament.—11. Living Truths in Dying Times.—12. Several Sermons.

JOHN JANEWAY.—This extraordinary person was the son of Mr. William Janeway, and born at Lilley in Hertfordshire, October 27, 1633. He was educated first at Paul's school, London, under the care of the excellent Mr. Langley, where he made great progress in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, and astronomy. Afterwards, he was sent to Eton college, where the eyes of many were upon him, as the glory of the school and the wonder of the age; and at the period of seventeen he entered King's college, Cambridge, when the electors contended for the patronage of so admirable a youth. He afterwards became fellow of the college.

In addition to his great learning, he was endowed with many excellent ornaments of nature. His deportment was candid and agreeable, courteous and obliging. Though he was exceedingly admired and caressed, he did not discover the least vanity or pride. His learning was mixed with much modesty and prudence; and he had great command of his passions, by which he was preserved from the follies and vices of youth. But, hitherto, he was wholly uncon-

* Funeral Oration for Mr. Blake.

cerned about his best interests. He did not trouble himself about religion, or the salvation of his soul. But God, who had chosen him to shine as the sun in the firmament of glory for ever, was pleased, at the age of eighteen, to enlighten his mind by the power of his grace, convincing him of sin, and his need of a Saviour. Mr. Baxter's "Saints' Everlasting Rest" was principally the instrument of promoting his conversion to God. The important change soon became manifest to all. His time and his talents were now so much employed in the pursuit of future happiness, that he found little leisure, and less delight, in the contemplation of the moon and stars. He now tasted the sweetness of studying the mind of God in his word; and was most concerned to please and to enjoy him for ever. He pitied those who were curious in their inquiries about almost every thing except the knowledge of themselves and Jesus Christ. "What things were once gain to him, he now counted loss for Christ. Yea, doubtless, he counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus; and did count them but dung, that he might win Christ." Though he did not look upon human learning as useless, but exceedingly profitable when suitably employed; yet, when fixed on any thing short of Christ, and not employed to his glory, he considered it as a sword in the hand of a madman.

In this state of mind, Mr. Janeway began to think how he could best improve his present attainments, and direct all his future studies in the most proper channel. He was particularly concerned to express his love and thankfulness to God, *who had called him out of darkness into his marvelous light*. He, therefore, addressed many letters to his relations and friends, in which he wrote so judiciously and profitably upon divine subjects, that they were more like the productions of old age than a person of his years. He could not help announcing to others what he had seen, and heard, and felt. To plead the cause of God, to exalt his dear Redeemer, and to bring sinners to Christ, was the only object he had in view. But his uncommon gravity, his striking majesty, his pathetical expressions, his vehement expostulations, and his close applications, can be seen only in his own words.

Before he was arrived at the age of nineteen, writing to his father, who was then in great distress of mind, he thus addressed him:—"The causes of your desponding and melancholy thoughts, give me leave, with submission, to

guess. The first, I think, is your reflecting upon your entering into the ministry without that reverence, care, and holy zeal for God, love to Christ, and compassion to souls, which is required of every one who undertakes that holy office. It may be there was a respect to your living in the world, rather than your living to *God*. Be it thus, be it not so bad, or be it worse, the remedy is the same. These have in them a wounding power, which will be felt to be grievous, when felt as they are in themselves. But continual sorrow and sad thoughts keep the wound open too long, and are not available to produce a cure. Wounds, indeed, must first be opened, that they may be cleansed. They must be opened, that their filth may be discovered, in order to their being purged and healed. But no longer than till the Balm of Gilead is applied, that they may be healed. When Christ is made use of aright, he leaveth joy and comfort; yet a constant humility of spirit is no way inconsistent with this peace with God.

“A second cause of your heaviness may be, a sense of the state of the people committed to your care. And, indeed, who can help mourning over people in such a condition? Objects of pity they are, especially because they pity not themselves. I have often wrestled with God, to direct you in the path of duty concerning them, which, I am persuaded, is your request also. Now, after seriously examining yourself, what your conscience doth conclude to be your duty, do it; and be *sure* you do it: you are then to rest upon God for his effectual working. And this is no more the cause of heaviness to you, than the opposition which the apostles found was to them, who, notwithstanding, rejoiced in tribulations.

“You may have some thoughts and cares concerning your family when you are gone. Let faith and former experience teach you to drive away all such thoughts. Your constitution and solitary habits may also be some cause of melancholy. But there is a duty which, if properly observed, would dispel all. This is heavenly meditation, and the contemplation of those things to which the christian religion tends. If we walk close with God in this duty, only one hour in the day, oh, what influence would it have on the whole day; and, if duly performed, upon the whole life! I knew the nature and usefulness of this duty in some measure before, but had it more deeply impressed upon me by Mr. Baxter’s “*Saints’ Everlasting Rest*,” for

which I have cause for ever to bless God. As for your dear wife, I fear the cares and troubles of the world take off her mind too much from walking closely with God, and from earnest endeavours after higher degrees of grace. I commend God unto her, and this excellent duty of meditation to all. It is a bitter sweet; bitter to corrupt nature, but sweet to the regenerate part. I entreat her and yourself; yea, I charge it upon you, with humility and tenderness, that God have at least half an hour in a day allowed him for this exercise. Oh, this most precious soul-reviving, soul-ravishing, soul-perfecting duty! Take this from your dear friend, as spoken with reverence, faithfulness, and love.

“One more direction let me give. See that none in your family satisfy themselves in family prayer, without drawing near to God twice a day in secret. Here secret wants may be laid open. Here great mercies may be begged with great earnestness. Here the wanderings and coldness in family duty may be repented of and amended. This is the way to get sincerity, seriousness, and cheerfulness in religion. Thus the joy of the Lord will be your strength. Let those who know their duty do it. If any think it is unnecessary, let them fear lest they lose the most excellent help to a holy, useful, and joyful life.

“Take some of these directions from sincere affection; some from my own experience; and all from a compassionate desire for your joy and comfort. The Lord teach you in this and in the rest. I entreat you, never rest till you have attained to true spiritual joy and peace in the Lord. The God of peace afford you his direction, with the foretastes of his comforts in this life, and the perfection of them, in the enjoyment of his excellency and holiness, through Jesus Christ.”

Having arrived at the age of twenty, he became fellow of his college. He wrote many pathetic letters to his brothers, followed by his prayers and tears for a blessing. He often addressed them individually, in private conversation, when he earnestly recommended Christ, and affectionately urged them to seek an interest in him. And these his labours were not in vain. He was supposed to have been the spiritual father of his own natural father, and several of his brothers, who will have cause to bless God, to eternity, that they ever received his instructions. He spoke to all his brethren in the language of the apostle: *Brethren, my heart's desire*

and prayer to God for you all is, that you may be saved. This will best appear in his own words, in a letter addressed to them.

“Distance of place,” says he, “cannot at all lessen that natural bond whereby we are one blood; neither ought it to lessen our love. Nay, where true love is, it cannot. Respecting my love towards you, I can only say, that I feel it better than I can express it. But love felt and not expressed is little worth. I desire, therefore, to make my love manifest in the best way I can. Let us look on one another, not as brethren only, but as members of the same body, of which Christ is the head. Happy day will that be, when the Lord will discover this union! Let us, therefore, breathe and hunger after this, that so we may all meet in Christ. If we be in Christ, and Christ in us, we shall be one in each other.

“You cannot complain of the want of instruction. God hath not been to us as the dry and barren wilderness. You have had line upon line, and precept upon precept. He hath planted you by the rivers of waters. It is indeed the Lord alone who maketh fruitful; yet we are not to stand still and do nothing. There is a crown worth seeking to obtain. Seek then by earnest and constant prayer. Keep your souls in a praying frame. This is a great and necessary duty; yea, a very great privilege. If you can say nothing, come and lay yourselves in humility before the Lord. Through mercy I have experienced what I say; and you may believe me when I say, that there is more sweetness to be got in one glimpse of God’s love, than in all that the world can afford. Oh, do but try! Oh, taste and see how good the Lord is!

“Beg of God to make you sensible of your lost and undone state by nature, and of the excellency and necessity of Christ. Say unto God, ‘Let me be any thing in the world if I may be enabled to value Christ, and be persuaded to accept of him as he is tendered in the gospel. Oh that I may be delivered from the wrath to come! Oh, a blessing for me, even for me!’ and resolve not to give it up till the Lord hath in some measure satisfied you. Oh! my bowels yearn towards you. My heart works. Oh that you did but know with what affections I now write to you, and what prayers and tears have been mingled with these lines! The Lord set these things home, and give you a heart to apply them to yourself.

“Give me leave to deal plainly with you, and come

closer to you. I love your souls so well, that I cannot bear the thoughts of their being lost. Know this, that there is such a thing as the new birth; and *except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven*. This new birth hath its foundation laid in a sense of sin, and in a godly sorrow for it, and a heart set against it. Without this, there can be no salvation. Look well to yourselves. You will see that you are in hell's mouth, without this first step; and nothing but free grace and pure mercy is between you and a state of damnation. The Lord deliver us from a secure and a careless heart. Here you see a natural man's condition. How dare you then lie down in security? Oh, look to God for your soul's sake! Without repentance, there is no remission of sin; and repentance itself will lose its labour if it be not of the right kind. Prayers, and tears, and groans, will not do without Christ. Most persons, when they are made in some measure sensible of their sins, and are under fears of hell, run to duty and reform some things, and thus the wound is healed, by which thousands fall short of heaven. For if we be not brought off from trusting in ourselves, and from our own righteousness, as well as our sins, we are never likely to be saved. We must see our absolute need of Christ; give up ourselves unto him; and count all things but dross and dung in comparison of his righteousness. Look therefore for God's mercy in Christ alone.

"The terms of the gospel are, Repent and believe. Gracious terms! Mercy for fetching! Mercy for receiving! Do you desire the grace and mercy of God? I know you do; and even this desire is the gift of God. Hunger after Christ. Let your desires put you upon endeavours. The work itself is sweet. Yea, mourning and repentance themselves have more sweetness in them than all the comforts of this world. Upon repentance and believing comes justification; and afterwards sanctification by the Spirit dwelling in us. By this we become the children of God; are made partakers of the divine nature; and lead new lives. It is unworthy of a christian to have such a narrow spirit as not to act for Christ with all his heart, soul, and strength. Be not ashamed of Christ; nor afraid of the frowns of the wicked. Be sure to keep a conscience void of offence; and yield by no means to any known sin. Be much in secret prayer and in reading the scriptures. My greatest desire is, that God would work his own work in you."

Such was the spirit of his letters addressed to his brethren. He observed this method with every other means of instruc-

tion. He often visited them for this purpose alone; when he most faithfully addressed each according to his necessity. On one of these visits, observing that one of his brothers slept at family prayer, he embraced an early opportunity of shewing him the magnitude of his sin, and the just desert of such contempt of God. The Lord was pleased to apply his instructions as a dagger to his heart; and, though he was only about eleven years of age, it was supposed to be the means of his soul's conversion to God. The change wrought in his young brother gave him great comfort and encouragement. Having occasion to write to him soon after, he reminded him of what the Lord had done for his soul, and urged him never to rest till he enjoyed good evidence of the change. "I hope," said he, "that God hath a good work to do in you, for you, and by you; yea, I hope he hath already begun the work. But, oh! take not up with some beginnings, faint desires, or lazy seekings. Oh, remember your former years! One may weep a little for sin, and yet go to hell for sin. Many who, under some such work, shake off the sense of sin, murder their convictions and return to folly. Oh, take heed! If any draw back, the Lord will take no pleasure in them. But I hope better things of you."

His great love and compassion for souls will appear from the following address to one of his near relations. Having shewn how much it is beneath the christian to have his heart anxiously set upon any thing in this world, he adds, "Oh, what folly is it to trifle in the things of God! But I hope better things of you. Did I not hope, why should I mourn in secret for you, as one cast out among the dead? Oh! what shall I do for you, besides pouring out my soul like water? and give my God no rest till he graciously visit you with his salvation? till he cast you down and raise you up? till he wound you and heal you again?"

Mr. Janeway was mighty in prayer, and his soul was frequently so transported in the duty, that he almost forgot whether he was in the body or out of the body. His converse with God was so familiar, and attended with such divine consolation to his soul, that, when he engaged in this duty, he often found the greatest difficulty to leave it off. He could, by happy experience, testify, that *wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace*. In his approaches to God, like Jacob, he wrestled with the Lord, and was ever unwilling to rise from off his knees without his Father's blessing. He conversed with God as

a man with his friend; and on all occasions of importance sought his direction and his blessing. His prayers were no vain oblations; but were often remarkably heard and answered. We shall give the following instance as worthy of being preserved.

His father, being deeply exercised with affliction, and under painful apprehensions about the safety of his state, he said to his son, "Oh, son, this passing into eternity is a great thing! This dying is a solemn business, and enough to make any one's heart ache, who hath not his pardon sealed, and his evidences clear for heaven. I am under no small fears as to my own state for another world. Oh that God would clear his love! Oh that I could cheerfully say I can die, and am able upon good grounds to look death in the face, and venture upon eternity with well-grounded peace and comfort!" Mr. Janeway, seeing his dear father so deeply afflicted with despondency, presently retired for the purpose of wrestling with God in prayer. He most devoutly prayed, that God would lift up the light of his countenance upon him, and fill his soul with joy and peace in believing; that so he might leave the world with joy. Arising from his knees, and coming to his father, he asked him how he did, but received no immediate answer. His father continued some time unable to speak, but wept exceedingly. After recovering himself, he burst forth into these expressions: "Oh, son! Now he is come! Now he is come! Now he is come! I bless God, I can die. The Spirit of God hath witnessed with my spirit that I am a child of God. Now I can look up to God as my Father, and to Christ as my Redeemer. I can now say, *This is my Friend: this is my Beloved*. My heart is full, it is brim-full. I can hold no more. I now know what that means, *The peace of God which passeth understanding*. That fit of weeping which you saw me in was a fit of overpowering love and joy. It was so great, that I could not contain myself, nor can I express what glorious discoveries God hath made to me. Had that joy been greater, I question whether it would not have separated my soul and body. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name; who hath pardoned all my sins, and sealed that pardon. Oh! now I can die. I bless God, I can die. I desire to depart and to be with Christ."

The son was partaker of his father's blessing on two accounts. First, that his father was so clearly satisfied about the safety of his state. And, secondly, that this was

so evident and immediate an answer to his prayer. Young Janeway, therefore, broke forth in strains of the highest joy and praise, saying, "Oh blessed, and for ever blessed, be God for his infinite grace! Oh, who would not pray unto God. Verily, he is a God hearing prayer, and that our souls know right well." He then told his father how much he had been affected with his despondency; that he had just been praying with all earnestness for his soul; and how wonderfully the Lord had answered his prayer. Upon this, his father felt his joys still increased, and exclaimed, saying, *Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. When I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil. Oh! how lovely is the sight of a smiling Jesus, when one is dying! How refreshing is it, when heart, and flesh, and all things fail, to have God for the strength of our heart, and our portion for ever!*" He then departed to be numbered with the blessed.*

Upon the death of his father, Mr. Janeway endeavoured to fill up that relation, in the tender and affectionate care of his mother, sisters, and brethren. His excellent example, prudent instructions, and holy practice, had the desired effect. Those who were older than himself, as well as the younger branches, loved and revered him.

Having returned, after some time, to King's college, he there continued till he was invited to become domestic tutor in the family of Dr. Cox. Here he did not disappoint the expectations of his employer. His deportment was so sweet and obliging, and his conversation so spiritual and holy, that he gained the esteem and admiration of all. But, on account of his ill health, he was obliged to relinquish the situation, to try a change of air, and reside with his mother. Here he continued in a weak and languishing condition, in the prospect of death, but not afraid to die. He was even ashamed of desiring life, and said, "Is there any thing here more to be desired than the enjoyment of Christ? Can I expect any thing here below comparable to that blessed vision? Oh that crown, that rest which remaineth for the people of God! And, blessed be God, I can say it is mine. *I know that when the earthly house of this tabernacle is dissolved, I have a building of God, an house not*

* Mr. William Janeway, the father of Mr. John Janeway, was minister of Lilley in Hertfordshire, then of Harpenden, and afterwards of Kelsall in the same county. At his death, he left a widow and eleven children, several of whom became worthy ministers of Christ.

made with hands ; and therefore I desire not to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon with Christ. To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. Through mercy I can now speak in the language of the apostle : I have fought a good fight ; henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness."

Perceiving one of his relations much troubled at the prospect of his death, he charged him not to pray for his life, unless it should be more for the glory of God. "I wish you," said he, "to keep your mind submissive to the will of God concerning me. The Lord draw you nearer to himself, that you may walk with him ; and if I go to him before you, I hope you will follow." Afterwards, the Lord was pleased so far to restore him, that his friends were in hopes of his perfect recovery. And while God thus remembered him, he did not forget God. His words to an intimate friend discover his deep sense of the love of God. He said, "God holds mine eyes most upon his goodness, his unmeasurable goodness ; and upon the promises which are most sure and firm in Christ. His love to us is greater, more sure, more full, than ours to ourselves. For when we loved ourselves so as to *destroy* ourselves, he loved us so as to *save* us."

Mr. Janeway, writing to a friend under perplexing fears about the state of his soul, thus addressed him : "Oh ! stand still and wonder. Behold and admire his love ! Consider what thou canst discover in this precious Jesus. Here is a sea ; cast thyself into it, and thou shalt be compassed with the height, and depth, and breadth, and length of love, and be filled with all the fullness of God. Is not this enough ? Wouldst thou have more ? Fling away all excepting God. For God is a sufficient portion, and the only proper portion of the soul. Hast thou not tasted, hast thou not known, that his love is better than wine ? He is altogether lovely. And while I write, my heart doth burn. My soul is on fire. I am sick of love. But now, methinks, I see you almost drowned in tears, because you feel not such workings of love towards God. Weep on still ; for love, as well as grief, hath tears. And tears of love, as well as others, shall be kept in God's bottle. Know that they are no other than the streams of Christ's love flowing to thee, and from thee to him. Christ is thus delighted in beholding his beauties in those whom he loves."

Mr. Janeway, however, was not always on the mount.

He had his cloudy days, as well as others. His sweets were sometimes turned into bitters. He was painfully assaulted by Satan's temptations. The enemy was permitted to come upon him as an armed man. As, in the case of the apostle, lest he should be exalted above measure, the enemy was suffered to buffet him; and it would have made a christian's heart ache to have heard how this gracious man was exercised with Satan's dreadful temptations. But he was well armed for the painful conflict. Having on the shield of faith, wherewith to quench the fiery darts of the wicked one, he came off a complete conqueror. In the trying contest, he sent up strong cries and tears to the Lord for fresh supplies of grace.

This holy man was much afraid of spiritual declension, both in himself and others. He ever laboured to maintain a tender conscience; and took notice of the smallest departures of his soul from God, as well as God's withdrawals from him. His great concern was to build sure, by being rooted and grounded in the faith. He also exercised a similar godly jealousy over his intimate friends and relations. To one of his brothers he wrote thus: "You live in a place," said he, "where strict and close walking with God hath few or no examples. God's own children are too apt to forget their first love. Our hearts are prone to be careless, and to neglect our watch. When conscience is put off with some poor excuse, religion withers; he who once seemed a zealot, becomes a *Laodicean*; and he who once appeared an eminent saint, may afterwards come to nothing. It is too common, *to have a name to be alive, and yet to be dead*. Read this and tremble, lest it should be your case. When we are indolent and asleep, our adversary is most awake. I consider your age; I know where you dwell; I am no stranger to your temptations; therefore I cannot help being afraid of you, and jealous over you. Let me remind you of what you know already. Remember what meltings of soul you once had; how solicitously you once inquired after Christ; and how earnestly you seemed to ask the way to Zion, with your face thitherward. Oh, take heed of losing those impressions! Be not satisfied with a slight work. True conversion is a great thing, and very different from what most persons take it to be. Therefore rest not in mere convictions, much less in a lifeless and formal profession.

"There is such a thing as being *almost a christian*; as *looking back unto perdition*; as being *not far from the*

kingdom of heaven, and falling short at last. Beware, lest thou lose the reward. The promise is made to him that holdeth fast, holdeth out to the end, and overcometh. Labour to forget the things which are behind, and reach unto the things which are before. He who is contented with just enough grace to escape hell and get to heaven, and desires no more, may be sure he hath none at all, and is far from the kingdom of God. Labour to enjoy converse with God. Strive to do every thing as in his presence, and for his glory. Act as in the sight of the grave and eternity. Let us awake and fall to work in good earnest. Heaven and hell are before us. Why do we sleep? Dulness in the service of God is very uncomfortable, and at best will cost us dear; but to be contented in such a frame is the certain sign of a hypocrite. Oh, how will such tremble when God shall call them to give an account of their stewardship, and tell them they may be no longer stewards! Oh, live more upon the invisible realities of heaven, and let a sense of their excellencies put life into your performances! For your preciseness and singularity you must be content to be laughed at. A christian's walking is not with men, but with God. He hath great cause to suspect his love to God, who does not delight more in conversing with God and being conformed to him, than in conversing with men and being conformed to the world. How can the love of God dwell in that man who liveth without God in the world?"

This shews how anxious he was himself to be undeceived, and to undeceive others. Here we see his delight, his treasure, his life, his all. The great love he had to Christ and the souls of men made him desirous to spend and be spent in the work of the ministry. Accordingly, at the age of twenty-two years, he entered upon the sacred office under a deep impression of its importance and the worth of souls. Yet alas! he never preached more than two sermons; which, it is said, he delivered with such clearness and freedom, such tenderness and compassion, such power and majesty, as greatly amazed those who heard him. He understood the glorious mysteries of the gospel, and what he delivered was the language and experience of his own heart. His two sermons were from Job xx. 21. "*Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace: thereby good shall come unto thee.*"

During the closing scene of life Mr. Janeway seemed wholly employed in the contemplation of Christ, heaven,

and eternity. He lived as a stranger in the world, and in the constant prospect of a better state. Like the worthy patriarch, "he looked for a city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God." His meditations, his discourse, his whole deportment, all made it appear that he was fast ripening for glory. He was never satisfied unless he was employed in those pursuits which brought him nearer to God and the kingdom of heaven. Hereby his faith was increased to full assurance. The Lord often called him up to the mount and let him see his glory. He often feasted upon the fat things of God's house, and enjoyed many foretastes of future blessedness. From his own happy experience, he could say to others, "Oh, taste and see that the Lord is good! Come unto me, and I will declare unto you what he hath done for my soul."

In the midst of all needful worldly comforts he longed for death; and his thoughts of the day of judgment greatly sweetened all his enjoyments. He said, "What if the day of judgment were to come even this hour? I should be glad with all my heart. I should hear such thunderings, and behold such lightnings as Israel did at the mount; and I am persuaded my heart would leap for joy. But this I am confident of, that the meditation of that day hath even ravished my soul; and the thoughts of its certainty and nearness is more refreshing to me than all the comforts of the world. Surely nothing can more revive my spirit than to behold the blessed Jesus, who is the life and joy of my soul." It required no small degree of patience and self-denial to be kept so long from him whom his soul loved.

Mr. Janeway at length found himself in a deep consumption, but was not afraid. The spitting of blood did not in the least intimidate him, who enjoyed an interest in the blood of Christ. During the progress of his complaint, he was seized with dimness in his eyes, which ended in the total loss of his sight. Being in expectation of his departure, he called his mother, and said, "Dear mother, I am dying; but I beseech you be not troubled. Through mercy I am quite above the fear of death. It is no great matter. I have nothing that troubles me, excepting the apprehension of your grief. I am going to Him whom I love above life." From this fainting fit the Lord was pleased to revive him; and for several weeks his soul was so devoutly employed in the contemplation of Christ and heaven, that he almost forgot his pains and sickness. His faith, his

love, and his joys exceedingly abounded. He frequently exclaimed, "Oh that I could let you know what I feel! Oh that I could shew you what I now see! Oh that I could express a thousandth part of that sweetness which I now find in Christ! You would then all think it worth your while to make religion your chief business. Oh, my dear friends, you little think what Christ is worth upon a death-bed! I would not for a world, nay, for a million of worlds, be now without a Christ and a pardon. I would not for a world live any longer; and the very thought of the possibility of a recovery makes me tremble."

When it was said that the Lord might again raise him up to health and strength, so as to live many years, he said, "And do you think to please me with that? No, friend, you are mistaken, if you think that life, and health, and the world are pleasing to me. The world hath quite lost its excellency. Oh, how poor and contemptible is it in all its glory, when compared with the glory of that world which I now live in sight of! And as for life, Christ is my life. I tell you, it would please me incomparably more if you should say to me, 'You cannot possibly hold out long. Before to-morrow you will be in eternity.' I tell you I do so long to be with Christ, that I could be content to be cut in pieces, and to be put to the most exquisite torments, so I might but die and be with Christ. Oh, how sweet is Jesus! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Death, do thy worst. Death hath lost its terrors. Through grace, I can say, death is nothing to me. I can as easily die as shut my eyes. I long to be with Christ. I long to die."

To his mother he said, "Dear mother, I as earnestly beseech you as ever I desired any thing for you in my life, that you would cheerfully give me up to Christ. I beseech you do not hinder me now I am going to glory. I am afraid of your prayers, lest they should pull one way and mine another." Then, turning to his brothers, he thus addressed them: "I charge you all do not pray for my life. You wrong me if you do. Oh the glory, the unspeakable glory that I now behold! My heart is full, my heart is full! Christ smiles, and I am constrained to smile. Can you find in your hearts to stop me, now I am going to the complete and eternal enjoyment of Christ? Would you keep me from my crown? The arms of my blessed Saviour are open to embrace me. The angels stand ready to carry my soul into his bosom. Oh! did you but see

what I see, you would all cry out with me, Dear Lord, how long? Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Oh, why are his chariot wheels so slow in coming!"

A minister having spoken to him of the glories of heaven, he said, "Sir, I feel something of it. My heart is as full as it can hold in this lower state. I can hold no more. Oh, that I could but let you know what I feel! Who am I, Lord; who am I, that thou shouldst be mindful of me? Why me, Lord, why me! and pass by thousands to look upon such a wretch as I! Oh, what shall I say unto thee, thou preserver of men! Oh, why me, Lord, why me! Oh, blessed, and for ever blessed be free grace! How is it, Lord, that thou shouldst manifest thyself unto me, and not unto others? *Even so, Father, because it seemed good in thy sight.* Thou wilt have mercy, because thou wilt have mercy. And if thou wilt look upon such a poor worm, who can hinder? Who would not love thee, oh blessed Father! Oh, how sweet and gracious hast thou been to me! Oh, that he should have me in his thoughts of love, before the foundations of the world!"

Thus he continued admiring and adoring the sovereignty of divine grace. As he experienced the intermissions of triumphant joy, he thus cried: "Hold out, faith and patience, yet a little while, and your work is done. What is the matter, oh! my soul? What! wilt thou, canst thou thus unworthily slight this astonishing condescension of God? Doth it seem a small matter, that the great Jehovah should deal thus familiarly with a worm? And wilt thou pass this over as a common mercy? What meanest thou, oh my soul, that thou dost not constantly adore and praise this unspeakable love! Doth God deal graciously and familiarly with man, and are his love and praise too good for him? Why art thou not, oh my soul! swallowed up every moment with his free, unparalleled, and everlasting love? Stand astonished ye heavens, and wonder ye angels, at this infinite grace! Was ever any one under heaven more beholden to this grace than I? Oh, help me to praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever!"

One of his brothers having prayed with him, his joys became unutterable; and "I believe," says our author, "that it exceeds the highest strains of rhetoric to set forth to the life what this heavenly man delivered." He broke out in such words as these: "Oh, he is come! he is come! Oh, how sweet, how glorious, is the blessed Jesus! How shall I speak the thousandth part of his praises! Oh, for

words to set forth a little of that excellency! But it is inexpressible. Oh, how excellent and glorious is the precious Jesus! He is altogether lovely. Oh, my friends, stand and wonder! Come, look upon a dying man and wonder. Was there ever greater kindness? Were there ever more sensible manifestations of rich grace? Oh, why me, Lord? why me? Surely this is akin to heaven. And if I were never to enjoy more than this, it is more than a sufficient recompence for all the torments that men and devils could inflict. If this be dying, it is sweet. This bed is soft. Christ's arms, and smiles, and love, surely would turn hell into heaven. Oh that you did but see and feel what I do! Behold a dying man, more cheerful than you ever saw a man in health and in the midst of his sweetest worldly enjoyments! Oh, sirs, worldly pleasures are poor, pitiful, sorry things, when compared with this glory now in my soul. Why should any of you be so sad, when I am so glad? This is the hour that I have waited for."

Mr. Janeway took his leave of his friends every evening, hoping that he should see them no more till the morning of the resurrection. He exhorted them to make sure of a comfortable meeting in a better world. He entreated those about him to assist him in praises. "Oh," said he, "help me to praise God! Henceforth, to eternity, I have nothing else to do but to love and praise the Lord. I have my soul's desires on earth. I cannot tell what to pray for which is not already given me. The wants capable of being supplied in this world are supplied. I want only one thing, and that is a speedy lift to heaven. I expect no more here. I desire no more. I can bear no more. Oh, praise! praise! praise! that boundless love, which hath wonderfully looked upon my soul, and hath done more for me than for thousands of his children. 'Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name!' O my friends, help me, help me, to admire and praise him, who hath done such astonishing wonders for my soul! He hath pardoned all my sins, and hath filled me with his goodness. He hath given me grace and glory, and no good thing hath he withholden from me. All ye mighty angels, help me to praise God. Let every thing that hath being help me to praise him. Praise is my work now, and will be my work for ever. Hallelujah, hallelujah, hallelujah!"

During his sickness he found the word of God sweet to his soul, especially the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters of John's gospel, and the fifty-fourth

of Isaiah. He often, with abundant joy, repeated those words : *With great mercies will I gather thee.* A short time before his death, he said, " I have almost done conversing with mortals. I shall presently behold Christ himself, who loved me and washed me in his blood. In a few hours I shall be in eternity, singing the song of Moses and the Lamb. I shall presently stand upon mount *Sion*, with an innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and *JESUS* the mediator of the new covenant. I shall hear the voice of much people, and be one amongst them, saying, *Hallelujah! salvation, glory, and honour, and power be unto the LORD our GOD!* Yet a little while, and I shall sing unto the Lamb, *Worthy art thou to receive praise, who hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us kings and priests unto God, and we shall reign with thee for ever and ever.* And who can help rejoicing in all this ?"

The day before his departure, his brother James having been praying for him, he said, " I thank thee, dear brother, for thy love. I know thou lovest me dearly ; but Christ loves me ten thousand times more. Dear brother, come and kiss me before I die." Having kissed his cold dying lips, he said, " I shall go before thee to glory, and I hope thou wilt follow after." A few hours before his happy exit, he called together his mother, and sisters, and brethren, to give them one more solemn warning, and pray for them before he departed.

His affectionate mother being first called, he thanked her for her tender love to him ; and desired that she might see Christ formed in the hearts of all her children, and meet them all with joy in the day of judgment.

He prayed that his elder brother might be wholly taken up with Christ and love to souls, and be more holy in his life, successful in his ministry, and finish his course with joy.

For his brother Andrew, living in London, he prayed that God would deliver him from the sins of the city, make him a fellow-citizen of the saints, and of the household of God. " O that he may be," said he, " as his name is, *a strong man*, and that I may meet him with joy."

To James he said : " Brother James, I hope God hath given thee a goodly heritage. The lines have fallen to thee in pleasant places. The Lord is thy portion. Hold on, dear brother ; Christ and heaven are worth striving for. The Lord give thee abundance of his grace."

To his brother Abraham, he said: "The blessing of the God of Abraham rest upon thee. The Lord make thee the father of many spiritual children."

To his brother Joseph he said: "Let him bless thee, O Joseph, who blessed him that was separated from his brethren. My heart hath been working towards thee, poor Joseph; and I am not without hopes that the arms of the Almighty will embrace thee. The God of thy father bless thee."

To his sister Mary he said: "Poor sister Mary, thy body is weak, and thy days will be filled with bitterness. The Lord sweeten all with his grace and peace, and give thee health of soul. Be patient; make sure of Christ; and all is well."

To Sarah he said: "Sister Sarah, thy body is strong and healthful. O that thy soul may be so too! The Lord make thee a pattern of modesty, humility, and holiness."

To his brother Jacob he said: "The Lord make thee an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile. O that thou mayest learn to wrestle with God, and not go without a blessing!"

And of his youngest brother Benjamin, then an infant, he said: "Poor little Benjamin! O that the Father of the fatherless would take care of thee; and that thou who hast never seen thy father on earth, may see him with joy in heaven. The Lord be thy father and thy portion."

He then said to them all: "O that none of us may be found among the unconverted in the day of judgment! O that we may all appear, with our honoured father and dear mother, before Christ with joy; and that they may say, 'Lord, here are we, and the children whom thou hast given us!' O that we may live to God here, and live with God hereafter. And now, my dear mother, brethren, and sisters, farewell. I leave you a short time. *I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among them which are sanctified.* And now, dear Lord, my work is done. *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly;*" and he presently departed. He died in the month of June, 1657, in the twenty-fourth year of his age; when his remains were interred in Kelshall church, where his father had been minister.

The foregoing account of this extraordinary young man was originally published with the commendatory testimonial

of four eminent presbyterian ministers, giving their attestation to the truth of the narrative.* A late popular writer observes, that, if ever mortal lived the life of an angel while upon the earth, Mr. Janeway seems to have been the man. And he adds, "that his death-bed scene, above all others I have either read or seen, appears to have had in it the largest share of divine communications."† Wood denominates Mr. Janeway a zealous presbyterian.‡ His three brothers, William, James, and Abraham, were all ejected nonconformists in 1662.§

JOHN LANGLEY, A. M.—This celebrated scholar was born near Banbury in Oxfordshire, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Afterwards he was prebendary of Gloucester, where he was master of the college school about twenty years; and, in the year 1640, he succeeded Dr. Gill as chief master of St. Paul's school, London. In both these situations many persons were trained up under his tuition, who became eminently distinguished characters in church and state. Among the number of his learned pupils was Mr. Richard Cumberland, afterwards bishop of Peterborough.|| He was a judicious divine, a universal scholar, and so celebrated an antiquarian, that his delight in, and acquaintance with, antiquities deserves the highest commendation that can be given.¶ He was highly esteemed by men celebrated for literature, but little regarded by the clergy, because he was a puritan, and a witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial.**

Mr. Langley was indeed called as witness against the archbishop; when he deposed, that, in the year 1616, his lordship, then dean of Gloucester, came down to the cathedral of that place, intending to turn the communion-table into an altar, and to place it altar-wise at the east end of the choir, removing it from its former situation in the midst of the church. Dr. Smith, bishop of Gloucester, opposed the innovation, and warmly protested to the dean and the prebends, that if the communion-table should be removed, or

* Janeway's Life of Mr. John Janeway. Edit. 1673.—Clark's Lives, last vol. p. 60—81.

† Simpson's Plea for Religion, p. 308, 310. Edit. 1810.

‡ Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 385.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 308. iii. 311, 313.

|| Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 558. Edit. 1778.

¶ Reynolds's Fun. Ser. for Mr. Langley.

** Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 135.

any such innovation brought into the cathedral, as Dean Laud then intended, he would never come within the walls of the cathedral any more. But the dean was so violent, that, in direct opposition to the order and appointment of the bishop, he caused the Lord's table to be removed and placed altar-wise, from north to south, at the east end of the choir, with popish furniture upon it, bowing towards it himself, and commanding the various officers of the church to do the same. He further deposed, that the bishop was so much offended at these innovations, that he, according to his protestation, came no more into the cathedral to the day of his death. This is the substance of what Mr. Langley testified, which was further confirmed by other evidence.*

Mr. Langley, being a most celebrated scholar, was chosen one of the licensers of the press for the philosophical and historical department.† A minister of his name, but, according to Wood, a different person, was chosen one of the assembly of divines.‡ He died at his house adjoining Paul's school, September 13, 1657. Dr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards bishop of Norwich, preached his funeral sermon, which was afterwards published. Fuller calls Mr. Langley "the able and religious schoolmaster." Archdeacon Echard denominates him "an excellent theologian of the puritan stamp, a great linguist and historian, and a nice and exact antiquary; for which he was highly esteemed by the famous Selden and other learned men."§ Mr. Strype says, "he was a general scholar, and a great antiquary, especially in matters relating to his own country, the stories and curiosities of which he, during his travels, made a considerable collection." His awful presence and speech produced uncommon respect and fear among his scholars; and such was his behaviour towards them, that they both feared and loved him. His remains were interred, with great funeral solemnity, in Mercer's chapel, Cheapside; when all his scholars attended. And, as he died a single man, they walked before the corpse, having white gloves, and being hung with verses instead of escutcheons, from the school through Cheapside to Mercer's chapel. He was so much in favour with the worshipful company of mercers, that they accepted his commendation of a successor.|| Mr. Langley was author of "Totius

* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 75—78.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 46. ‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 135.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 811.

|| Knight's Life of Colet, p. 379, 380. Edit. 1724.

Rhetoricæ adumbratio in usum Scholæ Paulinæ, 1644—
 “An Introduction to Grammar”—And some other pieces.

JOHN GUMLEDEN, A. M.—This person was born in Hampshire, in the year 1598, and educated first at Broadgate-hall, then in Christ's church, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. In 1632 he was admitted to the reading of the sentences. After completing his studies at the university, he preached for several years at Longworth in Berkshire. When the civil wars broke out, he espoused the cause of the parliament, became chaplain to Robert, earl of Leicester, and afterwards, for some time, rector of Coytchurch in Glamorganshire. In this situation he died about the month of October, 1657, aged fifty-nine years. His remains were interred in the chancel of the church at that place.*

HIS WORKS.—1. A Sermon on Gen. vi. 5—7., 1626.—2. A Sermon on Gen. xxii. 1, 2., 1627.—3. God's great Mercy to Mankind in Jesus Christ, a Sermon at Paul's Cross, on Isa. liii. 6., 1628.—4. Two Sermons before the University of Oxford, 1657.—5. Christ tempted, the Devil conquered: or, a short Exposition on a Part of the Fourth Chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, 1657.—6. A Sermon on Acts i. 1—5.

JOHN FROST, B. D.—This pious minister was son of Mr. John Frost, the ancient and pious minister of Fakenham in Suffolk. During his childhood and youth, he discovered a sweet and amiable disposition, and was ever harmless and affectionate in his behaviour. He received his school learning first at Thetford, then at Bury St. Edmund's, where he made uncommon proficiency, especially in Greek and Latin. But that which added the greatest lustre to his character was his early piety, and a zealous attachment to the word of God. Even in the days of his youth he diligently searched the scriptures, constantly attended upon the word preached, and spent much time in the duty of private prayer. He was desirous, from a child, to be employed in the work of the ministry; therefore, he earnestly and constantly prayed that God would fit him for that important work.

At the age of sixteen he entered St. John's college, Cambridge, where he continued thirteen years, and was chosen

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 135.

fellow of the house. During this period, he made amazing progress in all kinds of useful learning; but, having the christian ministry constantly in view, he directed his studies chiefly to those branches of literature which were likely to be most serviceable in that holy office. At the university, on account of the acuteness of his mind, the mildness of his behaviour, his intense application to study, and his great proficiency in useful knowledge, he was greatly beloved by men of learning and piety. He entered upon his ministerial work during his abode at Cambridge; and afterwards became pastor at St. Olave's, Hart-street, London; where he remained to the day of his death.

In this situation he continued many years, and gained a distinguished reputation. As he lived highly respected, so he died greatly lamented. And having lived a most pious life, he died a most peaceable and happy death. During his last sickness, he discovered a becoming submission to the will of God, being willing to die, if his heavenly Father had so determined; or willing to live, if most for the glory of God and the advantage of his church. When he was asked how he did, he replied, "Full of peace and sweet submission to God my Saviour, and in dependence upon him." The pangs of death evidently approaching, he called his family together and engaged in prayer, for the last time, with much liveliness and affection. And having received something to drink, his affectionate wife reclining upon his bosom, he exclaimed, "We have overcome, we have overcome!" and spoke no more, but resigned his pious soul to God, and immediately entered upon the joy of his Lord, November 2, 1657.

Mr. Crofton, who preached and published Mr. Frost's funeral sermon, gives the following account of his excellent qualifications:—"He was sound in the faith, well studied in polemical divinity, and able to defend the truth, holding fast the doctrines of the gospel, and establishing the minds of his people in the faith, especially against the fancies of arminianism and popery. He was singularly excellent in practical divinity, pressing the observance of duties, rebuking sin with wisdom and affection, and prudently directing persons into all necessary christian conversation, as becometh the profession of the gospel. He was a thorough puritan in principle and practice, but highly esteemed the unity and peace of the church. He studiously laboured to promote concord among the episcopal and presbyterian divines. He was ever solicitous to perform all the duties of his office, by preaching, administering the sacraments, catechizing the youth, and

visiting the sick. He was zealous and fervent, circumspect and wise, and always deeply affected with the worth of souls.

"His excellent ministerial endowments were manifest to all. What he delivered to the people was first deeply imprinted on his memory by an easy method, and deeply engraven on his own heart by serious meditation. He expressed himself with great power and plainness, and enforced the great truths of the gospel with strong arguments and pathetical affections. In his daily conversation he was courteous and affable to all men, whether his superiors, inferiors, or equals. He was meek and grave, holy and exemplary, as was obvious to all who knew him."* He was the author of "Select Sermons," 1657.

HUGH EVANS was born in Radnorshire, but removed in his youth to the city of Worcester, where he lived some years. About the commencement of the civil wars, he left that city and went to reside at Coventry. There he found a society of baptists, when he soon embraced their sentiments, and was admitted a member of their church. This was about the year 1643. He approved himself a very pious, sensible, and hopeful young man. His brethren soon perceived that he was endowed with promising gifts for the ministry, and encouraged him to cultivate and exercise them; which he did to their abundant satisfaction. He now began to pity the state of his native country; and, considering its deplorable condition as overspread with gross darkness, and destitute of the means of knowledge and salvation, he felt a strong desire to devote himself to the laudable, but arduous work of enlightening and converting his countrymen. There were then not above one or two gathered churches in all Wales, and very few preachers of the gospel. His friends approved and countenanced his benevolent inclination, but judged it advisable that he should first have some further literary advantage and instruction. Accordingly, he was placed for some time under the care and tuition of Mr. Jeremiah Ives, a baptist minister of considerable respectability. Having continued with Mr. Ives, and enjoyed the benefit of his instructions for a considerable time, he, according to his original intention, returned into Wales. This, it appears, was about the year 1647.

* Crofton's Funeral Sermon and Life of Mr. Frost.

Mr. Evans entered upon the ministerial work as one sensible of its importance, and deeply impressed with the worth of souls. It soon appeared that his labours were both acceptable and useful. The good people among whom he preached warmly solicited and pressed him to continue with them, which he did to the end of his days. Though, at the commencement of his ministry, he does not appear to have been above thirty years of age, he was unwearied in all his labours to promote their best interests, and to extend the boundaries of the Redeemer's kingdom. He presently succeeded in gathering a respectable congregation, which, as our author observes, has continued by a succession of new members down to the present time. After having spent about ten years, with exemplary diligence, unwearied perseverance, and eminent success in promoting the gospel among his countrymen, he finished his course in the prime of life, and in the height of his usefulness, to the unspeakable regret of his numerous friends, by whom he was exceedingly respected and beloved. His ministry was chiefly exercised in Radnorshire and Brecknockshire. Dr. Walker enumerates him among the popular itinerants of Wales, and charges him with having received a salary for itinerant preaching in both those counties.* If he did so, it only proves his great activity and uncommon labours. When one man does the work of two, it is fit he should receive double wages. There is reason to think, says our author, that he was for some time the only baptist minister in Wales. Some of the other preachers, and Mr. Vavasor Powell among the rest, were probably baptized by him. His people, it is added, were all baptists, and do not appear to have admitted mixt communion, though some of the neighbouring churches did; nor did they practise *singing* in their public worship, except, perhaps, at the Lord's table. The church afterwards increased, and spread into several branches; and now forms three or four distinct and respectable churches, assembling in the counties of Radnor, Brecon, and Montgomery.

Mr. Evans had, doubtless, many enemies; but his principal opponents are said to have been the Quakers; who virulently opposed him from the press, as well as otherwise, conceiving a very strong and unreasonable antipathy against him. A book was published against him, about the time of his death, by one John Moon, who called Mr. Evans "the blind Welsh priest of Radnorshire," and attempted, very

* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 158.

illiberally, to asperse and vilify his character and memory. His two friends, Mr. John Price and Mr. William Bownd, answered the Quaker, and successfully vindicated their deceased brother; and, from their own intimate knowledge of him, expressed the highest opinion of his integrity and piety, as well as the truest respect and veneration for his memory. The amiableness and respectability of his character may be safely inferred from the strong attachment of his pious and numerous friends. He died about the year 1657, and probably not more than forty years of age. But he lived long afterwards in the affectionate recollection of those who had attended on his faithful and edifying ministry.* Mr. Henry Gregory, who had been a member of Mr. Evans's church, was his successor in the pastoral office.†

OBADIAH SEDGWICK, B. D.—This excellent person was brother to Mr. John Sedgwick, another puritan divine, born at Marlborough in Wiltshire, in the year 1600, and educated first at Queen's college, then in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having finished his academical studies, he entered upon the ministerial exercise, and became chaplain to Lord Horatio Vere, whom he accompanied to the Low Countries. After his return, he went again to Oxford, and, in the year 1629, was admitted to the reading of the sentences. He was tutor to Matthew Hale, afterwards the celebrated lord chief justice.‡ Leaving the university a second time, he became preacher at St. Mildred's, Bread-street, London; but was driven from the place by the intolerance of the prelates. He became vicar of Coggeshall in Essex, in the year 1639,§ where he continued two or three years. Upon the commencement of the wars, he returned to the city and to his ministry at St. Mildred's, and was often called to preach before the parliament. In the year 1642, he became chaplain to Colonel Hollis's regiment in the parliament's army. The year following, he was appointed one of the licensers of the press, and chosen one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended.|| Wood observes, but certainly with no good design, "that while he preached at Mildred's, which was only to exasperate the people to rebel and confound episcopacy, it was usual with him, especially in hot weather,

* Theolog. Bib. Mag. vol. v. p. 420—422.

† Ibid. vol. vi. p. 6.

‡ Clark's Lives, last vol. part ii. p. 125.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 160.

|| Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 556. iii. 46, 53.

to unbutton his doublet in the pulpit, that his breath might be longer, and his voice more audible, to rail against the king's party, and those about the king's person, whom he called popish counsellors. This he did in an especial manner in September, 1644, when he, with great concernment, told the people, several times, that God was angry with the army for not cutting off delinquents.* Dr. Grey, with a similar design, denominates him "a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense;" for the proof of which, he alleges the following passages from Mr. Sedgwick's sermons preached before the parliament:—"The field which I am at this time to work upon, and go over, you see is large. There is much more ground in it than I can conveniently break up and sow. I shall therefore, by God's assistance, who is the only breaker of hearts, set upon the work, and may he in tender mercy so accompany, and water, and prosper his truths at this day, that all our fallow ground may be broken up, and then be so graciously sown in righteousness, that we and all the land may shortly reap in mercy.—Sirs, you must break up this ground, or it will break up our land. There is not such a God-provoking sin, a God-removing sin, a church-dissolving, a kingdom-breaking sin, as idolatry. Down with it, down with it, even to the ground. Superstition is but a bawd to gross idolatry.—Be as earnest and as active as you possibly can to send labourers into the field; I mean to plant the land with a heart-breaking ministry.—God hath been the salvation of the parliament, and in the parliament, and for the parliament. Salvation at Edge-hill; salvation at Reading and Causon; salvation at Gloucester; salvation at Newbury; salvation in Cheshire; salvation in Pembrokeshire; salvation in the north; salvation from several treacheries; and salvation from open hostilities."† Such are the formidable proofs, in the opinion of the learned doctor, that he was a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense! How far he was guilty, every reader will easily judge.

In the year 1646, Mr. Sedgwick became preacher at St. Paul's, Covent-garden; where he was exceedingly followed, and was instrumental in the conversion of many souls. In 1653, he was, by the parliament, appointed one of the *tryers*; and the year following was constituted one of the assistant commissioners of London for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers. He was very zealous to carry on, as

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 139.

† Grey's *Examination*, vol. iii. p. 204—206.

in derision it is called, "the good work of reformation in church and state." He was a frequent preacher before the parliament. Sir John Birkenhead casts his foul aspersions upon him and Mr. Marshall, saying, "it is pleasant to observe how finely they play into each other's hands. Marshall procures thanks to be given to Sedgwick; and, for his great pains, Sedgwick obtains as much for Marshall; and so they pimp for one another. But, to their great comfort be it spoken, their whole seven years sermons at Westminster are to be sold in Fetter-lane and Pye-corner."* Had this writer known how many of the episcopal clergy purchased and preached the sermons of the puritans, he might have greatly extended his foul aspersions. Mr. Sedgwick finding, at length, that his health began to decline, he resigned all his preferments and retired to Marlborough, his native place, where he died in the month of January, 1658, aged fifty-seven years, and his remains were interred in the chancel of Ogborn St. Andrew, near Marlborough.† He was a learned divine, and an orthodox and admired preacher.‡ In his ministry, he was succeeded by the celebrated Dr. Thomas Manton, ejected in 1662.§

His WORKS.—1. Several Sermons on public Occasions, 1639, &c. —2. Parliamentary Sermons, 1642, &c.; among which were, "England's Preservation," 1642.—"Haman's Vanity," 1643.—"An Ark against a Deluge: or, Safety in Dangerous Times," 1644.—3. Military Discipline for the Christian Soldier, 1639.—4. Christ's Council to his Languishing Church of Sardis, 1640.—5. Speech in Guildhall, 1643.—6. The best and worst Malignant, 1648.—7. The doubting Christian resolved, 1653.—8. The humble Sinner resolved; or, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ the only way for sensible Sinners, discovering the Quality, Objects, and Acts of Justifying Faith,|| 1656.—9. The Fountain opened, and the Water of Life flowing, 1657.—10. The Shepherd of Israel; or, an Exposition of Psalm xxiii., 1658.—11. Anatomy of Secret Sins, 1660.—12. The Bowels of tender Mercy Sealed in the Everlasting Covenant, 1660.—13. The Parable of the Prodigal, 1660.—14. Synopsis of Christianity.—15. A Catechism.

WILLIAM SANDBROOKE, L. B.—This pious person was educated in Gloucester-hall, Oxford; and in 1635 he became rector of St. Peter's church in that city, where his preaching

* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 48.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 139, 140.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 184.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 125, 426.

|| The MS. of this excellent work, and apparently in Mr. Sedgwick's own hand, is in the possession of the author.

was much followed by the religious and puritanical scholars. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament, left the university, and went to sea as chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, admiral to the parliament. However, in 1644, being tired of a sea employment, he became the officiating minister at St. Margaret's church, Rochester, when Mr. Selvey, the incumbent, to his great honour, allowed him all the profits of the living. Afterwards, by the powers which then were, he was appointed one of the three lecturers at the cathedral in that city, "purposely," says our author, "to preach down the heresies and blasphemies of Richard Coppin, and his bigoted followers." He died at Rochester in the month of March, 1658, leaving behind him the character of a godly and painful preacher.* He published a work entitled, "The Church the proper Subject of the New Covenant," 1646; and "Several Sermons," 1657.

JOHN BEVERLY was fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. Towards the close of life he settled at Rowell in Northamptonshire; where, by his pious and useful labours, he gathered a church according to the model of the independents. Having been instrumental in the conversion of about thirty persons, he united them in church fellowship, upon congregational principles, when they entered into a covenant to walk with each other in the order of the gospel. The tenor of their covenant was, "To walk together with God, in gospel faith and order, as a particular church, in the performance of all duties towards God, towards each other, and towards all men, in the strength of the spirit of Christ, and according to his word." They chose Mr. Beverly their pastor, two elders, and two deacons. This was in the year 1656. Under Mr. Beverly's ministry, many of the inhabitants of the town were awakened and received into the church. But his excellent and useful labours were not long continued among them after the above period; for he died in the month of June, 1658. After his death, the good people who composed his church mostly attended upon the ministry of Mr. Thomas Browning of Desborough. Upon his ejection, in 1662, they invited him to the office of pastor, and he continued with them to the day of his death. This church is

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 149.

still in existence, and in rather a flourishing state, under the pastoral care of Mr. John Wood. Mr. Beverly was author of several pieces on church government: as, “The Grand Point of Church Matters.”—A Tract against Hornbeck *de Indepentismo*, in Latin.—And a piece against free Admission, opposed to the Contradictions of Timson, published in 1659.*

WILLIAM CARTER was born in the year 1605, and educated in the university of Cambridge, after which he became a very popular preacher in London. In the year 1643, he was appointed one of the licensers of the press; and, the same year, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, upon which he constantly attended. After some time he joined the independents, became one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, and discovered his great zeal, learning, and moderation in support of their distinguishing sentiments.† In 1654, he was appointed one of the tryers of public preachers, in which capacity Dr. Walker has endeavoured to depreciate his memory, with that of other learned divines.‡ He had frequent offers of preferment, but, being dissatisfied with the parochial discipline of those times, he refused them all. He was, nevertheless, indefatigable in his ministry, preaching twice every Lord’s day to two large congregations in the city, besides weekly lectures and other occasional services. He was one of the preachers before the parliament. His incessant and arduous labours wasted his strength, and put an end to his life about the month of June, 1658, aged fifty-three years. He was a good scholar, an admired preacher, and a man of most exemplary piety. His relations were afterwards great sufferers by the purchase of bishops’ lands.§ He was author of a sermon entitled, “Israel’s Peace with God Benjamin’s Overthrow; preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn Fast, July 27, 1642.”

* Meen’s MS. Collec. p. 413, 414.—Palmer’s Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 31—33.

† Dissenting Brethren’s Reasons, p. 40—.

‡ Walker’s Attempt, part i. p. 174, 175.

§ Neal’s Puritans, vol. iii. p. 46.

JOHN HARRIS, D. D.—This learned person was the son of Mr. Richard Harris, rector of Hardwick in Buckinghamshire; born at that place in the year 1588, educated in grammar learning at Wickham school, near Winchester, and admitted perpetual fellow of New College, Oxford. In the year 1617 he was unanimously elected one of the procurators of the university; and two years after was chosen Greek professor, both of which offices he filled with great honour. Afterwards, he was prebendary of Winchester, rector of Meanstock in Hampshire, and, in the year 1630, he became warden of Wickham college. In the beginning of the civil wars, he took part with the parliament, and was appointed one of the assembly of divines; when he took the covenant and other oaths, and kept his wardenship to the day of his death. He died August 11, 1658, aged seventy years, and his remains were interred in the chapel belonging to Wickham college. Dr. Harris was so admirable a Grecian, and so eloquent a preacher, that Sir Henry Savile used to call him the second Chrysostom.* He published "A short View of the Life of Dr. Arthur Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells," 1629. Several of his letters to the celebrated Dr. Twisse were also published by Mr. Henry Jeanes, in 1653. One of these letters was "Of God's finite and infinite Decrees;" another, "Of the Object of Predestination." It does not appear, however, that he was any relation to Dr. Robert Harris, another puritan divine who lived at the same time.

THOMAS GOODWIN.—This excellent servant of Christ was some years minister at South Weald in Essex, where he was much beloved, and eminently useful. He was a divine of puritan principles, and deeply concerned for the purity and spirituality of christian worship. Though he died young, he was a person of great learning, exemplary piety, and universal reputation. Mr. Bownd, who preached his funeral sermon, gives the following account of him: "He was an eminent light and pillar in the church where he lived. He gave evident proof that he was one in Christ, and is now blessed. He was a good and precious man, and well known to be a minister of great worth, every way qualified for the work to which he was called. It was his desire from a youth to be a minister of the gospel; and, according to that desire, the Lord in due time called him to his service. To his quali-

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 144.—Echard's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 827.

fications for the sacred office, his brethren in the county, with many others in more distant places, could give ample testimony.

He was a learned and a godly person, and it is difficult to say which of the two had the pre-eminence: they seemed to keep pace, and he was eminent in both. He was a great proficient in the study of divinity and in a knowledge of the holy scriptures. Like Ezra, he was a ready scribe in the law of the Lord; and, like Apollos, mighty in the scriptures. Though he was young, his attainments were very great; God gave unto him abundantly of his spirit. In prayer he had much of the spirit of devotion, and was filled with the breathings of the Holy Ghost. In preaching, he was very powerful, and spoke directly to the hearts of his hearers. In his life, he was most exemplary, both as a christian and a minister. His preaching was admired by the godly and the learned, yet persons of the meanest capacity could understand him. He had such a winning method, that his sermons were never tedious, but the attention of his hearers seemed to be chained to his lips. He took great pains in his ministry, and was frequently engaged in preaching, in which he took great delight. The love of Christ, and the souls of the people, made frequent preaching his recreation and his pleasure.

This faithful minister of Christ was very zealous in promoting a further reformation of the church. The zeal of God's house did even eat him up. In the cause of God he manifested undaunted courage, and laboured vigorously to promote the Redeemer's kingdom and glory, whatever oppositions were in the way. One might stand upon his grave and say, "Here lies one who never feared the face of any man." He was never proudly puffed up with his rare endowments; but, in the whole of his conversation, he discovered a happy degree of humility and holiness. He lived free from worldly incumbrances, but full of cares for God's glory and the salvation of his people. He was deeply concerned for persons in sickness and death. He used to tell me, says our author, how sadly it affected his heart when any one was sick, or taken away by death, and he, the pastor, have no knowledge of his condition. He naturally cared for the souls of the people; and he sought not his own things, but the things of Jesus Christ. He was a minister of the gospel, and he endeavoured to fulfil his ministry. He made his work his business, and "studied to approve himself unto God a workman that needed not to be ashamed."

As this righteous man lived, so he died, and his end was

happy. During the sickness of which he died, I visited him, says Mr. Bownd, and having recommended submission to the will of God under all his dispensations, he readily concurred, and added, "But my desire is to reach further, and not only to submit, which an ordinary christian may do, but to raise up myself to courage and cheerfulness under the rod. Blessed be God, that hitherto I can date his choicest mercies from some great affliction." Having exhorted him to the lively exercise of faith, that he might be able to quench the fiery darts of the devil, he replied, "I bless God, that Satan hath, as yet, got no ground by this affliction." Coming to him on another occasion, and finding him greatly reduced, he said, "Dear friend, two days since I overheard the doctor speaking to my wife, as if he feared me; and I bless God who so ordered it that I should hear him. For, indeed, till then, I did not so seriously consider of death, as I have done since. I did all along in my sickness set my heart to labour for a sanctified use of the Lord's hand; but, overhearing that, I thought it needful to look most carefully into my heart as to evidences for eternity; and truly, upon a thorough search of my heart, I bless God, I find good old evidences, though I be but a young man, and they stick very close to me. But, friend," said he, "one thing I must tell you, which troubles and afflicts my spirit very much, that when I grew very serious, being exercised about serious work, the searching of my heart for eternity-evidences, I perceived this seriousness of mine was judged by some to be melancholy, for fear of death. Now this, indeed, troubles me very much, that any should take me to be such a one who am afraid to die."

I afterwards called upon him, says his pious biographer, and told him that his friends were about to meet together to offer up prayer to God for him; when, after pausing a little, he broke out in most affectionate expressions of the sense he had of his people's love to him, and how greatly he loved them, saying, "Oh my poor people! Oh the souls of my poor people! How dear, how precious are they to me! Oh, if God should spare me, how would I lay out myself for them!" He then wished me to commend him to his people, and tell them, that which he desired them to beg of God was a clearer sense of his love, saying, "Not that I altogether want it; for, I bless God, I have it;" but could say no more.

The next time I called upon him, continues Mr. Bownd, I heard from his mouth a most precious and powerful discourse concerning the sweetness and fulness of Christ. He

spoke just as if he had been preaching from the pulpit. I could not help wondering to hear him deliver a discourse so clear and methodical, quoting the scriptures, and not failing in the sense, almost without faltering. He very impressively rehearsed those words, "All things are yours, whether Paul or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things;" when he could proceed no further, but afterwards added, "because ye are Christ's." He afterwards said, "Well, it is a sweet thing when he that speaks of Christ hath Christ dwelling in him, at the time when he speaks;" and then gave up the ghost. He died in the prime of life, and in the midst of his usefulness, September 4, 1658;* but whether he was any relation to the celebrated Dr. Thomas Goodwin, or to Mr. John Goodwin, both of whom lived at the same time, we have not been able to learn.

ROBERT HARRIS, D. D.—This learned divine was born at Broad Campden in Gloucestershire, in the year 1578, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he became an excellent scholar, and a famous logician and disputant. By the blessing of God upon his studies, and the pious instructions of his tutor, he was brought to a saving knowledge of the gospel, and soon after became a celebrated puritan. He preached his first sermon at Chipping Campden in his native county. Such, however, is said to have been the ignorance of the times, that when he came to the church there was no Bible to be found; and it was with much difficulty that he could procure one to carry with him into the pulpit. Indeed, the vicar of the parish possessed a Bible, to whose house he was directed; but, as it had not been seen for many months, it was with great difficulty it could be found. Having at length procured the sacred volume, he went to the church and preached an admirable sermon from Rom. x. i.†

The excellent Mr. Dod being silenced for nonconformity, and ejected from Hanwell in Oxfordshire, Sir Anthony Cope invited Mr. Harris to become his successor. He, accordingly, removed to Hanwell, though with much grief and fear. The people would own no man as their pastor except him who had been ejected. It was, however, agreed upon that Mr. Harris should preach so long as there was any hope of recovering Mr. Dod. During this unsettled state at Hanwell,

* Bownd's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Goodwin.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 314, 315.

Archbishop Bancroft presented the living to one of his chaplains, on pretence of a lapse. But Sir Anthony Cope, then sitting in parliament, together with several other members of the house, waited upon the archbishop, and presented Mr. Harris, whom his grace, after a long contest, reluctantly admitted. Sir Anthony having formerly spoken against insufficient ministers, not without some reflection upon the intolerant proceedings of the archbishops and bishops, Bancroft embraced this opportunity of shewing his resentment; and, therefore, referred Mr. Harris to be strictly examined by the most learned of his chaplains. The chaplain, after sufficient examination, returned Mr. Harris *moderately learned*. This proving unsatisfactory to the archbishop, he was committed to the examination of Bishop Barlow, a person exactly suited to Bancroft's wishes. The bishop was a person of great wit and learning, and extremely glad of the opportunity. He examined Mr. Harris first in divinity, then in other branches of learning, particularly the Greek, in which his lordship was esteemed a celebrated critic. As the story is related, "they Greeked it till they were both run aground for want of words; upon which they burst into a fit of laughter, and so gave it over."* Barlow returned to the archbishop, and, delivering a most favourable testimony, his grace, it is said, was satisfied.

Mr. Harris being now settled at Hanwell, Mr. Scudder at Drayton, and Mr. Whately at Banbury, they became particularly intimate, and were united in judgment and affection. Mr. Harris married Mr. Whately's sister, and Mr. Scudder his wife's sister. These divines commonly met together once a week, to translate and analyze a chapter of the Bible. This practice was productive of numerous good effects, by stirring them up to greater diligence, and promoting their mutual edification.

Though Mr. Harris was thus comfortably settled, he was called to endure many trials. His faith and patience were much exercised by his wife's long and painful illness. This affliction, said Mr. Dod, was designed to season him and fit him for his work. "And I should have been spoiled," says Mr. Harris, "had I not been thus taken down. Young ministers know not on what ground they tread till God make them humble." He, nevertheless, found much encouragement in his work. His people began to relish his ministry, and the Lord greatly blessed his labours. He did not feed

* Clark's Lives, p. 318.

them with airy notions, and dry speculations, but with "the sincere milk of the word;" and in a method adapted to those of the meanest capacity. And God is said to have so wonderfully blessed his endeavours, that there was not one prayerless family in Hanwell, nor one person who refused his examination and instruction previous to receiving the Lord's supper.

In this situation he continued about forty years, blessed in himself, and made a blessing to his people, until the commencement of the civil wars. The bloody battle of Edgehill, only a few miles distant, was fought October 23, 1642, being the Lord's day; yet, the wind being contrary, he did not hear the least noise of it till the public exercises of the day were over; nor could he believe the report of a battle till soldiers, besmeared with blood, came to make it known. From this time his troubles increased. Rude soldiers were quartered upon him, some calling him *round-head*, others *malignant*; but he continued to attend upon his numerous duties as at other times. One company that was quartered upon him was so outrageous in swearing, that he could not forbear preaching from James v. 12. "Above all things, my brethren, swear not at all." This so offended them, that they swore they would shoot him if he preached again from the same text. Undismayed by their threatenings, he ventured to preach from the same words the following sabbath; when, as he was preaching, he observed a soldier preparing his firelock, as if he meant to shoot; but Mr. Harris went on without fear, and finished his discourse without interruption.* He, indeed, endured the storm till he had suffered very material injury, and was at length driven from the place.

Mr. Harris, being forced from his flock, fled to London, when he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and preached at St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate. He was one of the preachers before the parliament. In the year 1646, he was appointed one of the six preachers to the university of Oxford; and, the year following, one of the visitors. Dr. Walker, with his usual slander, observes, that when the visitors proceeded to open their visitation, they began, as they did all their other distinguished wickedness, and according to their usual hypocrisy, with *prayers* and *a sermon*! The sermon was preached by Mr. Harris.† He, at the same time, took his doctor's degree, was made presi-

* Clark's Lives, p. 321.

† Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 127.

dent of Trinity college, and became rector of Garlington, near Oxford. He governed his college with great prudence, gaining the affections of all the fellows and students, who revered him as a father.

Dr. Harris, in his last sickness, being desired to admit company, said, "It is all one to me whether I am left alone or have my friends with me. My work is now to arm myself for death, which now assaults me, and apply myself to that great encounter." Accordingly, he spent all his time in prayer, meditation, and reading the scriptures; and when he became unable to read himself, his friends read to him. He said to them, "You must put on all the armour of God, and then go forth in the strength of the Lord. Stand in the fight, and the issue will be glorious: only forget not to call in the help of your General. Do all from him and under him." Being asked whence he derived his comfort, he said, "From Christ and the free grace of God." When it was signified that he might take much comfort from his labours and usefulness, he replied, "All is nothing without a Saviour. Without him my best works would condemn me. Oh! I am ashamed of them, being mixed with so much sin. Oh! I am an unprofitable servant. I have not done any thing for God as I ought. Loss of time sits heavy upon my spirit. Work, work apace. Be assured nothing will more trouble you, when you come to die, than that you have done no more for God, who has done so much for you." He said, "I never saw the worth of Christ, nor tasted the sweetness of God's love, in so great a measure as I do now." When his friends asked what they should do for him, he replied, "You must not only pray for me, but praise God for his unspeakable mercy to me. O, how good is God! Entertain good thoughts of him. We cannot think too well of him, nor too ill of ourselves. I am now going home, even quite spent. I am on the shore, but leave you still tossing on the sea. Oh! it is a good time to die in." Afterwards, being asked how he did, he said, "In no great pain, I praise God, only weary of my useless life. If God hath no more work for me to do, I would be glad to be in heaven, where I shall serve him without distractions. I pass from one death to another; yet I fear none. I praise God that I can live, and dare die. If God hath more work for me to do, I am willing to do it, though my infirm body be very weary." He professed that he lived and died in that faith which he preached, and found its unspeakable comforts now in the immediate prospect of death. He closed his eyes in

peace, resigning his soul to God, December 11, 1658, aged eighty years.*

Mr. Clark gives the following account of his excellent endowments:—He was a hard student, endowed with great parts, and furnished with all manner of learning necessary to a divine. He was a pure and elegant Latinist, very exact in the Hebrew, and much admired as a subtle, clear, and ready disputant. He excelled in chronology, church history, the councils, case divinity, and in the knowledge of the fathers. But his parts were best seen in the pulpit. His gifts in prayer were very great; his affections warm and fervent; his petitions weighty and substantial; and his language, pertinent, unaffected, and without tautology. He preached with learned plainness, unfolding the great mysteries of the gospel to persons of the meanest capacities. He used to say, “a preacher hath three books to study: the *Bible*, *himself*, and his *people*.” He observed, that the humblest preachers converted the greatest number of souls, not the most learned scholars while unbroken. He valued no man for his gifts, but for his humility under them. Nor did he expect much from any man, were his parts ever so great, till he was broken by temptations and afflictions. He was a man who ruled well his own house, was of great moderation about church discipline, exceedingly charitable to the poor, and eminently distinguished for humility, mortification, and self-denial. In short, he was richly furnished with every necessary qualification to render him a complete scholar, a wise governor, a profitable preacher, and an excellent christian.†

Notwithstanding this account from the impartial pen of one who must have been well acquainted with him, Dr. Walker has stigmatized him as “a notorious pluralist.” He rests the evidence of this slanderous accusation upon the authority of a scurrilous and abusive letter, published to expose and pour contempt upon the puritans. The doctor also observes, “that he had somewhere read, that in those times Dr. Harris’s picture was drawn with one steeple upon his head, and others coming out of his pockets.” We shall not attempt to justify pluralities. They are undoubtedly indefensible. Yet the satire had certainly been more seasonable, if pluralities did no where exist among rigid churchmen.‡ Respecting this charge, Dr. Harris himself made the following open and generous declaration: “I stood clear,” says

* Clark’s *Lives*, p. 325—327.

† Ibid. p. 327—331.

‡ Walker’s *Attempt*, part i. p. 127.

he, "in my own conscience, and in the consciences of those who best knew me. I was far from allowing nonresidence and a plurality of livings; yet, to such as were ignorant of all circumstances, there was some appearance of evil."* He undoubtedly possessed several benefices; but whether he received the profits of them all, and enjoyed them all at the same time, appears extremely doubtful. Though Dr. Grey denominates him "a fanatical hero, and a professed enemy to the constitution, both in church and state;" yet he in part acquits him of the vile charge, and invalidates, in a great measure, the authority of the above scurrilous letter.†

The Oxford historian brings accusations against Dr. Harris, which, if true, would prove him to have been one of the basest of men. He charges him with having taken for his own use two bags of gold, containing one hundred pounds each, which he found among some old rubbish in Trinity college, soon after he became president. He also affirms, that Dr. Harris told several most glaring falsehoods, with a view to secure the money to himself. Though our documents will not afford us materials for a complete refutation of these charges; yet the whole of what is asserted, and especially the worst part of it, is so contrary to the uniform spirit and deportment of this learned and pious divine, that the account appears extremely suspicious, and only designed to reproach the memory of the puritans.‡

Dr. Harris's last will and testament contains much excellent advice to his wife and numerous children, but is too long for our insertion.§ His works came forth at different times, but were afterwards collected and published in one volume folio, in 1654. The pious Bishop Wilkins passes an high encomium upon his sermons.|| It does not appear whether he was any relation to Dr. John Harris, whose memoir is given in a foregoing article.

CHRISTOPHER FEAKE was first a minister in the established church, afterwards he joined the brethren of the separation, espoused the sentiments of the baptists, became a fifth monarchy-man, and was exceedingly zealous in the cause. Edwards, who styles him a great sectary, gives the

* Clark's Lives, p. 323.

† Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 298, 299.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 748.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 336—338.

|| Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

following curious and amusing account of him: "This Master Feake, within this twelvemonth, was preacher in London, and hath preached many strange and odd things at Peter's in Cornhill, besides Wool-church, and other places: as, for separation from our assemblies, expressing many heterodox things about mixed communion at the Lord's supper, against maintenance of ministers by tithes; and, in sermons and prayers, hath had many flings at the assembly; but now is preacher in the town of Hertford, and in All-saints, the greatest parish and church of that town, being put into a sequestrated living by the power of some of the independents. As for his carriage at Hertford, where he hath preached since last January, it hath been as follows: His preaching and praying shews him to be no friend to the assembly, nor to the directory; he hath never used the Lord's prayer since he went thither, but hath preached against the use of it as a prayer. It is observed of him by understanding men, his auditors, that they never heard him appoint or sing a psalm; he reads but one chapter, or a piece of a chapter, and hath not baptized any since his going. One of the committee, a justice of peace, put up some articles against him at the assizes at Hertford, to both judges then on the bench. The first was this, 'That God would destroy not only unlawful government, but lawful government, not only the abuse, but the use of it; and as he had begun to destroy it in England, so would he, by raising combustions in the bowels of France and Spain; and that he would destroy aristocracy in Holland, for tolerating arminianism.' When he denied the words, one being present and asked, affirmed him to have preached thus; and there are found four others, understanding men and of good worth, who will testify the same. When Master Feake explained himself before the judges, that there was in monarchy and aristocracy an enmity against Christ, which he would destroy; and as he was preaching, some turbulent fellows and sectaries clambered up by the bench, and cried out, 'My lord, my lord, Mr. Pr. doth it in malice: we will maintain our minister with our blood.' Whereupon the judge threw away the paper, and said he would hear no more of it, though he had before commanded Master Eldred to read openly all those heterodoxies. The Lord's day following Master Feake in the pulpit endeavoured to answer all the articles put up against him to the judges, in a great auditory."*

* Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 81, 147, 148.

Upon the sequestration of Mr. William Jenkin he became minister of Christ's church, London,* and afterwards one of the lecturers at Blackfriars; but was most violent against Cromwell's government. He is denominated a bold and crafty orator, of high reputation among the anabaptists. He preached with great bitterness against the civil administration during the commonwealth, but especially against the protector, calling him "the man of sin, the old dragon, and the most dissembling and perjured villain in the world;" and desired, that if any of his friends were present, they would go and tell him what he said.† The protector, therefore, to support his own authority, ordered him to be taken into custody. He was apprehended in the year 1653, when he was carried before Cromwell and the council, and committed prisoner to Windsor-castle.‡ The baptists, disliking the proceedings of government, protested against them in a work entitled, "A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ, and godly people in and about the city of London, concerning the kingly interest of Christ, and the present sufferings of his cause and saints in England," 1654. In this piece they declare, "That they value the churches of Christ, which are the lot of God's inheritance, a thousand times beyond their own lives; that it is their duty to persevere therein to the utmost hazard of their lives; that the Lord made them instruments to vex all in his sore displeasure, who take counsel against Christ, whom the Lord hath anointed and decreed king; and that they were not merely the servants of man; and that they not only proclaimed Jesus Christ to be king, but that they would submit to him alone upon his own terms, and admit him only to the exercise of his royal authority." This declaration was subscribed by a great number of persons; ten of whom are said to be "of the church that walks with Mr. Feake, now close prisoner for this cause of Christ, at Windsor-castle."§ He remained under confinement several years; was in prison in 1655; but enjoyed his liberty in 1657.¶ These tribulations did not cause him to desist from his public labours. For he was no sooner released from prison than he renewed his ministerial exercise, and was preacher in the city, most probably at various places, in the year 1658;‡ but when he died we are not able

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 793.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 621.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 67.

§ Declaration, p. 9, 21.

¶ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 485. v. 755.

‡ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 57.

to learn. He was author of several pieces, the titles of which have not come to our knowledge.

RALPH PARTRIDGE was a most worthy minister, and a great sufferer from the persecuting prelates. He was hunted by the severity of the bishops, as he used to express it, "like a partridge upon the mountains, till at last he was resolved to get out of their reach, and took flight to New England." Upon his arrival, he settled at Duxbury in the colony of Plymouth, and was held in very high repute through the country. The synod of Cambridge, in 1648, made choice of him, together with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Mather, to draw up their model of church government. He was a person of great humility and self-denial, and always content with the meanest circumstances. When most of the ministers of Plymouth colony left their places, on account of their want of a sufficient maintenance, this good man continued with his people to the last.* He lived a pious and unblamable life, possessed a grave and solid judgment, was famous in disputation, and much honoured and beloved by all who knew him. This excellent servant of Christ was scarcely ever interrupted in his ministry by bodily sickness, during the period of forty years. He died in a good old age, in the year 1658.†

SYDRACH SYMPSON, B. D.—This meek and quiet divine received his education in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards became a celebrated preacher in London. He was appointed curate and lecturer of St. Margaret's church, Fish-street; but his preaching soon gave offence to Archbishop Laud, who, in his metropolitical visitation, in the year 1635, convened him before him, with several other divines, for breach of canons. Most of them having promised submission, they were dismissed.‡ By the intemperate superstition and bigotry of Laud, and the violence with which he exacted conformity, many eminent divines were driven out of the kingdom. Among these were Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Philip Nye, Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr. William Bridge, and Mr. Sympson. They all retired to Holland, and were afterwards denominated the five pillars of the independent or congregational party; and, in

* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 99.

† Morton's Memorial, p. 153.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 536.

the assembly of divines, were distinguished by the name of the *dissenting brethren*.*

Upon Mr. Sympson's arrival in Holland, he went to Rotterdam; and beholding the good order of the English church at that place, under the pastoral care of Mr. Bridge, he desired to become a member; and, upon delivering his confession of faith, was received into their communion. After some time, Mr. Sympson discovered certain things in the church which he did not well approve; and urged the utility of prophesyings, that, after sermon on the Lord's day, the people might express their doubts, and propose questions to the ministers, with a view to their better edification. This, however, with some other things, produced a misunderstanding betwixt Mr. Bridge and Mr. Sympson; which, at length, caused the latter even to separate himself from the church, and begin a new interest. This new society had, indeed, a very small beginning, but afterwards, through the blessing of God, it became very considerable.+ Mr. Joseph Symonds, another persecuted puritan, succeeded him in the office of pastor to this church.†

About the commencement of the civil war Mr. Sympson returned to England; and in the year 1643 was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended during the session. In all their debates he conducted himself with great temper and moderation. He was one of the five divines who published and presented to the house of commons, in 1643, "An Apologetical Narration submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament," in favour of the independents. In the year 1645 he was appointed one of the committee of accommodation.§ In the year 1647 he united with his dissenting brethren in presenting their reasons to the houses of parliament, against certain parts of the presbyterian government.|| In the year 1650 he was appointed, by the parliamentary visitors, master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, in the room of Mr. Vines, who was turned out for refusing the engagement. In 1654 he was chosen a member of the committee for drawing up a catalogue of fundamentals, to be presented to the parliament. During the same year he was constituted, by order of the council, one of the commissioners for the approbation of public preachers; these commissioners were commonly distinguished by the name of *tryers*. In

* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 317.

+ Edwards's Antapologia, p. 142, 143.

† Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 77.

§ Papers of Accom. p. 13.

|| Reasons of Dissenting Brethren, p. 40, 133, 192.

1655 he was appointed, by a commission from the protector Cromwell, one of the new visitors of the university of Cambridge.* During the long parliament he gathered a church and congregation in London, upon the plan of the independents, which assembled in Abchurch, near Cannon-street.

Mr. Sympson was a divine of considerable learning, of great piety and devotion, and a celebrated preacher. Dr. Grey calls him a celebrated preacher of *rebellious principles*; which is plain, says he, from the following passage in one of his sermons: "Reformation is liable to inhuman treacheries. Pharaoh's dealing was very treacherous. He bade the people go; gave them liberty by proclamation; and when he had got them at an advantage, he brought up an army to cut them off. The reforming of the church will meet with such kind of enemies."† If the learned doctor had not been in the constant practice of ascribing rebellion to the puritan divines, he would have found some difficulty in discovering *rebellious principles* from this passage. And so far from appearing plain from the passage, that he was a celebrated preacher of those principles, we think it would puzzle all the learning of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge to make the discovery. Mr. Edwards censures him for attempting to propagate his own sentiments relative to church discipline, liberty of conscience, and universal toleration.‡ In his last sickness, he laboured under spiritual darkness and some melancholy apprehensions; on which account certain of his friends and brethren assembled at his house to assist him with their prayers. When they took their leave of him, he thanked them, and said, he was now satisfied in his soul, and lifting up his hands towards heaven, exclaimed, "He is come, he is come!" and died the same evening. This was in the year 1658.§ Mr. Sympson published several sermons preached before the parliament, one of which is entitled, "Reformation's Preservation, opened in a Sermon preached at Westminster before the Honourable House of Commons, at the late solemn Fast, July 26, 1643." He was author of some other pieces, the titles of which have not reached us.

* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 197.—Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 27, 183.

† Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 188. ‡ Antapologia, p. 215, 216.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 207.

ROBERT DINGLEY, A. M.—This pious minister was the son of Sir John Dingley, by a sister of Dr. Henry Hammond; was born in Surrey, in the year 1619, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he took orders, and, according to Wood, became “a strict observer of church ceremonies, and a remarkable bower to the altar when he entered the church.” Upon the commencement of the wars, he espoused the cause of the parliament, became an avowed enemy to superstitious ceremonies in divine worship, and a zealous puritan. He was made rector of Brightstone in the Isle of Wight, where he was much followed by those of his own persuasion, for his excellent practical preaching. He was presented to this benefice when Colonel Hammond, his kinsman, was governor of the island. But while Mr. Dingley was thus caressed and followed by his own party, he was *hated* by the royalists, on account of his activity as assistant to the commissioners of Hampshire, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters.* This is the only crime alleged against him, for which he was even hated by the contrary party. He died at Brightstone, in the year 1659, and his remains were interred in the chancel of his own church. Over his grave was the following monumental inscription erected to his memory:

Here
lieth the body
of Mr. ROBERT DINGLEY,
Minister of this place;
second son of Sir JOHN DINGLEY, *Knight*,
who died on the twelfth day of January,
1659,
in the fortieth year
of his age.

His Works.—1. The Spiritual Taste described: or, a Glimpse of Christ discovered, 1649.—2. The Disputation of Angels: or, the Angel Guardian, 1654.—3. Messiah's Splendour: or, the glimpsed Glory of a Beauteous Christian, 1654.—4. Divine Optics: or, a Treatise of the Eye, discovering the Vices and Virtues thereof, 1655.—5. Philosophical, Historical, and Theological Observations of Thunder, with a more general view of God's wonderful Works, 1658.—6. A Sermon on Job xxvi. 14., 1658.

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 155.

JOHN ARROWSMITH, D. D.—This learned divine was born at Gateshead, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, March 29, 1602, educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, and afterwards chosen fellow of Katharine-hall, in the same university. He was elected one of the university preachers, was beneficed at Lynn in Norfolk, afterwards preacher at St. Martin's, Ironmonger's-lane, London, and chosen one of the assembly of divines.* He constantly attended during the session; he united with several of his brethren in drawing up the assembly's catechism; and was one of the divines approved by the parliament to be consulted in ecclesiastical matters. April 11, 1644, he was elected master of St. John's college, when Dr. Beale was ejected, in the following manner:—“The Right Honourable Edward Earl of Manchester, in pursuance of an ordinance of parliament, for regulating and reforming the university of Cambridge, came in person into the chapel of St. John's college, and, by the authority to him committed, did, in the presence of all the fellows then resident, declare and publish Mr. John Arrowsmith to be constituted master of the said college in room of Dr. Beale, late master there, but now justly and lawfully ejected: requiring him the said John Arrowsmith, then present, to take upon him the said place, and did put him into the said master's seat or stall, within the said chapel: and did likewise straitly charge all, and every of the fellows, &c. to acknowledge him to be actually master of the college, and sufficiently authorized to execute the said office.”

Upon his admission, he was required to make and subscribe a solemn declaration, of which the following is a copy:†

“I, John Arrowsmith, being called and constituted by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Manchester, (who is authorized thereto by an ordinance of parliament,) to be master of St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge, with the approbation of the assembly of divines now sitting at Westminster, do solemnly and seriously promise, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, that, during the time of my continuance in that charge, I shall faithfully labour to promote piety and learning in myself, the fellows, scholars, and students, that do or shall belong to the said college, agreeably to the late solemn national league and covenant by me sworn and subscribed, with respect to all the good and wholesome statutes of the said college, and of the university, correspondent to the said covenant; and by all

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 265.

† Ibid. vol. xii. p. 169, 170.

means to procure the welfare and perfect reformation both of that college and university, so far as to me appertains.

“JOHN ARROWSMITH.”

During the above year he was one of the committee of learned divines, which united with a committee of the lords and commons, to treat with the commissioners of the church of Scotland, concerning an agreement in matters of religion.* He took his doctor's degree in the year 1647, and was chosen vice-chancellor of the university the same year. In the year 1651 he was elected regius professor of divinity, upon the death of Dr. Collins, who had filled the chair many years; and was at the same time presented to the rectory of Somersham.† In 1653, upon the death of Dr. Hill, he was chosen master of Trinity college, Cambridge, when he was succeeded at St. John's by Dr. Tuckney; and, in 1655, he resigned his professorship, in which office he was succeeded by the same person.‡ He was appointed one of the *tryers*, and one of the preachers before the parliament. He was a man of unexceptionable character, and of great learning and piety; an acute disputant, a judicious divine, and an excellent author, as appears from the learned productions of his pen, which gained him great reputation. He died in February, 1659, aged fifty-seven years, and his remains were interred in Trinity college chapel, the 24th of the same month.§

Mr. Neal having observed that the learning and piety of our divine were unexceptionable, Dr. Grey adds, “And had our learned historian added, that he was an eminent preacher, and famed for his flowers of rhetoric, I could have helped him to passages in support of such an assertion.” He then enumerates the passages as follows:—“You have endeavoured,” says he, “to fence this vineyard with a settled militia, to gather out the malignants as stones, to plant it with men of piety and truth, as choice vines, to build the towers of a powerful ministry in the midst of it, and to make a winepress for the squeezing of malignants.—The main work of the spirit of grace is to negotiate the treaty of a match betwixt the Lord Jesus and the coy souls of men.—It is a spiritual affection that hath the Holy Ghost for its father, faith for its mother, prayer for its midwife, the word for its nurse, sincerity for its keeper, and trembling for its handmaid.—After some overtures of a match in the reign of king Henry VIII.,

* Papers of Accom. p. 13.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 265.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 601, 935.

§ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 371.—Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 78, 294.—Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 265.

the reformed church in this kingdom was solemnly married to Jesus Christ, when the sceptre was swayed by Edward VI. That godly young prince (as became the bridegroom's friend) rejoicing greatly, because of the bridegroom's voice. The famous nine and thirty articles of her confession then framed, were an evident sign of her being *with child*, and that a thorough reformation was then *conceived*, though but conceived. Many and sore were the breeding fits she conflicted with in Queen Mary's days, and such as gave occasion to fear she would have miscarried.*

In another place, says Dr. Grey, "I shall take the liberty of adding a character of the assembly of divines, from a right reverend bishop of those times;" and then cites his lordship's words as follows:—"You may judge of them," says the bishop, "by their compeers, Goodwin, Burroughs, *Arrowsmith*, and the rest of their ignorant, factious, and schismatical ministers, that, together with those intruding mechanics, (who without any calling from God or man, do step from their *botcher's* board, or horses' stable, into the preacher's pulpit,) are the bellows which blow up this fire, that threatened the destruction of this land."†

The reproachful insinuations of the doctor and the learned prelate are sufficiently refuted from the following account of Dr. Arrowsmith, given by one who appears to have been well acquainted with him:—"He was a burning and a shining light; who, by his indefatigable study of the sublime mysteries of the gospel, spent himself to the utmost, to explicate the darkest places of scripture. This he did with a view to enlighten others in the knowledge of Jesus Christ. He was a holy and learned divine; firm and zealous in his attachment to the cause of Christ, from which no worldly allurements would shake his faith, or move his confidence. He was a man of a thousand. Those who best knew him could give testimony of his diligence, his zeal, his integrity. His public ministry discovered his great dexterity, sound judgment, admirable learning, and indefatigable labours. His soul aspired after more than his weak and sickly body was able to perform. He put forth his energy beyond his strength to do good."‡

His WORKS.—1. The Covenant-avenging Sword Brandished, in a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late

* Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 156.

† Ibid. p. 91.

‡ Arrowsmith's God-Man, Pref. Edit. 1860.

solemn Fast, Jan. 25, 1643—1643.—2. England's Eben-ezer; or, Stone of Help set up in thankful acknowledgment of the Lord's having helped us hitherto, in a Sermon preached to both Houses of Parliament at Christ's Church, London, March 12, 1645—1645.—3. A Chain of Principles; or, an Ordinary Concatenation of theological Aphorisms and Exercitations, 1659.—4. God-Man, 1660.—5. A Great Wonder in Heaven.—6. Tracta Sacra.

PETER BULKLY, B. D.—This excellent person was born at Odell in Bedfordshire, January 31, 1582, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. He had a considerable estate left him by his father, Dr. Edward Bulkly,* whom he succeeded in the ministry at the place of his birth. By favour of the excellent Bishop Williams, who connived at his nonconformity, as he had done at the nonconformity of his venerable father, he continued unmolested upwards of twenty years. Towards the close of this period, his ministry was attended with wonderful success in the conversion of souls. But information was no sooner given to Archbishop Laud than he was immediately silenced for nonconformity.† His mouth being stopped, and having no further prospect of ministerial usefulness in his own country, he sold his estate, and, in 1635, went to New England. He took with him a considerable number of planters, who, upon their arrival, settled at a place which they called Concord. There he gathered a church, became its worthy pastor, and expended a large estate, while most of his servants got estates under him. It was his custom, when any one had lived with him a certain number of years, to dismiss him from his service, and fix him in a comfortable situation, and so take another in his room.

Mr. Bulkly was author of "The Gospel Covenant opened," of which the pious Mr. Shepard has given the following account: "The church of God," says he, "is bound to bless God for the holy, judicious, and learned labours of this aged, experienced, and precious servant of Jesus Christ; who hath taken much pains to discover, in demonstration and evidence of the Spirit, the great mystery of godliness wrapt up in the covenant; and hath now fully opened many knotty questions concerning the same, which have not been brought so fully to light until now."‡ The work passed through several editions,

* Dr. Bulkly was a faithful minister of the gospel, and a person of distinguished eminence. He made additions to Fox's "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs."—See Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 861—863.

† Mather's *Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 96.

‡ Ibid. p. 97.

was highly esteemed, and was one of the first books published in New England.

Mr. Bulkly was twice married. By his first wife he had nine sons and two daughters; and by his second wife, the amiable daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood, he had three sons and one daughter. Old age, and its numerous infirmities, at length coming upon him, put an end to his zealous and useful labours. He was afraid of out-living his work, and died March 9, 1659, aged seventy-seven years. He was an excellent scholar, a thundering preacher, a judicious divine, a strict observer of the sabbath, an exemplary christian, and one who was esteemed as a father, a prophet, and a counsellor in the new commonwealth.* He had three sons employed in the ministry, Gresham, Edward, and John. Edward succeeded his father as pastor of the church at Concord, where he died. John, his youngest son, was educated, and took his degrees, in Harvard college; and, coming to England, settled in the ministry in this country, but was ejected by the act of uniformity in 1662.†

SAMUEL JACOMB, B. D.—This learned divine was born at Burton-Lazers in Leicestershire, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge; of which, in the year 1648, he was chosen fellow. By the religious instruction of his pious parents, together with his attendance upon the ministry of Mr. Ludlam, he was brought under serious concern for his soul at a very early period. Having resolved to employ himself in the ministry, he became a hard student, a good scholar, and an excellent divine. His preaching while at the university was much admired and followed by the collegians and others. He was possessed of popular talents, and was appointed one of the university preachers by the authority of the parliament.

Mr. Jacomb continued at Cambridge about twelve years. Afterwards, he removed to London, and was chosen pastor at St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard-street. In this situation, his excellent endowments were much esteemed and admired, as well by his brethren in the ministry as by the people of his charge. His sermons were so demonstrative, that they were sufficient to convince an atheist; so clear, as to enlighten the most ignorant; so awakening, as to rouse the most careless; so persuasive, as to charm the most obdurate; so

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 97.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 200.

fervent, as to awaken the most formal; and so discreet, as to reduce the most fiery zealot to a proper temper. In conversation he was grave, humble, cheerful, affable, serious, and affectionate.* However, with these excellent qualifications, he did not live four years after his removal to London.

During his last sickness, he felt happily resigned to his heavenly Father's will. "God is wise," said he, "therefore let him do with me as seemeth him good." His complaint beginning to affect his head, and to becloud his mind, he was exercised with fears, and said, "This is the only thing that troubles me, lest I should lose my understanding; but my Saviour intercedes for me: he doth, he doth." His fears were altogether groundless. He enjoyed the perfect use of his mental powers, with solid peace and comfort to the last. His last words were, *There remaineth a rest for the people of God.* He died in the month of June, 1659. He lived and died a nonconformist to the church of England.† And he appears to have been brother to Dr. Thomas Jacomb, the ejected nonconformist.‡ Mr. Jacomb published, "Moses his Death, a Sermon preached at Christ's Church in London, at the funeral of Mr. Edward Bright, Minister there," 1657. He was author of two or three other Sermons. Mr. Patrick preached and published his funeral sermon, from which part of this brief memoir is collected.

THOMAS CAWTON, A. M.—This excellent divine was born at Rainham in Norfolk, in the year 1605, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge. He was desirous of the ministerial work from a child, and was patronized and supported at the university by Sir Roger Townshend. He made uncommon progress in the knowledge of the arts, the languages, and divinity; and his piety was so remarkable, that it became a proverb in the university. The profane scholars used to stigmatize those who were religiously inclined "as poisoned by Cawton's faction, and as becoming Cawtonists." Having continued seven years at the university, he removed to Ashwell, about twelve miles from Cambridge, to live in the house of Mr. Herbert Palmer, another celebrated puritan. His principal object in this removal was the study of divinity, in which he made a remarkable proficiency, and occasionally assisted Mr. Palmer in the exercises of the pulpit. After-

* Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. ii. p. 270.

† Patrick's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Jacomb.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 160.

wards, he became domestic chaplain to Sir William Armin, of Orton in Northamptonshire; where he was exceedingly beloved for his piety, abilities, and faithfulness. Having continued in this situation four years, he, in the year 1637, became rector of Wivenhoe in Essex,* being presented to the living by Sir Roger Townshend. When he entered upon his charge at Wivenhoe, it was a place remarkable for drunkenness, swearing, sabbath-breaking, and almost every other scene of profaneness; but, by the blessing of God upon his faithful labours and exemplary deportment, it soon became equally remarkable for sobriety, the observation of the sabbath, and unfeigned piety. The inhabitants of the town usually brought their fish to sell on the sabbath day, when they kept their market near the church-doors. Mr. Cawton's righteous soul was sorely vexed with their ungodly ways; and, by his faithful and unwearied endeavours, the evil practice was abolished, and a happy reformation followed. It is further added, that he was the means of bringing great numbers to the saving knowledge of the gospel; and that no minister was ever more beloved by his people.† He married the daughter of Mr. William Jenkin, the ejected nonconformist.

Mr. Cawton having continued his ministerial labours at the above place about seven years, his health began visibly to decline, when he was advised to remove to some other situation, particularly for a change of air; and receiving, about the same time, an invitation to Bartholomew's church, behind the Exchange, London, he removed to the metropolis. The change proved happily instrumental in the restoration of his health, and the means of preventing the return of the ague. In London, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who lived in his parish, was his constant hearer and his very good friend. In the year 1648, he united with the London ministers in their declaration against the king's death:‡ and, the same year, was brought into trouble for his zeal in the royal cause. Being invited by the lord mayor and aldermen, to preach at Mercer's chapel, he prayed for the royal family, especially for king Charles II., whom he considered as the legal sovereign: but delivered nothing offensive in his sermon. His prayer, however, proved offensive to the ruling party. The day following, the council of state issued a warrant to apprehend him.§

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 679.

† Life of Mr. Cawton, p. 1—22. Edit. 1662.

‡ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 743.

§ The warrant, dated from Derby-house, February 26, 1648, was the following:—"These are to will and require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to make speedy repair unto any such place where you shall

Upon his appearance before his judges, he was charged with having proclaimed the young king; and that, according to the existing laws, he was guilty of high treason. He was, therefore, required to make his humble submission, and to retract what he had uttered, as the indispensable condition of his release. This Mr. Cawton refused to do, saying, "If I have done any thing not becoming a minister of the gospel, I hope I should be willing to recant." He was then sent prisoner to the Gatehouse, where he continued about six months. But the parliament's forces in Ireland having obtained a signal victory, the house of commons resolved that a certain number of prisoners, and Mr. Cawton among the rest, should be set at liberty, as a testimony of thankfulness to God. He was accordingly released, August 14, 1649.*

Mr. Cawton having obtained his liberty, returned to his family and his flock, and continued for some time in the zealous and laborious observance of his ministerial duties. But in the year 1651, being deeply concerned in Love's plot,† he fled to Holland, together with Mr. James Nalton. Upon their arrival, the English church at Rotterdam being destitute of a pastor, they were chosen co-pastors to the society. Mr. Nalton, afterwards one of the ejected nonconformists,‡ having leave to come back, returned home; but Mr. Cawton not enjoying the same privilege, remained at Rotterdam to the day of his death. His fame, both as a preacher and a scholar, soon spread through the United Provinces. He shone as a star of the first magnitude, and was highly esteemed by the Dutch, French, and English ministers in those parts. He presently became intimately acquainted with the learned Voetius, Leusden, Uchtman, Hulsius, and others, highly celebrated for piety and literature. The publication of those famous works, "Walton's Polyglot Bible," and "Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton," were greatly indebted to his encouragement and exertions.§ In the year 1658, he received a

"understand the person of Mr. Thomas Cawton to be, who preached before the lord mayor yesterday; and him you are to apprehend, and bring into safe custody, before the council of state, for seditious preaching; hereof you are not to fail, and for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant."—*Life of Mr. Cawton*, p. 27.

* *Life of Mr. Cawton*, p. 22—42.

† See Art. Christopher Love.

‡ *Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 142.

§ *Life of Mr. Cawton*, p. 42—66.—The former of these learned works was printed in six volumes folio, and was the first book published in England by subscription. The latter cost the author the assiduous labour of seventeen years. His unwearied diligence employed in this undertaking injured his health, and impaired his constitution; and the immense

letter from Charles II., then at Brussels, in which his majesty attempts to acquit himself of being at all inclined to popery, and urges Mr. Cawton to use his utmost endeavours to suppress all such unworthy aspersions.*

At length, Mr. Cawton having served the Lord seven years at Cambridge, seven years at Wivenhoe, seven years in London, and seven years in Holland, died at Rotterdam of a fit of the palsy, August 7, 1659, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He was a laborious student, an excellent logician, and an incomparable linguist. He had a most exact knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic; and was familiar in the Dutch, Saxon, Italian, Spanish, and French languages. But that which made his excellent abilities and literature appear to the greatest advantage, was his eminent piety and holy conversation. He was highly distinguished for his faith, patience, sincerity, self-denial, and hospitality. As a minister, he was laborious, affectionate, and faithful; as a master, he was the teacher and governor of his house; as a husband, he was affectionate and tender-hearted; as a father, he was ever careful to promote the best interests of his children;† and, it is added, “he was a great honour to his profession, and a pattern of virtue in every social relation. He had few equals in learning, and scarcely a superior in piety.”‡ Wood says, “he was a learned and religious puritan,”§ which is no mean character from his unworthy pen. The learned Mr. Thomas Cawton, one of the ejected nonconformists in 1662, was his son.|| He trod in the footsteps of his father, whose life he published in 1662, with the sermon annexed which his father preached at Mercer’s chapel, February 25, 1648, entitled, “God’s Rule for a Godly Life; or, a Gospel-Conversation opened and applied,” from Phil. i. 27.

HENRY DUNSTER.—This person was a pious and learned divine, who, to escape the persecutions of Archbishop Laud, retired to New England in 1640. Upon his arrival, he was chosen president of Harvard college, Cambridge; which

expense attending it entirely ruined him of his fortune. He spent upon it upwards of *twelve thousand* pounds. The author only received a very poor reward for his incredible and indeed Herculean labours.—*Granger’s Biog. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 29.—*Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. p. 310. Edit. 1778.

* Life of Mr. Cawton. p. 78—80.

† Ibid. p. 7, 31, &c.

‡ Granger’s *Biog. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 47. § *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 432.

|| Palmer’s *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 252.

office he held with great reputation and usefulness for the space of fourteen years. He is said to have been fitted by the Lord for this work, and to have been a most able proficient in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and an orthodox and powerful preacher. He is denominated "one of the greatest masters of oriental learning that New England had ever known."* But having espoused the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, the overseers of the college, in the year 1654, procured his removal from the office of president; when he was succeeded by the worthy Mr. Charles Chauncey.† Upon Mr. Dunster's removal from the college, he retired to Scituate, where he died in the year 1659. He had a principal hand in publishing the Psalms in metre for the use of public worship, among the churches of New England; and in his last will and testament he ordered his body to be buried at Cambridge; and, to the honour of his memory, he bequeathed legacies to those very persons who had been the authors of his removal from the place.‡

CHARLES HERLE, A. M.—This excellent divine was born of honourable parents at Prideaux-Herle, near Lystwithyel in Cornwall, in the year 1598, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford. In the year 1618, he took his degrees in arts; and, having finished his studies at the university, he entered upon the ministerial work. He first settled at some place in Devonshire, where, being always accounted a puritan, he suffered persecution on account of his nonconformity.§ Afterwards, he became rector of Winwick in Lancashire, being one of the richest livings in England. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the assembly of divines, and, upon the death of Dr. Twisse, in 1646, was chosen prolocutor to the assembly. He was appointed one of the morning lecturers at the Abbey church, Westminster, one of the licensers of the press, one of the committee for the examination and ordination of ministers, one of the committee of accommodation,|| and one to assist in preparing materials for the confession of faith. On the dissolution of the assembly, he spoke in the name of his brethren, and "thanked the honourable and reverend Scots commissioners for their assistance; excused,

* Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 282.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iv. p. 127, 128. ‡ Ibid. b. iii. p. 100.

§ Prynne's Breviate of Laud, p. 6.

|| Papers of Accommodation, p. 2.

in the best manner he could, the directory's not being so well observed as it ought; and lamented that the assembly had not power to call offenders to an account.* In the year 1647, Hr. Herle and Mr. Stephen Marshall were appointed to attend the commissioners of parliament to Scotland, to give the Scots a just account of the affairs of England. After the king's death, Mr. Herle retired to his flock and stated ministerial exercise at Winwick, where he continued the rest of his days.

In the year 1651, the Earl of Derby having raised a regiment of soldiers for Charles II., then on his march from Scotland, he sent Lieutenant Arundal, with about forty horse, to Mr. Herle's house at Winwick, which filled the whole family with the utmost consternation, expecting to be immediately plundered and ruined. Arriving at his house, Arundal said to Mr. Herle, "My business is to tell you, that the Earl of Derby wishes you to come to him with all speed; and if you will go, there shall be no further trouble to you or your family." Mr. Herle replied, "I will go immediately, and wait upon the right honourable the Earl of Derby, my patron;" and ordered his horse to be brought out. After some kind entertainment of the lieutenant and his soldiers, Mr. Herle accompanied them to the earl's quarters, who received and treated him with the utmost civility. After some friendly conversation with him, his lordship sent him back, attended by a guard of soldiers. It is also observed, that, after the battle of Warrington-bridge, in this year, Arundal's forces being routed, and himself wounded, he retired to Mr. Herle's house, where he was treated with the utmost kindness.†

During the above year, Mr. Herle was appointed, together with Mr. Isaac Ambrose, Mr. Edward Gee, and some others, assistant to the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters in Lancashire. Dr. Grey says, that, in this office, he acted "with great severity; and how well he was qualified for such dirty work, his public sermons sufficiently testify." He then transcribes from those sermons the following expressions, to prove the charge alleged against him:‡—"Do justice to the greatest. Saul's sons are not spared; no, nor Agag, nor Benhadad, though themselves kings. Zimri and Cosbi, though princes of the people, must be pursued to their tents. What an army of martyrs has God given to the fire for our reformation at

* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 555. iii. 46.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. A. D. 1651.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 276.

first! What a calendar of traitors has he given to the gallows, for our preservation since!"—Whether these expressions afford sufficient evidence of the doctor's charge, or whether he designed it only to reproach the memory of this celebrated divine, every intelligent reader will easily judge. The character of Mr. Herle is too well established to be at all impaired by any such calumny. He was a moderate presbyterian, exceedingly beloved by his brethren in the ministry, and the author of several practical and controversial writings. Fuller justly denominates him "a good scholar and a deep divine;" and says, "he was so much the christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment."* He died at Winwick, towards the end of September, 1659, aged sixty-one years; and his remains were interred in his own church.† Mr. Herle, with the assistance of several other ministers, ordained the famous Mr. John Howe, in his own church at Winwick; on which account Mr. Howe would sometimes say, "that he thought few in modern times had so primitive an ordination; for he considered Mr. Herle as a primitive bishop."‡

His WORKS.—1. *Microcosmography*, in *Essays and Characters*, 1628.—2. *Contemplations and Devotions on all the Passages of our Saviour's Passion*, 1631.—3. *An Answer to misled Dr. Hen. Fearn*, according to his own method of his *Book*, 1642.—4. *Several Sermons before the Lords and Commons*, 1642, &c.; among which were the following:—"A Payre of Compasses for Church and State, before the Honourable House of Commons, at their monthly Fast, Nov. last, 1642."—"David's Song of three Parts, a Sermon before the Honourable House of Lords, June 15, 1643."—"David's Reserve and Rescue, a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, Nov. 5, 1644."—5. *The Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of Churches*, wherein the Question of the Independency of Church Government is temperately stated and argued, 1643.—6. *Worldly Policy and moral Prudence, the vanity and folly of the one, and the solidity and usefulness of the other, in a moral discourse*, 1654.

JOHN ROGERS.—This zealous man was first employed in teaching school, then presented to the rectory of Purleigh in Essex, worth about two hundred pounds a year. But it is said he became a nonresident; and, hiring another to supply his place, he removed to London, and became lecturer at

* *Worthies*, part i. p. 25.—*Church Hist.* b. xi. p. 213.

† *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 151, 152.

‡ *Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 81.

St. Thomas the Apostle's, but was soon after ejected. This kind of usage very much troubled him, and he petitioned the lords commissioners for his restoration, but without success.* He afterwards went to Ireland, most probably with the English army, and was chosen minister of Christ's church, Dublin. But the exact time of his return to England we have not been able to learn. He was a zealous and active man, and in his principles a fifth monarchy-man, and of the baptist persuasion. About the year 1649, he married the daughter of Sir Robert Paine of Huntingdonshire. Wood denominates him "a notorious fifth monarchy-man and an anabaptist, and a busy, pragmatistical fellow;" and says, "he was very zealous to promote a quarrel between his party and Oliver Cromwell, for seeming to unite with them till he had got the reins of government into his own hands, and then leaving them with scorn. He, with Mr. Christopher Feake, one as impudent and forward as himself, were the leaders of their party, and not wanting on all occasions to raise a commotion."†

Mr. Rogers, as well as his brethren, was extremely hostile to Cromwell's government. He openly declared his sentiments against it. In his prayer before the public congregation, he used many such expressions as these: "Hasten the time, when all absolute power shall be devolved into the hands of Christ; when we shall have no lord protector, but one Lord Jesus Christ, the only true protector and defender of the faith. Look in mercy on thy saints at Windsor, who are imprisoned for the truth and testimony of Jesus: be thou their freedom and enlargement."‡ Having repeatedly declared against Cromwell's usurpation, both by preaching and writing, he was apprehended and cast into prison.§ This was about the year 1654. Mr. Rogers and several of his brethren were confined at Lambeth, when no one of their party was allowed to have access to them. In the "Declaration of several of the churches of Christ," subscribed and published during this year, twenty-five of them are said to have subscribed "in the name of the whole body that walks with Mr. Rogers, now prisoner for this cause of Christ at Lambeth prison."||

Mr. Rogers, after remaining in confinement some time, was

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 485.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 442.

‡ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 483.

§ Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 490. Edit. 1699.

|| Declaration, p. 21.

joined by his friends, who presented a petition to Cromwell for his enlargement; upon which he was brought before the protector's council at Whitehall. The council told him that there were high charges against him, and that he was not a prisoner in the cause of Christ, but suffered as a busy-body and an evil doer. His friends desiring that the cause might be debated betwixt the protector and himself, their request was granted. The same evening, therefore, Mr. Rogers was admitted into the presence of Cromwell; and being reminded of the high charge exhibited against him, it is said, he declared that they who brought the charge were drunkards and swearers. But when the protector asked him which of them were, he could name none of them. When the protector pressed him for scripture, in support of his principles and conduct, he said the scripture was positive and privative; and being asked which of the evil kings whom God destroyed, he would compare with the present state, he gave no answer. "Whereupon the protector," our author adds, "shewed what a disproportion there was: those being such as laboured to destroy the people of God, but his work, (speaking of himself,) was to preserve them from destroying one another; and that if the sole power was in the hands of the presbyterians, the fifth monarchy-men, or the persons re-baptized, they would force all their own way: but his work was to keep all the godly of several judgments in peace." When Mr. Rogers spoke against a national ministry and a national church, applying it to what was done in the commonwealth, calling it antichristian, the protector told him it was not so; for a national church endeavoured to force all into one form.*

Several persons of respectability and influence having afterwards interceded with the protector for the release of Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feake, and others, or to have them brought to trial; the protector said, that out of mercy he kept them from trial; "because," said he, "if they were to be tried, the law would take away their lives." They were, therefore, sent back to prison. On March 31, 1655, Mr. Rogers, by an order from Cromwell and his council, was removed from his prison in the city to Windsor-castle.† Here it is probable he remained a prisoner for some time. He was living in the year 1659; but whether he survived the restoration we have not been able to ascertain. Granger styles him "a great fanatic," adding, "that he was no less popular among the anabaptists and fifth monarchy-men, than Love was

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 442.

† Ibid.

among the presbyterians." After Cromwell had deserted these sectaries, he took umbrage at the great popularity and enterprising spirit of Rogers; and was little less apprehensive of Feake, who was also regarded as a leader of that party. They were both imprisoned, and the protector was thought to act with extraordinary clemency in sparing their lives. This was imputed to a secret regard that he retained for his old friends, the independents.* Mr. Rogers's writings are very singular. One of his books is entitled, "A Tabernacle for the Sun, or Irenicum Evangelicum, an Idea of Church Discipline," 1653. In the same year Mr. Crofton published a smart reply to this work, entitled, "Bethshemesh Clouded, or some Animadversions on the Rabbinical Talmud of Rabbi John Rogers." Another of his pieces is entitled, "A Christian Concertation with Mr. Prynne, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. James Harrington, for the true Cause of the Commonwealth," 1659.

MORGAN LLOYD was born in Wales, and brought to the knowledge of the gospel by the ministry of Mr. William Erbery. He afterwards entered upon the ministerial work, and preached, during the commonwealth, at Wrexham, where he is supposed to have been the immediate successor of Mr. Walter Cradock. He was a person of great piety and peculiar ministerial talents, but rather inclining to mysticism. He was fond of expressing himself in figurative and mysterious language; yet what he delivered was often very striking. Several of his letters, descriptive of his character and sentiments, are preserved among the writings of Mr. Erbery, to whom they were addressed; one of which we shall give as a specimen. Though it is without date, it was written about the year 1652, and is as follows:†

"Sir,

"The sweetness of the Father's love in you is very pleasant to my taste. Though you have particularly and clearly written to me concerning the things I desired to know of you; yet your promise of more makes me now only mind you again. We never write, hear, or speak in the light of the Father, but when our inner man is withdrawn from the spirit of this world, which is the devil's street, in which his coaches trundle; which life and spirit of nature is a whirlwind that

* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 50.

† Erbery's Testimony, p. 104, 111, 234.

catcheth many into the fleshly pits and unprofitable forms, and keepeth the poor offspring of Adam in the outward court of this creation. I dare not believe what I hear of you. It is no matter what flesh without truth speaketh; yet love would be satisfied. I long to know the teachings of God within, more effectually concerning the hypostasis of the Lord Jesus, and in what spirit you leave off public teaching, and what the witnesses are, and the olive trees. If men, and books, and letters, were my teachers, I should little know myself in him who fashioned me; but the more spiritual any is, the more communicative, as the angels of the Father. Therefore I enquire what that morning-star is that is risen; what vial, or seal, or trumpet are we under; and what manner of people should we be in this age. It will possibly be as a word upon the wheel, and as apples of gold in pictures of silver, if you will let me hear further of truth from you, and of the wisdom of God, which, though it cannot be comprehended in any words, is thereby hinted, and so communicated. My true love, with my wife's, to yourself and to Mrs. Erbery. I add this truth, that I am

“Yours in the love, light, and peace of

“the Comforter, though as nothing,

“MOR. LLOYD.”

Mr. Lloyd was well known and greatly esteemed in the Principality. Some have supposed that he was a baptist, but this appears extremely doubtful. He was pastor of a church formed upon the principles of the independents, which most probably held communion with certain persons of the baptist persuasion. He was author of several pieces, the titles of which we have not been able to collect. Having finished his labours, he died at Wrexham in the year 1659,* and Mr. Ambrose Mostyn, afterwards ejected in 1662, was his successor in the pastoral office.†

EDWARD BARBER was a person of great learning, and first a minister in the established church, but long before the commencement of the civil wars he embraced the principles of the baptists. He was the means, says Crosby, of convincing many that infant-baptism has no foundation in scripture, and soon gathered a numerous congregation. They assembled in the Spital in Bishopsgate-street, London; and

* Thomas's MS. History, p. 159, 160.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 479.

they appear to be the first church among the baptists that practised the laying on of hands upon persons when received into the church. He was a man of considerable eminence, but he felt the cruel oppressions of the times in which he lived. Previous to the year 1641, he was apprehended by his inhuman persecutors, and cast into prison, where he remained eleven months. The particular crimes with which he was charged, and for which he was thus punished, were, his disbelieving the baptism of infants, and denying that to pay tithes to the clergy was a divine ordinance under the gospel. He endured this persecution, therefore, for exercising the right of private judgment, and believing according to the convictions of his own mind. He died some time previous to the restoration, but we cannot learn in what year.*

Mr. Edwards, who has always something base to say of men of this description, gives the following curious account of a meeting, in which, if the account be true, Mr. Barber was a principal person concerned. November 12, 1645, there assembled about eighty anabaptists, many of whom were members of Mr. Barber's church, in a house in Bishopsgate-street, and held a love-feast, at which five new members, lately dipped, were present. The meeting was conducted in the following manner: When the company were assembled, they commenced their exercise by prayer; and after prayer, all the company being on their knees, Mr. Barber and another person went to them one after another, and laid their hands upon each of their heads, women as well as men, and either prayed that they might receive the Holy Ghost, or said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." They afterwards sat down to supper; and supper being ended, before the cloth was taken away, they administered the Lord's supper. This finished, the question was proposed for discussion, *Whether Christ died for all men or not?* They next entered upon a disputation, which they continued to a late hour. It is also added, that those persons, who, after the laying on of hands, should possess sufficient gifts, were sent forth to preach.† Mr. Barber published a work entitled, "A Treatise of Baptism or Dipping; wherein is clearly shewed, that our Lord Christ ordained Dipping; and the Sprinkling of Children is not according to Christ's Institution; and also the Invalidity of those Arguments which are commonly brought to justify that Practice," 1641.

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 219. iii. 3.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 136, 137. Second edit.

JOHN CANNE.—This learned and zealous puritan was educated in the established church, and he most probably received episcopal ordination, but afterwards espoused the cause of the separatists. According to Neal, he was chosen pastor to Mr. Lathorp's separate congregation in London, when he retired to New England;* but, according to Crosby, he was chosen pastor to Mr. Hubbard's people, upon their return from Ireland. The latter of these historians certainly appears more correct in his calculations.† Mr. Canne, having laboured among his people, by preaching to them in private houses, for some time, was at length driven by the cruel hand of persecution into Holland, where he was chosen pastor of the Brownist congregation at Amsterdam. He is denominated "a known separatist, and hitherto the busiest disputer for this opinion."‡ He continued at Amsterdam many years, and was greatly esteemed and followed by the puritans who went to Holland. He was banished from his native country, as appears from his own words. "Upon my banishment from Hull," says he, "for what cause I know not, there being nothing to this day (1657) made known to me; I went apart, as Elias did, into the wilderness. And as I lay under hedges, and in holes, my soul in bitterness breathed forth many sad complaints before the Lord. 'It is enough, O Lord, take away my life; for I am not better than my fathers.' Often and sore wrestlings I had with my God, to know his meaning and teaching under this dispensation; and what further work, whether doing or suffering, he had for me, his poor old servant."§ He is said to have succeeded Mr. Ainsworth as pastor of his church; but shortly after his election to that office, he was censured and deposed by part of the people, who renounced communion with him and the other part of the congregation.|| This may be true; but it does not appear that he was deserving of such treatment. The party rejecting him were most probably such as could not endure his sound doctrine or his faithful discipline.

Mr. Canne was a person who rendered himself very popular, particularly by his controversial writings. He delivered his sentiments with great clearness and freedom, especially upon the controverted points of church discipline.

* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 374.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 164, iii. 40, 41.—Ainsworth's Life, p. 35.—See Art. Lathorp.

‡ Paget's Defence, Pref.

§ Canne's Time of the End, p. 265. Edit. 1657.

|| Paget's Defence, p. 33.

"None," says he,* "may join in spiritual communion with that ministry which hath not a true calling, election, and approbation of the faithful people to which he is minister. So necessary is a right election and calling to every ecclesiastical office, that, without the same, it cannot possibly be true or lawful. If the ministers scandalously sin, the congregation that chose them freely, hath free power to depose them, and put others in their places." He also adds: "And it is sure that Christ hath not subjected any congregation of his to any superior ecclesiastical jurisdiction than to that which is within itself: so that if the whole congregation shall err in a matter of faith or religion, no other church or church-officer hath any warrant or power from the word of God to censure, punish, or controul the same; but only to advise them; and so to leave their souls to the immediate judgment of Christ."

Mr. Canne, while in a state of banishment, published a work entitled, "A Necessity of Separation from the Church of England, proved from the Nonconformists' Principles," 1634; in the preface to which he thus observes:—"I know what I say, and have good experience of this thing; for there is not ten of a hundred which separate from the church of England, but are first moved thereto by the doctrines of the nonconformists, either in word or writing, taught to the people. And, indeed, upon their grounds, how can any one do less than separate, if his heart be tender against every sin, seeing that they confidently affirm, that the ministry, worship, and discipline are from antichrist, and that in the church are swarms of atheists, papists, adulterers, liars, &c. These are their own testimonies, and we know they are true; and, therefore, in obedience to God, and care of our precious souls, we have left our unsanctified standing in their assemblies, and, through the Lord's mercy to us, do walk in the holy order of his gospel, although daily sufferers for it."†

Soon after the meeting of the long parliament, Mr. Canne returned to his native country. Writers are divided in their opinions whether he espoused the peculiar sentiments of the baptists. Crosby himself leaves the matter undetermined.‡ There is no doubt, however, that he belonged to this denomination. For it is observed, that, in the year 1640, the baptist congregation in Broad-mead, Bristol, separated from the established church; soon after which, Mr. Canne was called

* Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 40—42.

† Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 43, 44.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 41.

to preach among them; when he settled them in the order of a christian church, and declared himself to be a baptist; but did not make adult baptism a necessary qualification to church communion.* The particular circumstances of his introduction to these people are preserved in the ancient records of the church in Broad-mead, from which my worthy and esteemed friend, Mr. Isaac James of Bristol, has generously communicated to me the following curious extract, being the whole of what relates to Mr. Canne:

“Shortly after, on a time called Easter, because Mr. Hazard could not in conscience give the sacrament to the people of the parish, he went out of town to visit his kindred at Lime.† At this juncture, the providence of God brought to this city one Mr. Canne, a baptized man. It was that Mr. Canne that made notes and references upon the Bible. He was a man very eminent in his day for godliness, and for reformation in religion, having great understanding in the way of the Lord. When Mrs. Hazard heard that he was come to town, she went to the Dolphin inn and fetched him to her house, and entertained him all the time he stayed in the city; who helped them much in the Lord. He being skilful in gospel order, like Aquila, taught them the way of the Lord more perfectly, and shewed them the difference between the church of Christ and antichrist, and left with them a printed book treating of the same, and divers printed papers to that purpose. So that by Mr. Canne the Lord did confirm and settle them, shewing them how they should join together and take in members. He exhorted them to wait upon God together, and expect the presence of God with those gifts they had; and to depart from those ministers who did not come out of antichristian worship. When he had stayed some time in the city, he departed, and, on a Lord’s day following, preached at a place called Westerleigh, about seven miles from this city; and many of the professors from hence went thither to hear him, with Mrs. Hazard, willing to enjoy such a light as long as they could: where he had liberty to preach in the public place (called a church) in the morning; but in the afternoon could not have entrance. The obstruction was by a very godly great woman that dwelt in that place, who was somewhat severe in the profession of what she knew: hearing that he was a baptized man, by them

* Thompson’s MS. Collections.

† This Mr. Hazard was minister of Ratcliff parish and St. Ewen’s, Bristol, whence he was ejected at the restoration.—*Palmer’s Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 177.

called an anabaptist, which was to some sufficient cause of prejudice.

“This godly honourable woman, perceiving that Mr. Canne was a baptist, caused the public place to be made fast. Then he drew forth with abundance of people into a green thereby, and sent for Mr. Fowler, the minister that lived there, to speak with him, who was a holy, good man, of great worth for his moderation, zeal, sincerity, and a sound preacher of the gospel, as he approved himself since.* Who accordingly came to Mr. Canne on the green, where they debated the business of reformation, and the duty of separation from the worship of antichrist, cleaving close to the doctrine of our Lord Jesus and his instituted worship. Mr. Fowler agreed there was great corruption in worship, and that it was the duty of people to reform; but at that season, as things stood, it was not a proper time, because they should not be suffered, and should be cast out of all public places. Mr. Canne answered, ‘That mattered not, they should have a barn to meet in, keeping the worship and commands of the Lord as they were delivered us.’ Thus Mr. Canne continued near two hours on the green, asserting and proving the duty of people in such a day; after which they took leave of each other and departed. But the business of preaching in a barn could hardly be received. The thing of relative holiness, and tincture of consecrated places, was not off the people, having been so long nursed up in ignorance and outward form.”

These curious records also add:—“Mr. Hazard being come home, and Mr. Fowler meeting with him, told him his wife was quite gone, and would hear him no more. But she, with those few that had joined themselves together to worship the Lord more purely, after Mr. Canne had thus instructed them, and shewed them the order of God’s house, stept further in separation, and would not so much as hear any minister that did read common prayer. Thus the Lord led them by degrees, and brought them out of popish darkness into his marvellous light of the gospel.”

After the above transactions we find no further account of Mr. Canne for many years. In the mean time, however, he embraced the sentiments of the fifth monarchy-men, and is classed among the distinguished leaders of this new sect.† He afterwards published his opinions to the world in a work entitled, “The Time of the End: shewing, first, until the

* Mr. Fowler was afterwards ejected from this place at the restoration. *Palmer’s Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 254.

† Paget’s *Heresiography*, p. 282. Edit. 1662.

three years and an half are come, the Prophecies of Scripture will not be understood concerning the duration and period of the Fourth Monarchy and kingdom of the Beast. Then, secondly, when that Time shall come, before the expiration, the Knowledge of the End will be revealed," 1657. To this work are prefixed two prefaces, one by Mr. Christopher Feake, the other by Mr. John Rogers, both zealous fifth monarchy-men. The latter styles him, an "aged brother and companion in tribulation," and "this old sufferer and standard against the prelates and tyrants, old and new." Also, in this book, Mr. Canne gives some account of himself, which it will be proper to notice in this place. After stating his deliverance from his seventeen years banishment, he makes the following observations:—"Being brought thus at the feet of God, and there waiting and hearkening what the Lord would speak, I had the former things, for the substance of them, given unto me. And I can speak it in truth, I understood them not till now; but thought *The Time of the End* was to be found out and known some other way. Upon many considerations my soul was sore distressed, and I besought the Lord with tears, day and night, that he would take pity on me, and not leave me to a deceived heart.

"As often as I set my face unto the Lord by prayer and supplication, I found myself more encouraged, and had more of the prophecies opened unto me. Yea, and the Lord knows I lie not, whensoever my heart hath been most melted and broken before him, and my soul swallowed up with the greatest love and longing after his glory; at such times I have been most confirmed, and strengthened to believe, that it was the spirit of truth which revealed these things to me, a worm. Nevertheless, being yet unsatisfied in myself, and fearful lest I should go aside from the teachings of God, I acquainted some of my christian friends with the thing, and how the case stood with me, and desired that the same might be spread before the Lord, which was done several times. Very earnestly was the Lord sought for counsel and direction, that there might be no miscarriage on either hand; and I found the fruit of their prayers a greater confirmation.

"I have not published this treatise," says he, "as I have done things heretofore. For in humility and an awful fear of my God, here I can say, and that truly, *This is a work of faith and prayer*: not of my own labour and study, comparatively, as former things have been; for here I have been more *out of the body*, and with the Lord on the mount. But, oh, I would be humble in such expressions, that the Lord alone

might be exalted ; and I remain still a worm in my hole, and numbered among the dead. Neither have I rested in the experience of God's inward workings upon my soul ; but the holy scriptures have been the man of my counsel. Insomuch that I have not hearkened any further to the persuasions and operations of the Holy Spirit than what I might do, yea and ought, by faith grounded upon the blessed word. The scriptures, through the free grace of a divine blessing, by a humble application of them, have sweetly supported me."*

In this work Mr. Canne gives his opinion of the times, which will undoubtedly afford the reader some amusement. He considered the state policy during the commonwealth as the *second* apostacy. "Are not the tryers," says he, "zealous men against the idolatry of the *first* apostacy? They will tell you, there must be no inventions in God's worship ; but every thing must be according to the pattern, as in the ministry, worship, and government. But what say ye of the character of the later apostacy? Are they not lovers of themselves, covetous, proud? I wish for their own sakes it be not so. The tryers are the great *crackers*, and they think they deserve to be named *mend-all*, as having done a great piece of service about church reformation. This, I think, I may safely say, and that truly by experience: That the present national clergy is more corrupt, and far worse, than it was in the bishops' time. For, first, there were then no professors but could have found, within a few miles of their dwellings, some honest puritan, or nonconformist, to go to, whereby to be refreshed and built up in faith, knowledge, and holiness: whereas now, men may travel twenty, thirty, forty miles, and not find a parish priest that hath any gospel savour in his ministry: no power, sweetness, or life; but old, formal, fruitless stuff, said over a hundred times. Secondly, though it be true, the bishops took little care to reform the clergy, but rather how to suspend and silence, as some do know, such as witnessed against their unsanctified callings and places; nevertheless, if the times be compared, the enormities of the national clergy are less looked into and reformed. I say less now than in the prelates' times. I remember the old nonconformists were wont to call the bishops making of priests, their licenses, and visitations, *the picking of men's pockets*. I wish it may not appear so in the day of Christ, that some of these men have done little better."†

In speaking of the three horns plucked up by the roots, he

* Canne's Time of the End, p. 266—270.
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† Ibid. p. 49, 57, 58.

says, "I shall propound this to the reader, to be considered and weighed by him, whether England, Scotland, and Ireland are not three kingdoms; and these three at one time, as to their privileges, laws, rights, freedoms, broken? And whether this be not done by men who have the characters of the last apostacy upon them, and such as call themselves a state and government, but never could formally put themselves either into a kingdom or commonwealth? I think this certainly may be asserted, that if the present state apostacy be not the little horn, it hath not yet risen. This horn takes two sorts of people for its greatest enemies, the fifth monarchy-men, and the commonwealth men."*

We make no comment on these opinions, but leave the reader to exercise his own judgment. Mr. Canne afterwards published a piece entitled, "A Query to William Prynne," 1659, printed with "An Indictment against Tythes," by John Osborne. The curious reader will doubtless be gratified with the following extracts from this work, which we give in the author's own words:—"A few months before the sitting of this present parliament," says Mr. Canne, "I declared my opinion concerning the late government by a single person, or the *second* state apostacy, how it should be pluckt up, root and branch, by the representatives of the people. These representatives of the people, whoever they should be, (for I positively pitched upon none,) I took to be the earthquake in Rev. xi. 13. Now so it is, and blessed be the Lord for it, we see the same is come to pass, to the great joy and comfort of all upright ones every where.

"This blessed work of the Lord, which is marvellous in our eyes, not only strengthens me in my former opinion, that the earthquake is begun; but likewise what I have there spoken concerning the effects of that earthquake, as to tithes, the carnal church, ministry, worship, and government, with all the corrupt laws of the nation, will, in some short time, be utterly overthrown. The sun may shine, yet not be seen, because it is under a cloud. I am persuaded the great works of the last day are upon us, and the spirit is moving on the face of the waters, howbeit darkness covereth the earth. That I may not be mistaken when I speak of the earthquake, I would not be understood as fixing either persons or time. For, as I said before, the earthquake, I think, is begun among us; yet, for the instru-

* Canne's Time of the End, p. 141, 145, 166.

ments whom the Lord will make use of to carry on this work, it is known only to himself. So the time, though I humbly conceive it shall gradually go forward, and have no more such a death upon it as it had before; notwithstanding, like the hand of a watch, the motion may not easily be discovered."

Mr. Canne next considers some of the glaring evils which arise from paying tithes, which he expected would soon be abolished, and which he thought would be the first effect of the earthquake. "There hath been of late discovered," says he, "such horrid oppression and cruelty in tithe-takers, as, I think, the like was never heard of in any former generation. It is almost incredible what inhuman and most unchristian cruelty hath been lately exercised upon many poor people, for refusing, of conscience, to pay tithes. There seems to be a great desire among the godly, on all sides, to have all ignorant and scandalous ministers rejected. I think, by this time, it doth appear to every one who understands the present state of the nation, how impossible it is, that such unsavoury salt should be cast out upon the dunghill, while tithes do stand. Those who get rid of rooks, as an annoyance to them, destroy their nests. If England be ever freed from such unclean birds, viz. ignorant and scandalous priests, tithes must be taken away. This is that which keeps them in their places, as the nests do the rooks. So long as such a way of maintenance stands, the most unworthy wretches will creep into public places, whatever care be taken to prevent them.

"By wishing to have tithes put down, we are so far," says he, "from seeking to stop the progress of the gospel, that one main end why we desire the removal of them, is to have the gospel thereby advanced, and ignorant and carnal people the sooner turned from the error of their ways. Doubtless, whensoever this shall come to pass, the truth of God, and the power of it, will more increase and spread abroad than ever it hath done since the rise of the beast. Though we are against tithes, we are not against a godly gospel ministry; but would have it in all places encouraged, and care taken that the people every where through the nation may be instructed in a way agreeable to the gospel."

Mr. Canne dates the above piece from his own house without Bishopsgate, London, the 13th of the 5th month, 1659. Kennet confounds him with one John Camm, a quaker, and says, he was sent to prison, in 1658, from the

famous fifth monarchy meeting in Coleman-street.* Wood observes that when Needham, the furious satirist, was turned out of his place of writing the weekly news, in the time of Richard Cromwell, one John Can was appointed to succeed him in the same office; but it is very difficult to ascertain whether this was the same person.† Mr. Canne was certainly a man of considerable learning and piety, and of unshaken constancy and zeal in the cause he espoused; though for want of more light, he appears to have been too rigid and enthusiastic. We have not been able to learn when he died.

That which made this learned person most known to the world, and for which his name will be transmitted to posterity, was the publication of his marginal references in the Bible. He was author of *three* sets of notes, which accompanied three different editions of the Bible. One of these was printed at Amsterdam in 1647; the title of which refers to a former one. "Here are added," observes the title, "to the *former notes* in the margin, many Hebraisms, diversity of readings, with consonancy of parallel scriptures, taken out of the *last annotations*, and all set in due order and place." This is followed by a dedication "To the Right Honourable Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of Parliament." Another is commonly known and has been often reprinted. There was an edition of it published at Amsterdam, in the year 1664. To the title of this edition is added, "With marginal notes, shewing scripture to be the best interpreter of scripture." In the preface he makes mention of another edition, with larger annotations, which he designed to publish: "A work," says he, "in which he had spent many years; and which would still require time and care." We have not, however, been able to learn whether this was ever published. And it is greatly to be regretted that the later editions of that in 1664, though printed in the name of Canne, have the margin so numerously crowded with references, in addition to those originally done by Mr. Canne, that the reader is perplexed instead of being instructed. *His* references are exceedingly apposite and judicious. A new edition of the Bible of 1664, is certainly a desideratum; the printing of which, says my author, would, I am persuaded, reward any correct and elegant workman.‡

Dr. Grey, endeavouring to depreciate the character of

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 73, 363.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 469.

‡ Life of Ainsworth, p. 35, 36.

our divine, relates the following anecdote of him:—"This Canne," says he, "because no human inventions were to be allowed about the worship of God, cut out of his Bible the contents of the chapters, and the titles of the leaves, and so left the bare text without binding or covers."* Admitting this to be the fact, surely it was not in the power of bigotry itself to account what he did a very great crime. It was no violation of any existing canons, constitutions, or act of parliament; nor could it be followed by any very evil consequences, so long as he preserved the whole of the sacred text unadulterated.

His WORKS, in addition to those already noticed.—1. The Way of Peace, or good Counsel for it: Preached upon the 5th day of the second month, 1632, at the Reconciliation of certain Brethren, between whom there had been former Differences, 1632.—2. Syon's Prerogative Royal; or, a Treatise tending to prove, that every particular Congregation hath, from Christ, absolute and entire Power to exercise in and of herself every Ordinance of God, 1641.—3. A Stay against Straying: wherein, in opposition to Mr. John Robinson, he undertakes to prove the unlawfulness of hearing the Ministers of the Church of England, 1642.—4. Truth with Time, 1659.—5. A twofold Shaking of the Earth.—6. The Churches Plea.

EZEKIEL ROGERS, A. M.—This pious minister of Christ was born at Wethersfield in Essex, in the year 1590; at the age of thirteen he was sent to the university, and, at twenty, took his degrees in arts. He was son to the venerable Mr. Richard Rogers, and brother to Mr. Daniel Rogers, both famous for their ministry and nonconformity at the above place. Having finished his academical pursuits, he became domestic chaplain to Sir Francis Barrington, whose family was celebrated for religion and hospitality. Here he was conversant with persons of the first rank, and was greatly admired for his devout prayers, his judicious sermons, and his excellent strains of oratory. After he had remained about six years in this worthy family, Sir Francis presented him to the benefice of Rowley in Yorkshire. This he did, in hopes that his evangelical and zealous preaching would awaken the people in that part of the country to a serious concern for their souls. His church was situated in the centre of many villages, whence a numerous assembly attended on his ministry.

Though great numbers at this place were enlightened and comforted by his preaching, he enjoyed but little comfort

* Examination of Neal, vol. i. p. 231.

himself. He laboured under many fears and great distress, lest he did not experience the influence of those truths on his own heart which he zealously enforced upon others. He trembled to think of his own heart remaining unimpressed with those important doctrines and pathetic expressions, by which others were moved and affected. It very much increased his affliction, that he had not one serious friend in that part of the kingdom, to whom he could communicate the troubles of his mind. His wounded spirit was so deeply afflicted, that he resolved to take a journey into Essex to obtain the advice of his brother at Wethersfield, or his cousin, Mr. John Rogers of Dedham. Upon his arrival at the latter place, it was the lecture day; and, instead of consulting his kinsman, as he intended, he went to hear him preach, entering the assembly just before the sermon. To his great surprise, the subject was perfectly suited to the state of his afflicted spirit; and, before the close of the sermon, all his perplexing doubts and fears were fully resolved. Having obtained the desired peace and comfort, he returned to his stated ministerial exercise with fresh courage, and a remarkable success attended his future labours.* Being naturally of a lively spirit, and having a feeble body, his animated discourses often exhausted his strength. This induced him to study physic, in which he obtained considerable skill.

By the encouragement or connivance of Archbishop Matthews of York, the lectures or prophesyings, put down in the days of Queen Elizabeth, were again revived. These lectures were the means of diffusing the light of the gospel into many dark corners of the land, particularly in Yorkshire. The ministers within a certain district held their monthly assemblies, when one or two of them preached, and others prayed, before a numerous and attentive congregation.† Mr. Rogers took an active part in these exercises as long as the archbishop lived. From one of these public lectures, a vile accuser waited upon the archbishop, and charged one of the ministers with having prayed, “that God would shut the archbishop out of heaven.” The worthy prelate, instead of being offended, as the slanderer expected, only smiled and said, “Those good men know well enough

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 101, 102.

† There are monthly lectures, when two ministers usually preach, still held by the independent ministers in the West-Riding of Yorkshire. These periodical associations, which are often very numerous attended, most probably originated in the above exercises.

that if I were gone to heaven, their exercises would soon be put down."* The words of the good archbishop were, indeed, found true; for his head was no sooner laid in the dust than they were put down. Mr. Rogers, having preached at Rowley about thirty years, was silenced for nonconformity; but, as some kind of recompence, he was allowed the profits of his living for two years, and permitted to put another in his place. He made choice of one Mr. Bishop for his successor; who, for refusing to read publicly the censure passed upon Mr. Rogers, was himself presently silenced.†

In the year 1638, our pious divine, not allowed to open his mouth for the good of souls, in his own country, retired from the cruel oppression with many of his Yorkshire friends, and went to New England. They took shipping at Hull, and on their arrival procured land, and formed a new plantation, which they called Rowley. Here he dwelt near his kinsman, the worthy Mr. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich; and continued about the same period that he had done at Rowley in Yorkshire. Some time after his settlement in the new colony, he was appointed to preach the sermon at a public election, which is said to have rendered his name famous throughout the commonwealth. While he was praised abroad, he was venerated at home. His ministry was highly esteemed and extensively useful among the people of his charge. The principal topics on which he insisted were, regeneration and union to Christ by faith; and when addressing his people on these subjects, he had the remarkable talent of penetrating their feelings, and unvailing the secrets of their hearts. His sermons and his prayers expressed the very feelings and exercises of their souls. They often stood amazed to hear their minister so exactly describe their thoughts, their desires, their motives,

* This excellent prelate, who had been an ornament to the university of Oxford, was no less an ornament to his high station in the church. He was noted for his ready wit; and was equal, if not superior to Bishop Andrews, in the faculty of punning. He had an admirable talent for preaching, which he never suffered to lie idle; but used to go from one town to another to preach to crowded congregations. He kept an exact account of the number of sermons which he preached after his preferment; by which it appears, that he preached, when Dean of Durham, 721; when Bishop of that diocese, 550; and when Archbishop of York, 721; in all, 1992. He died March 29, 1628; when his wife, a person of most exemplary wisdom, gravity, and piety, generously gave his library, consisting of 3000 volumes, to the library of the cathedral of York.—*Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part ii. p. 114.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 343.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 102.

and their whole characters. They were sometimes ready to exclaim, "Who hath told him all this?" His conversation among his people was serious and instructive. He took great pains in the religious instruction of the youth, especially those who had been recommended to him by their dying parents. He was a tree of knowledge richly laden with fruit, from which even children could pluck and eat. He was remarkable for healing breaches, and making peace among contending parties; and so great was his ability and influence, that, when any contentions arose among his people, he sent for the parties, examined the grounds of their complaints, and commonly quenched the sparks of discord before they burst into an open flame. His labours proving eminently useful, it was thought improper, after some years, that a minister of his splendid talents should confine his efforts to one small congregation. He was, therefore, induced to commence public lectures, particularly for the benefit of the adjacent towns, upon which the people attended with great satisfaction. On account of the increase of his labours, an excellent young man was obtained as his assistant. This, however, proved the means of exciting an unhappy jealousy among the people, that Mr. Rogers was not sufficiently zealous for his settlement; and, at length, produced that alienation of affection which was never entirely healed.*

The latter part of this worthy man's life was a dreary winter of trials and sufferings. It was during this period that he buried his wife and all his children. A second wife, together with her little one, was soon snatched from his arms. The very night of his third marriage, his house was burnt down, with all his furniture, and his excellent library which he took with him from England. After having rebuilt his house, he had a fall from his horse, which so bruised his right arm that it became entirely useless, and he afterwards wrote with his left. Under these painful trials, he was cheerfully resigned to the will of God, and enabled to rejoice amidst all his tribulations. Writing to a minister at Charlestown, a short time before his death, he very much lamented that the younger part of his people were so little affected with the things of God, and that many of them strengthened each other in the ways of sin. In this letter he says, "I tremble to think what will become of this glorious work which we have begun, when the ancients

* Mather's New England, b. iii, p. 103.

shall be gathered to their fathers. I fear grace and blessings will die with them. All is hurry for the world: every one is for himself, and not for the public good. It hath been God's way not to send sweeping judgments, when the chief magistrates are godly. I beseech all the Bay ministers to call earnestly upon the magistrates, and tell them their godliness is our protection. I am hastening home. Oh! that I might see some signs of good in the generation following, to send me away rejoicing. I thank God I am near home; and you, too, are not far off. Oh! the weight of glory that is ready waiting for us, God's poor exiles. We shall sit next to the martyrs and confessors. Cheer up your spirits with these thoughts; and let us be zealous for God and for Christ, and make a good conclusion."*

Mr. Rogers closed his labours and his life, January 23, 1660, aged seventy years. He gave his new library to Harvard college, and his house and lands to the town of Rowley for the support of the gospel. A part of the land is said to have been bequeathed on consideration of the people's supporting a pastor and teacher, according to the principles of the original settlers in the country; but this having been long since neglected, the corporation of Harvard college, to whom the land was forfeited, made their rightful claim and obtained it; so that Mr. Rogers is numbered among the distinguished benefactors of that university. But still, in the first parish of Rowley, the rent of the lands left them by Mr. Rogers amounts to more than the salary of their minister.†

WILLIAM STYLES, A. M.—This divine was born at Doncaster in Yorkshire, and educated in Trinity college, Cambridge. On his entrance upon the work of the ministry, he was ordained both deacon and priest in the year 1620, when he was presented by Richard Harebread, esq. to the vicarage of Ledsham or Ledston, to the parsonage-house of which he was a considerable benefactor; and, March 3, 1624, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of Pontefract. He was a divine of puritan principles, was disaffected to ecclesiastical ceremonies, and was prosecuted by the high commission of York for the enormous crime of baptizing a child without the sign of the cross; but Alexander Cooke, by his powerful mediation

* Mather's New England, b. iii. p. 103, 104.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 108.

with the archbishop, got the prosecution to be withdrawn. About the year 1642 he succeeded the famous Mr. Marvel in the vicarage of Hessel cum Hull, whence he was afterwards ejected for refusing the engagement.*

Dr. Walker says Mr. Styles was turned out about the year 1647, for preaching against the intended murder of the king; and was succeeded by one Hibbert, who, it was thought, was not in orders till after the restoration. "I am further informed," says he, "that Mr. Styles was once of the parliament's party, and was in Hull when Sir John Hotham excluded the king, and was present when, upon his majesty's demand of his town and garrison of Hull, Sir John denied him admittance: at which, as I was told by a drum-major who stood by, Mr. Styles clapped Sir John upon his shoulder, and said, 'Honour should sit upon his shoulders for that day's work.' I am also informed," says he, "that he never appeared in the commission against scandalous ministers, but for the safety and deliverance of some persons that were loyal and episcopal; and this I am sure of, that he died a very great penitent, and openly declared, in his last sermon, in favour of loyalty and conformity."† But this account, transmitted in the "Sufferings of the parochial Clergy," says Mr. Thoresby, is full of mistakes.‡

Mr. Styles having refused the engagement, as intimated above, President Bradshaw wrote to Lieutenant-colonel Salmon, deputy-governor of Hull, to turn him by force out of the church and secure his person. Upon this a petition and testimonial was subscribed by the inhabitants, certifying—"That he was a very orthodox and laborious preacher, of a most blameless conversation; and, by his constant and unwearied pains in the gospel, he had won many souls to God; and consequently their loss of him would be exceeding great; that he was a very old man, unfit to travel, and had not a house in the world to put his head in, offering to be bound for his peaceable demeanour; and that if he could not in conscience comply, before the latter end of March, he should then yield to the law." The president was by this means prevailed upon to allow his continuance till the winter was over, when he was finally turned out and driven from the place. Upon his ejection he removed to London, and preached nearly a year in Ironmonger's-lane; but his health very much declining, he returned into

* Thoresby's *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 95.

† Walker's *Attempt*, part ii. p. 373.

‡ Thoresby's *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 98.

his native county, and was preferred to the vicarage of Leeds, with the free consent of Mr. Robinson, the legal vicar, who had been driven away during the national confusions. Here he met with kind reception, and was highly honoured by the magistrates and people, for his excellent practical preaching. Though he was a puritan, he was a person of great loyalty, and had the courage to pray publicly for the king, then in a state of exile. He died a little before the restoration, and, March 16, 1660, his remains were interred in his own church. Mr. Christopher Nesse, afterwards one of the ejected ministers, was his lecturer; and Dr. Lake, afterwards bishop of Chichester, was his successor.* Mr. Thoresby says, he had in MS. his "Catechism preparatory to receiving the Lord's Supper," which he styles, "solid and judicious." He had also some of his sermons in MS. and had seen several volumes of them, written by the aldermen and others, his devout hearers. He had likewise in his possession his judgment concerning several matters in religion, attested by Mr. Hill of Rotherham, who, in the presence of Mr. Wales and Alderman Maxon, wrote it from his own mouth a little before his death.†

PETER STERRY, B. D.—This zealous minister was born in the county of Surrey, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, where, in the year 1636, he was chosen fellow. In 1643 he was appointed one of the assembly of divines for the city of London, and gave constant attendance during the session. He was afterwards one of Cromwell's chaplains, and is styled "a high-flown mystical divine." He lived till after the restoration of King Charles, when he is said to have held a conventicle in London. It is further observed, that he and one Sadler were the first who were observed to make a public profession of Platonism in the university of Cambridge.‡

During the national confusions Mr. Sterry appears to have been a zealous and firm advocate in the cause of the parliament. He frequently preached at Whitehall§ and before the parliament, on which occasions he declared his sentiments without the least reserve. As these sentiments

* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 441.

† Thoresby's Vicaria Leodiensis, p. 96—98.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 84.

§ Edwards's Gangræna, part ii. p. 119.

are selected and transcribed, too evidently with a view to reproach his memory, we shall give them in the words of our author. In his sermon before the house of commons, November 26, 1645, speaking of the discomfiture of the royal forces, he adds, "What ailed you, ye mighty armies, at Keinton, Newbury, York, Naseby, that ye fled, and were driven backwards? What ailed you, ye strong treasons, close conspiracies, that ye trembled and fell, and your foundations were discovered before you could take effect? They saw thee, O Jesus! They saw thee opening in the midst of us; so they fled before us. You sit at the right hand of the Lord Jesus in this commonwealth; as the Lord Jesus sits at the right hand of his Father, in that kingdom which is over all. The Lord Jesus hath his concubines, his queens, his virgins; saints in remoter forms; saints in higher forms; saints unmarried to any forms, who keep themselves single for the immediate embraces of their Lord."* The impartial reader is left to judge for himself what degree of reproach is attached to these sentiments.

Mr. Sterry was author of a number of tracts, the titles of which have not reached us. He appears to have been deeply tinged with mysticism. Mr. Baxter observes that he was intimate with Sir Henry Vane, and thought to have been of his opinion in matters of religion; and that "*vanity and sterility* were never more happily conjoined."† He was so famous for obscurity in preaching, that Sir Benjamin Rudyard said, he was "too high for this world, and too low for the other."‡ Mr. Erbery includes him in the list of divines "who had the knowledge of Christ in the

* L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 10—13.

† Sir Henry Vane, a principal leader in the house of commons, was one of those singular characters that are seen but once in an age, and such an age as that of Charles I. It is hard to say whether he was a more fantastic visionary or profound politician. He did not, like the generality of enthusiasts, rely supinely on heaven, as if he expected every thing from thence; but exerted himself as if he entirely depended on his own activity. His enthusiasm seems never to have precipitated him into injudicious measures, but to have added new powers to his natural sagacity. He mistook his deep penetration for a prophetic spirit, and the light of his genius for divine irradiation. The solemn league and covenant was the fruit of his prolific brain, which teemed with new systems of politics and religion. He deserves to be ranked in the first class of mystics; yet he had a genius far above the level of mankind; and he spoke like a philosopher upon every subject except religion. He preserved a uniformity of character to the last, and died in expectation of the crown of martyrdom. He was beheaded June 14, 1662.—*Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 75.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 213. iii. 109.

‡ *Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 75.

Spirit, and held forth Christ in the Spirit. These men," says he, "are nearest to Zion, yet are they not come into it. For as every prophet shall one day be ashamed of his vision; yea prophesy itself shall fail; so it is manifest these men are of a dark and deeper speech than can be easily understood; therefore it is not Zion."*

It is related by Ludlow, that when news was brought of Cromwell's death, Mr. Sterry stood up, and desired those about him not to be troubled. "For," said he, "this is good news: because, if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions."† This, if true, was flattery or phrenzy in perfection.

EDWARD GEE, A. M.—This pious man was born at Banbury in Oxfordshire, in the year 1613, and educated first at Newton school, near Manchester, then in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. About the year 1636 he became chaplain to Dr. Parr, bishop of Soder and Man, and minister at some place in Lancashire. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament, took the covenant, and, for his great activity in promoting the *holy cause*, as Wood in derision calls it, he became rector of the rich living of Eccleston, in the same county.‡ He was assistant to the commissioners of Lancashire for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters.

This worthy puritan, during his last sickness, laboured under the painful assaults of Satan. After enjoying the sweetest consolations, the enemy was suffered to come against him like an armed man, grievously tempting him to despair of his own salvation. But, by the help of God, he was enabled to resist the enemy, and to say unto him, "Away with thee, away with thee, thou accuser of the brethren: God confound thee." On one of these occasions, observes Mr. Gee, "I was in a most woeful condition; and it was much worse with my soul than any pangs of death. I was so full of horror that I was ready to tumble off my bed into the grave, yea, into the pit of hell. And I was the more full of horror, because I had before spoken so much of my

* Erbery's Testimony, p. 69.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 198.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 163.

assurance and comforts. I was ready to cry out, Oh, damned wretch that I am! But my most merciful Father, at length restoring unto me the joys of his salvation, enabled me to say unto the tempter, 'Thou implacable and irreconcilable enemy of my soul, away with thee, away with thee.'"^{*} This holy, tempted servant of Christ, died May 26, 1660, aged forty-seven years; when his mortal part was interred in the church at Eccleston. He published "A Treatise of Prayer and Divine Providence," 1653; and "The Divine right and original of the Civil Magistrate," 1658.

HUGH PETERS, A. M.—This unhappy man was born at Fowey in Cornwall, in the year 1599. His father was a respectable merchant, and his mother of the ancient family of the Treffys, of Place in that town. At fourteen years of age he was sent to Cambridge, where he became a member first of Jesus college, then of Trinity college. During his residence at the university, he was greatly addicted to the follies and vain delights of youth; but afterwards, by attending the preaching of Dr. Sibbs, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Thomas Hooker, and others, he was awakened to a sense of his sins, and turned from the error of his way. It is indeed observed, that when he was at Cambridge, he was so lewd and insolent, as to be whipt in the Regent's-walk, a punishment scarcely ever inflicted upon any since, or perhaps a long time before, and so expelled for ever from the university.⁺ It is further added, that after this he betook himself to the stage, where he acquired that gesticulation and buffoonery which he practised in the pulpit.[‡] He was admitted into holy orders by Bishop Montaigne of London;[§] and he preached for a considerable time, and with

^{*} Ambrose's Works, p. 764. Edit. 1701.

⁺ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 277.

[‡] Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 54.

[§] Bishop Montaigne was equally zealous for the conformity of his clergy as the rest of his brethren. It is related that, in the year 1622, he sent his servant on a Saturday to the minister who was to preach before him on the following Lord's day, desiring a sight of his sermon. The minister, not coming as was expected, greatly increased the prelate's jealousy, who sent for him on the sabbath morning about an hour before divine service. When the preacher came his lordship began to give him advice, especially that he should take heed and say nothing unfit for the present times. He inquired what was his text; and being told Gal. i. 6—8., *I marvel that you are so soon removed, &c.*, the bishop struck his hand upon his breast, and swore the text was not allowable for those times. "No, my lord," said

great acceptance and success, at St. Sepulchre's in the city. A certain scurrilous writer says, "he set up the trade of an itinerary preacher, never being constant or fixed to any one place or benefice; and he roved about the world like universal churchmen, called jesuits."* Mr. Peters, speaking of his labours at Sepulchre's, says, "there were six or seven thousand hearers;" and adds, "I believe above one hundred every week were persuaded from sin to Christ."† His great popularity and usefulness, together with his nonconformity, at length awakened the envy and malice of his enemies. He was noticed by the ruling prelates; and having prayed for the queen in Sepulchre's church, "That as she came into the Goshen of safety, so the light of Goshen might shine into her soul, and that she might not perish in the day of Christ;" he was apprehended by Archbishop Laud, silenced from his ministry, and committed close prisoner to New Prison, where he remained for some time before any articles were exhibited against him: and though certain noblemen interceded and offered bail for him, it was refused;‡ and at length, after obtaining his release, he was obliged to flee to New England.§

We are aware that several writers of the adverse party have assigned a very different reason for his going into exile. Langbaine insinuates something of "an affair that he had with a butcher's wife of Sepulchre's;" and Granger says, "That being prosecuted for criminal conversation with another man's wife, he fled to Rotterdam."|| Mr. Peters himself appears not to have been insensible of his ill character among his enemies; but he terms it altogether a *reproach*, and attributes it to his zeal in the cause he espoused. "By my zeal," says he to his daughter, "it seems I have exposed myself to all manner of reproach: but

one of his chaplains, who stood by, "the very mention of the text is not allowable for the present times." The bishop said, "Look to thyself; for if thou speakest any thing that shall not please, I vow to break thy neck and thy back too." The preacher replied, that he had nothing to speak but the truth, and so was dismissed. Though his lordship was exceedingly displeased with the sermon, it contained a faithful account of the awful condition of those who forsake the faith they once received: only he observed, that they might expect some application, but he was not ambitious of lying in prison; and thus closed the sermon.—*Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. xxi. p. 104.

* Bates's *Lives of the King's Murderers*, p. 40. Edit. 1661.

† Peters's *Dying Legacy*, p. 100. Edit. 1660.

‡ Huntley's *Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 162.

§ Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 419.

|| *Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters*, p. 34. Edit. 1751.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 54.

I wish you to know, that, besides your mother, I have had no fellowship that way with any woman since I knew her, having a godly wife before also, I bless God.* It may not be improper further to observe, that when he was afterwards under sentence of death, and only a short time before his execution, an intimate friend waiting upon him, put the question seriously and directly to him, whether he was guilty of the above accusation. To whom he replied, "I bless the Lord, I am wholly clear in that matter, and I never knew any woman but my own wife."† A man is not, indeed, allowed to be witness in his own cause; nor should the testimony of his adversaries be deemed a full proof. A person loaded with so vile an accusation as Mr. Peters was, and suffering as a traitor in the way that he did, when party spirit ran high, and revenge actuated those who bore rule; for such a one to be traduced and blackened beyond his deserts, is only what might be naturally expected. What reproach is not envy, malice, and a bigoted party spirit, able to cast upon men of the worthiest character? Mr. Peters's future popularity, and his high esteem among persons of the first rank in the nation, as will appear in the present narrative, certainly render the truth of the above charge at least extremely doubtful.

Mr. Peters having fled to Rotterdam, there gathered a congregation, and formed a church upon the plan of the independents, to which he was chosen pastor. He had the celebrated Dr. William Ames for his colleague in the same church; but this excellent divine did not long survive his removal from Franeker to this place. Mr. Peters continued five or six years, not without the blessing of God upon his ministry, and was succeeded in the pastoral charge by Mr. William Bridge, Mr. Sydrach Sympton, and Mr. Samuel Ward, all famous in their day, and all driven from their native country for nonconformity.‡ Mr. Peters, during his stay in Holland, appears to have behaved himself so well as to procure great interest and a high degree of reputation in the country: "For, being afterwards in Ireland, and seeing the great distress of the poor protestants, who had been plundered by the Irish rebels, he went into Holland, and procured about *thirty thousand* pounds to be sent from thence into Ireland for their relief."§ We hence see how

* Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 106.

† Speeches and Prayers of the King's Judges, p. 61. Edit. 1660.

‡ Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 75.

§ Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 75. Edit. 1699.

little credit is due to Dr. Nichols, that bold champion for high-church principles, who says, that Mr. Peters, *growing into contempt* among the people at Rotterdam, was obliged in a little while to leave the place.*

On the resignation of his charge at Rotterdam, in the year 1635, he went to New England, and was chosen pastor of the church at Salem.† There he obtained a high reputation, and was greatly esteemed in the new colony. By an order from the general court of government, dated Boston, March 3, 1636, Mr. Peters, Mr. John Cotton, and Mr. Thomas Shepard, were appointed to assist the governor, deputy-governors, and others, “to make a draught of laws agreeable to the word of God, which might be fundamentals of the commonwealth, and to present the same to the next general court.”‡ Mr. Peters, after residing there seven years, was sent to England by the government of the new commonwealth to mediate for ease in customs and excise. Upon his arrival in his native country, he found the nation deeply involved in the horrors of civil war; and being obliged to remain in England, he was not able for some time to accomplish the object of his mission.§ He always intended returning to New England, but one thing or another occurred, in those unsettled times, to prevent him.||

Mr. Peters had not been long arrived in England, before he became a zealous preacher in the parliament’s army. In the year 1644, he was with the Earl of Warwick at the siege of Lime, a particular account of which he gave to the house of commons. In 1645, he attended Sir Thomas Fairfax at the taking of Bridgwater; and, bringing letters from the general, he was called before the house, and gave a circumstantial account of the siege; when the house voted him to receive one hundred pounds, as a reward for his unwearied services. As a preacher he was undoubtedly very serviceable to the cause of the parliament. When it was determined to storm Bridgwater, “Mr. Peters, in his

* Nichols’s Defence of the Church, p. 50. Edit. 1740.

† History of New Eng. p. 79.

‡ Backus’s New Eng. Baptists, vol. i. p. 76—79.

§ Peters’s Dying Legacy, p. 97—103.

|| Mr. Thomas Peters, a minister of puritan principles, went to New England during the civil war; and after staying about three years, he returned to his native country. He was a worthy man, and author of several excellent pieces; but whether he was any relation to Mr. Hugh Peters, we have not been able to learn.—*Mather’s Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 214.

sermon on the Lord's day before, encouraged the soldiers to the work."* It would certainly have looked much better, and have been much more consistent with his office as a minister of the gospel of peace and love, if, instead of this, he had excited them as much as possible to spare the effusion of human blood. His conduct in this, however, was not singular. This was too much the spirit and infatuation of the times.

During the above year, Mr. Peters was called before the house of commons; when he gave a particular account of the siege of Bristol, and the cause of sitting down before it, to prevent the plunder and cruelties of Prince Rupert in that part of the country. On this occasion, he pressed the desire of Sir Thomas Fairfax to have more recruits sent him. He afterwards brought letters from Lieutenant-general Cromwell, concerning the taking of Winchester-castle; after which, being called before the house, he gave a circumstantial account of it, when the house voted him to receive fifty pounds. In this year he returned from the army, and gave an account to the house of the storming and taking of Dartmouth; when he spoke of the valour, unity, and affection of the army, and presented letters, papers, and crucifixes, with other popish relics taken in the place. During his stay on this occasion in London, says Mr. Edwards, "he improved the whole of his time in preaching against the presbyterian government, the assembly, uniformity, common council, and the city of London, and FOR A TOLERATION OF ALL SECTS!"† About the same time, having preached in the market-place at Torrington, and convinced many, it is said, of their errors in adhering to the king's party, he was sent, with Lieutenant-colonel Berry, to Plymouth, to treat with the governor. Towards the close of this year, he was again called before the house of commons, and, after giving a particular relation of the proceedings of Sir Thomas Fairfax, he signified, that Lord Hopton's army of five thousand men was disbanded; that Hopton was not gone to Oxford, but had taken shipping for France; that many of the commanders had accompanied him, and others were gone to their own homes; that Pendennis-castle was closely besieged; and that the general intended to return towards Exeter. An order, at the same time, passed the house, for one hundred pounds a year to be settled upon Mr. Peters and his heirs, out of the Earl of

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 88, 156.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 214. Second edit.

Worcester's estates. And shortly after, an ordinance passed for settling upon him two hundred pounds a year.*

Mr. Peters, about this time, became a kind intercessor in behalf of a lady of quality who was under confinement. This appears from a letter written with his own hand, dated June, 1646, and now before me. It begins as follows:—
“To my worthy friend Mr. Rushworth, secretary to the general.

“Honoured friend, I understand that the Lady Harlaw is out, and the Lady ——. You may remember that I had a promise for my Lady Newport, when you know my Lord Newport is here with you. I pray therefore let me entreat you in favour of her enlargement,” &c.†

In the year 1649, Mr. Peters accompanied the parliament's army to Ireland, when he is said to have had the command of a brigade against the rebels, and came off with honour and victory. In a letter dated Dublin, September 15, 1649, he gives an account of the bloody slaughter in the taking of Drogheda, which was as follows:‡—

“Sir,

“The truth is, Drogheda is taken: 3552 of the enemy slain, and sixty-four of ours. Colonel Castles and Colonel Symonds of note. Ashton the governor killed: none spared. We have also proceeded to Trym and Dundalk, and are marching to Kilkenny. I come now from giving thanks in the great church. We have all our army well landed.

“I am yours,

“HUGH PETERS.”

It was the common expression in those days, “that the saints should have the praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands.”§ This was a principle evidently too prominent in the life of Mr. Peters. However, from the above detail, it appears how much he was in favour with the generals and the parliament, and that he must have made a distinguished figure in the transactions of those times. Nor is it improbable that the distinction with which he was treated by them, attached him so firmly to their interest, that in the end it cost him his life.¶ From Ireland, says Dr. Walker, he was sent into Wales, with the commission of a colonel,

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 157, 165, 169, 195, 200, 203, 204, 223, 228, 410.

† Sloane's MSS. No. 1519.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 411.

§ Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 314. Edit. 1810.

¶ Historical Account, p. 11.

to raise a regiment : but having misspent his time, and raised only three companies, Cromwell's wife drew up articles against him. Mr. Peters, hearing of this, contrived, with Colonel Philip Jones and one Mr. Sampson Lort, "to settle a congregational church of their own invention;" hoping by this means to make it appear, that, instead of being idle, he had been all the time very well employed. Afterwards he went to London; and, says our author, being asked his advice, "How to drive on the great design of propagating the gospel in Wales," he briefly delivered it to this effect: "That they must sequester all ministers without exception, and bring the revenues of the church into the public treasury; out of which must be allowed one hundred pounds a year to six itinerant ministers to preach in every county."*

During the wars he had several interviews and conferences with the king; when, says Mr. Peters, "He used me civilly; and I offered my poor thoughts three times for his safety."† Mr. Peters assisted Mr. Challoner in his last moments, being executed for his concern in Waller's plot.‡ He also assisted Sir John Hotham, whom he attended upon the scaffold, and from whom he received public thanks.§

When Archbishop Laud was under confinement, it was moved in the house of commons to send him to New England; but the motion was rejected. "The plot," says Laud, "was laid by Peters, and others of that crew, that they might insult over me."|| The archbishop, at the commencement of his trial, delivered a speech in his own defence, in the conclusion of which, he challenged any clergyman to come forth, and give a better account of his zeal for the church, and his conversion of papists to the protestant religion; when Mr. Peters, standing near his lordship, asked him whether he was not ashamed of making so bold a challenge in so honourable an assembly? adding, that he himself, the unworthiest of many hundred ministers in England, was ready to answer his challenge; and to

* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 147.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 257, 364.—Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 103.

‡ This was a plot of considerable magnitude, with Mr. Waller, a member of the house of commons, at the head. It was the design of the king, and those concerned in this conspiracy, to compel the parliament to a peace; but the confederacy was soon discovered, and several leading persons were apprehended. Challoner and three others were executed: but Waller saved his life by paying a fine of ten thousand pounds, and was banished from the kingdom.—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 487, 488.

§ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 117.

|| Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 203.

produce a catalogue, not of *twenty-two* papists, but of above *one hundred and twenty*, whom he, through the blessing of God, had converted and brought home to God, making them other kind of converts than any he had recited, who were made neither good protestants nor good christians. He further added, that he, and many other ministers in England, were able to produce hundreds of true converts to Christ, for every one of his pretended ones; some of whom, by his own confession, soon turned apostates, and the rest were little better.* Whatever truth there might be in this reply, it certainly discovered Mr. Peters's too great forwardness, while it very much offended the archbishop.

During the archbishop's trial, his library at Lambeth, it is said, was given to Mr. Peters, as a reward for his remarkable services.† The truth of this, however, is rendered rather doubtful, and appears, even from the very words of Laud himself, to have been founded merely on report. "All my books at Lambeth," says he, "were, by order of the house of commons, taken away, and carried I know not whither; but are, as it is *commonly said*, for the use of Mr. Peters. Before this time," his lordship adds, "some good number of my books were delivered to the use of the synod," meaning the assembly of divines.‡

In the year 1651, Mr. Peters was one of the committee appointed by the parliament to take into consideration what inconveniencies were in the law, and how the mischiefs that arose from delays, and other irregularities in the proceedings of the law, might be best and soonest prevented. In this committee were Mr. Rushworth and Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper, afterwards the Earl of Shaftsbury and lord chancellor; besides many others of high rank. "But none of them," says Whitlocke, "was more active in this business than Mr. Hugh Peters, who understood little of the law, and was very opinionative."§ Mr. Peters, speaking of these transactions, says, "When I was called about mending laws, I was there to pray, rather than to mend laws. But in this, I confess, I might as well have been spared."|| Here, in his own words, his ignorance and inability, in things of this nature, are as frankly acknowledged as they are plainly described by the learned historian. But it is

* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 56.

† Walton's Life of Hooker, Pref.—Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 263.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 365.

§ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 496, 497. || Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 109.

difficult to reconcile his being *very opinionative* and his *activity in the cause*, with his attending the committee to *pray*, rather than to *mend laws*.

It is observed of Mr. Peters, that in the year 1653, he prayed and preached for peace, and exhorted the people to peace, and zealously warned them against the sins of the times.* The year following, he was appointed one of the *tryers* of ministers. Dr. Walker intimates that he and Mr. Philip Nye were the most active and busy among them. He brings a foul accusation against Mr. Peters, as if he were guilty of simony. The charge is founded on no other evidence than that one Mr. Camplin, a clergyman in Somersetshire, applied to Mr. Peters, by means of some other person, to obtain a settlement in the rectory of Kingston in that county; when Mr. Peters said to him, "Hath thy friend any money?"† A slender proof is this of so severe an accusation! They who are acquainted with the jocose temper and conversation of Mr. Peters, will not in the least wonder at such an expression from his mouth. Mr. Peters, speaking of himself in the above capacity, makes use of very modest and humble language. "When I was a tryer of others," says he, "I went to hear and gain experience, rather than to judge."‡

In the year 1658, Mr. Peters went to Dunkirk, where he laboured in the capacity of preacher to the English garrison.§ In a letter from Colonel Lockhart to Secretary Thurloe, dated from Dunkirk, July 18, 1658, we have the following account of him: "I could not suffer our worthy friend, Mr. Peters, to come away from Dunkirk without a testimony of the great benefits we have all received from him in this place, where he hath laid himself forth, in great charity and goodness, in sermons, prayers, and exhortations, in visiting and relieving the sick and wounded; and, in all these, profitably applying the singular talent God hath bestowed upon him to the chief ends proper for our auditory. For he hath not only shewed the soldiers their duty to God, and pressed it home upon them, I hope to good advantage, but hath likewise acquainted them with their obligations of obedience to his highness's government, and affection to his person. He hath laboured amongst us here with much

* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 330.

† Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 172, 174.

‡ Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 109.

§ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 674. Edit. 1732.

“ good will, and seems to enlarge his heart towards us, and
 “ care of us for many other things.—Mr. Peters hath been
 “ twice at Bergh, and hath spoke with the cardinal (Maza-
 “ rin) three or four times. I kept myself by, and had a
 “ care that he did not importune him with too long speeches.
 “ He returns loaden with an account of all things here, and
 “ hath undertaken every man’s business.”*

Mr. Peters returned to England at the above period, bringing an abundant store of intelligence to the government. January 29, 1660, when General Monk was on his march from Scotland towards London, he was appointed to preach before him on a fast-day at St. Alban’s; when, it is said, “ he troubled the general with a long fast sermon; and at night too he supererogated, and prayed a long prayer in the general’s quarters.” Our author gives the following account of the sermon on this occasion:—“ As to the sermon, he managed it with some dexterity at the first, allowing the cantings of his expressions. His text was Psalm cvii. 7. *He led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a city of habitation.* With his fingers on the cushion he measured the *right way* from the Red Sea, through the wilderness to Canaan; said it was not forty days march, but God led Israel forty years through the wilderness, before they came thither; yet this was still the Lord’s right way, who led his people *crincedum cum crancedum*. He particularly descended into the lives of the patriarchs, how they journeyed up and down, though blessings and rest were promised them. Then he reviewed our civil wars, our intervals of peace, and fresh distractions, and hopes of rest. But though the Lord’s people,” he said, “ were not yet come to a city of habitation, he was still leading them on *the right way*, how dark soever his dispensations might appear to men.”†

May the 16th, in the above year, an order passed the house of commons, now modelled in favour of loyalty, “ That the books and papers in the hands of John Thurloe and Hugh Peters, heretofore belonging to the library of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, be forthwith secured.” But it does not appear from our author whether any such books were found in their possession.‡ After the king’s restoration, Mr. Peters being apprehended and committed to prison, his majesty sent a warrant to Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, to obtain information of his

* Thurloe’s State Papers, vol. vii. p. 223, 249.

† Kennet’s Chronicle, p. 36.

‡ Ibid. p. 150.

royal father's library; when Mr. Peters underwent an examination, and declared upon his oath, "That, in the year 1648, he preserved the library in St. James's against the violence and rapine of the soldiers; that the same continued three or four months in his custody; that he did not take any thing away, but left it unviolated as he found it; and that he delivered up the key and custody of all to Major General Ireton."*

Mr. Peters was thought to have been deeply concerned in the king's death, on which account his name has been treated with much severity. It was supposed that the warrant for the king's execution was directed to him and Colonel Hacker, and that they were the two persons who were in mask upon the scaffold when his majesty was beheaded. There was some demur in the house of commons whether he should be excepted from the act of oblivion.† But, in the conclusion, it was declared against him, and he was apprehended, committed to the Tower, and tried with the rest of the regicides, in all twenty-nine. Bishop Kennet in one place says, that for a while he had been sculking up and down in secret, but was at length apprehended in Southwark; and in another, that he was discovered by one of those confidants whom he brought from New England, and seized upon in bed with another man's wife.‡ This vile calumny is cast upon him on the slender evidence of a bigoted and abusive piece, entitled, "Regicides no Saints, nor Martyrs."

Mr. Peters was brought to the bar, October 13, 1660; when he was indicted for high treason, to which he pleaded *not guilty*. "After the indictment was read," says Bishop Kennet, "he saw a whole congregation of witnesses against him, who upon their oaths testified him guilty of the most horrid crimes that any man could be guilty of." These crimes are next enumerated as follows:—"That he not only took arms, but was himself actually a colonel, and gave out commissions.—That he met in private consultation, near the time of the king's trial, at the Star in Coleman-street, with Cromwell, Pride, and others of the bloody plot.—That in December, 1648, the head-quarters were at Windsor, where Cromwell, Ireton, Rich and Peters, usually sat in consultation, till two or three o'clock in the morning, with strict guard about them; soon after which the king was brought to trial.—That during this consultation at Windsor, Peters

* Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 230. Edit. 1747.

† Ludlow's Mem. p. 394. Edit. 1771. ‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 169, 278.

commonly called his majesty tyrant and fool, saying, 'he was unfit to be a king, and that the kingly office itself was dangerous, chargeable, and useless.'—That an aged gentleman having said, 'God save the king, and preserve him out of the hands of his enemies,' he was offended, and said, 'Old gentleman, your idol will not stand long.'—That at Margaret's, Westminster, he preached upon these words, *Not this man, but Barabbas*, comparing all along his majesty to Barabbas, and bloodily inciting his auditory to kill the king; intimating that God would bring every tyrant to justice, signifying that there was no exception for king, or prince, or any of that rabble.—That he rode next before the king when he was brought from Windsor to his trial.—That in the painted chamber, the first day the high court of justice sat, Hugh Peters and John Goodwin were with them, when all others, except the judges and officers of the court, were kept out. That he was present at making proclamation in Westminster-hall for the high court of justice, and did there openly say to Sergeant Dendy, 'All this you have done is worth nothing, unless you proclaim it in Cheapside and the Old Exchange.'

"That the said Hugh Peters was marshalling and encouraging the soldiers who guarded the king in St. James's Park, a little before his trial.—That he was constantly in private consultations at Bradshaw's house during the trial, with them who sat upon the king.—That he bid Stubbs command his soldiers, when the king came near the high court, to cry out *justice! justice!*—That being at the high court of justice on the twentieth of January, he was heard to say, 'This is a most glorious beginning of the work.'—That on Sunday the twenty-first of January, he preached at Whitehall, from Psalm clix. 8., *To bind their kings with chains, &c.*, applying his text and sermon to the late king, and highly applauding the proceedings of the army, saying, 'This is a joyful day, and I hope to see such another day to-morrow.'—That the Sunday after his majesty was sentenced to die, he preached again upon the same text at St. James's, saying, 'He intended to have preached upon another text before the poor wretch; but that the poor wretch refused to hear him.'—That in the afternoon of the same day, he preached at Sepulchre's, and repeated all his parallel between his late majesty and Barabbas, crying out, that none but Jews would let Barabbas go.—That in this sermon, he said, 'Those soldiers who assisted in this great work had Emanuel written on their bridles.'

“ That in the painted chamber, on one of the days of the king’s trial, Peters kneeled down and prayed for a blessing ; and amongst other things, he said, ‘ O Lord, what a mercy is it to see this great city fall down before us ! ’—That he was upon the scaffold a little before the execution, and then whispered to Tench, the carpenter, who thereupon did there knock and fasten four staples, pulling a cord out of his pocket.—That after the king was murdered, Peters said, ‘ Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. ’—That a while after the execution, he said, ‘ I rejoyce to think of that day ; for to me it seemed like the great and last day of judgment, when the saints shall judge the world. ’ ”*

This is a full account of all the charges which even his enemies bring against him ; but whether these things prove “ him guilty of the most horrid crimes that any man could be guilty of,” is left with the reader to judge. Most of the foregoing particulars, as every reader will easily perceive, fell far short of high treason. Though it is said, that to all these particulars he made not one word of answer, except in cant and impertinence ;† yet, when the witnesses were produced to find him guilty of having been one of the king’s judges, their evidence completely failed, and they could only prove that he was present on the occasion, when he used some indiscreet language. When the court attempted to prove that he was upon the scaffold the day on which the king suffered, he produced witness deposing that he was sick on that day, and confined to his own house. What Mr. Peters observed in his own defence, was little more than a protestation of his own innocence. He said that the war commenced before he came to England ; that since his arrival, he had endeavoured to promote sound religion, good learning, and the employment of the poor ; and that, for the better attainment of these ends, he had espoused the interest of the parliament. He then added, “ I had neither malice nor mischief in my heart against the king. I had so much respect to his majesty, particularly at Windsor, that I propounded to him my thoughts three ways, to preserve him from danger, which were good, as he was pleased to signify, though they did not succeed. As for malice, I had none in me.”‡ Whitlocke observes, that, “ upon a conference between the king and Mr. Peters, the king desiring one of his own chaplains might be permitted to come to

* Kennet’s Chronicle, p. 277, 278.

+ Ibid.

‡ Trial of Regicides, p. 30, 153—183. Edit. 1660.

him, for his satisfaction in some scruples of conscience, Dr. Juxton, bishop of London, was ordered to go to his majesty.* “And Sir John Denham being entrusted by the queen to deliver a message to his majesty, who at that time was in the hands of the army, by the assistance of Hugh Peters he got admittance to the king.”†

These were certainly very considerable services, and could hardly have been expected from a man, who, according to Burnet, “was outrageous in pressing the king’s death, with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor.”‡ As to the vile insinuation of many writers, that he was supposed to have been one of the masked executioners, besides the deposition at his trial, that he was then confined by sickness, no stress was laid by the king’s counsel on any suspicions or reports on this head. So that in all good reason, Dr. Barwick, Mr. Granger, and others, should have forbore saying, “that he was upon no slight grounds accused to have been one of the king’s murderers.”§

Mr. Peters, in further protestation of his own innocence, says, “I thought the act of indemnity would have included me; but the hard character upon me excluded me. I have not had my hand in any man’s blood, but saved many in life and estate.”|| All that was proved against him consisted merely in words; but words, it must be acknowledged, unfit to be uttered. Yet, when it is recollected that many greater offenders than Mr. Peters escaped capital punishment, we shall be led to suspect that he met with some unkind and hard usage. When he was asked why sentence should not be passed upon him, to die according to law, he only said, “I will submit myself to God; and if I have spoken any thing against the gospel of Christ, I am heartily sorry for it.”¶ The sentence of death was then passed upon him; when he was confined in Newgate only three days and then executed. According to Ludlow, it was of no use to plead in his own defence: the court was fully resolved on his execution. “It was not expected,” observes this author, “that any thing he could say should save him from the revenge of the court; and, therefore, he was without hesitation brought in guilty.”**

Mr. Peters, the day after his condemnation, preached to

* Whitlocke’s Memorials, p. 364.

+ Historical Account, p. 24.

† Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 162.

§ Historical Account, p. 25.—Granger’s Biog. Hist. vol. iiii. p. 55.

|| Peters’s Dying Legacy, p. 104, 106.

¶ Trial of Regicides, p. 182—184.

** Ludlow’s Memoirs, p. 401.

his friends and fellow-prisoners in Newgate. His text was Psalm xlii. 11. *Why art thou cast down, O my soul? And why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God.* The subject was particularly appropriate. For, during his imprisonment, he was exercised with a painful conflict in his own spirit, fearing, as he often said, that he should not go through his sufferings with courage and comfort. To his friends he said he was somewhat unprepared for death; and therefore he felt in some degree unwilling to die. Some things, he observed, he had committed, and others he had omitted, which troubled him; but he believed the light of God's countenance would at last break forth. And the favour of God did at length appear. For a little time before he went to the place of execution, his mind became perfectly composed; and with the utmost cheerfulness he said, "I thank God, now I can die. I can look death in the face, and not be afraid." To the truth of this many could bear witness.*

Bishop Kennet observes, that "after the trial and condemnation of the regicides, Dr. Barwick and Dr. Dolben were sent to persuade them to repentance, and to confess their impious deeds." It is also added, "that they might employ their pious endeavours to better purpose with others, their first care was to solicit Hugh Peters, the principal and ring-leader of all the rest. The wild prophecies uttered by his impure mouth were still received by the people with the same veneration as if they had been oracles, though he was known to be infamous for more than one kind of wickedness. He was accused, upon no slight grounds, to have been one of the masked executioners hired to murder the king, but it could not be sufficiently proved against him." To all that these divines could say to him, says our author, "Peters answered with much surliness, negligence, and stupidity, and stopped his ears against all admonitions. He had so perfectly shook off all sense of piety and religion, if ever he had any, that his accomplices earnestly requested these divines to intercede with his majesty that a person so deaf to advice, and so impenetrable to their sacred ministrations, might not be hurried into another world till he were brought, if possible, to a better sense of his condition."†

To this account, too evidently designed to reproach his

* Speeches and Prayers of the King's Judges, p. 58.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 284, 285.

memory, we shall only observe, from other authority, that the two doctors used their utmost endeavours to persuade him to a recantation of his former activity in the cause of the parliament, with promises of pardon from the king if he would comply. Though he was then much afflicted in spirit, he was enabled to resist their insinuations. He told them, "he had not the least cause to repent of his adherence to the parliament; but only that, in the prosecution of that cause, he had done no more for God and his people." And thus, with civility, he dismissed his visitants.

The day on which he suffered he was carried on a sledge from Newgate to Charing-cross, the place of execution; where he was made to behold the execution of Mr. Cook, another of the regicides. Here a person came to him, and upbraided him with the death of the king, bidding him now repent: to whom Mr. Peters said, "Friend, you do not well to trample upon the feelings of a dying man. You are greatly mistaken. I had nothing to do in the death of the king." When Mr. Cook was cut down, and brought to be quartered, the hangman was commanded to bring Mr. Peters near, that he might behold the mangled remains of his fellow-sufferer. As the hangman approached him, being all over besmeared with blood, and rubbing his bloody hands together, he said, "How do you like this, Mr. Peters? how do you like this work?" To whom Mr. Peters replied, "I thank God, I am not terrified at it. You may do your worst." As he was going to be executed, he gave a piece of gold to a friend, requesting him to carry it to his daughter as a token of respect from her dying father; and to let her know, "That his heart was as full of comfort as it could be; and that before that piece should come into her hands, he should be with God in glory." When he was upon the ladder, he said to the sheriff, "Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of God before mine eyes, and have made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God hath ordered it for my strengthening and encouragement." "If Peters said this," a learned doctor observes, "it is plain he died as he lived, and went out of the world with a *notorious lie* in his mouth;" then insinuates, that he had taken a large potion; that he behaved himself like an idiot; that he was stupidly drunk, and therefore was not in a condition to make such a reflection. This surely needs no comment.* When he was going off, he

* Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 286.

said, "*What, flesh! art thou unwilling to go to God through the fire and jaws of death?*" Oh," said he, "*this is a good day. He is come whom I have long looked for, and I shall be with him in glory;*" and went off with a smile on his countenance.* He suffered October 16, 1660, aged sixty-one years; and his head was set upon a pole on London-bridge.

Mr. Peters, it is allowed by all, intermeddled too much in state matters, and was too much the tool of the ruling party, which evidently brought him to this disgraceful end. Few men have suffered greater infamy and reproach. He is accused of many enormous crimes, but whether justly or not, we leave it with God to judge. Bishop Burnet, speaking of the triumphant death of the regicides, says, "It was indeed remarkable that Peters, a sort of enthusiastical buffoon preacher, though a *very vicious man*, who had been of great use to Cromwell, and had been outrageous in pressing the king's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor, was the man of them all that was the most sunk in his spirit, and could not in any sort bear his punishment. He had neither the honesty to repent of it, nor the strength of mind to suffer for it as all the rest of them did. He," our author adds, "was observed all the while to be drinking some cordial liquors to keep him from fainting."†

Kennet styles him a virulent incendiary in the king's death, and says he was not fit to die, and was unable to bear up under the prospect of it. "And," he adds, "without any reflection on the wickedness of the man, there never was a person suffered death so unpitied; and, which is more, whose execution was the delight of the people, which they expressed by several shouts and acclamations, when they saw him go up the ladder, and again when the halter was putting about his neck; but when his head was cut off, and held up aloft on the end of a spear, there was such a shout as if the people of England had acquired a victory."‡ Such was their loyal infatuation, brutality, and outrage!

Granger says that Mr. Peters, together with his brethren, went to his execution with an *air of triumph, rejoicing that he was to suffer in so good a cause*. But, he adds, it appears from this instance, and many others, that the presumption of an enthusiast is much greater than that of a saint. He

* Speeches and Prayers, p. 59—62.

† Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 162.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 169, 282.

was a great pretender to the saintly character, a vehement declaimer against Charles I., and one of the foremost to encourage and justify the rebellion.* Dr. Barwick says, "he was known to be infamous for more kinds of wickedness than one."† Wood denominates him "a theological and pulpit buffoon, and a diabolical villain."‡ Dr. Grey says, "he was a juggling, scandalous, and infamous villain, and that he got the mother and daughter with child." He styles him, "the gingerbread prophet, the late pastor of a hunger-starved flock at Salem in New England, that mongrel minister, that military priest, that modern Simon Magus, that disguised executioner, that bloody butcher of the king."§

These are, indeed, very heavy charges. They require good evidence for their support. On the one hand, it is easy for an historian to assert what he wishes to be true, though he cannot prove it; and on the other, it is often extremely difficult to disprove what is asserted, though it may in fact rest on no good evidence. Though we would by no means connive at sin, or attempt to lessen the guilt of any man, the truth of the above charges appears extremely doubtful. Some of these accusations are unquestionably the language of scurrility, misrepresentation, and abuse; and they all come from known enemies, those who hated the cause in which he was engaged, and looked upon it as detestable. We do not find, that they knew of any of those things of Mr. Peters *themselves*; and, therefore, what they have published must be considered only as common fame, which in those times, when malice, bigotry, and revenge ran so high, might easily have been propagated without even the shadow of proof. Mr. Peters suffering as a traitor, they were probably too forward to believe those reports; the truth of which was at best extremely uncertain.

Indeed, the times in which Mr. Peters was on the stage, were far enough from favouring such vices in the ministerial character. He must be a novice in the history of those times, who knows not what a *precise* and *demure* kind of men were the preachers among the parliamentarians. They were careful, not only of their actions, but of their words, and even their looks and gestures. Drunkenness, whoredom, swearing, and such like vices, were quite out of

* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 55, 339.

† Historical Account, p. 33.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 113, 739.

§ Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 358. iii. 287.

vogue among them. It was their sobriety and strictness of behaviour, joined with their popular talents in the pulpit, which caused them to be so much revered and esteemed. If Mr. Peters had been so vicious, so infamous for wickedness, and so scandalous and diabolical a villain, as he is represented, he could certainly have had no influence over the people, nor would he have been treated in the manner that he was by some of the principal men in the nation. They must have parted with him even for their own sakes, unless they wished to have been looked upon as enemies to religion.

Besides, if it be recollected who were the patrons of Mr. Peters, the truth of his accusations will appear very doubtful. We have seen how he was entertained by the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, and how much he was caressed and rewarded by the parliament. How improbable then is it that he was infamous for wickedness! His patrons, it is observed, were never accused of *personal* vices. They were men who at least made high pretensions to religion; and the cause for which they fought, they avowed to be the cause of God. With what face could they have done this, if their chaplain, their confident, their tool, had been known to be so vicious, so infamous for wickedness, and so scandalous and diabolical a villain? Or, how could they have said and done so much against scandalous ministers, who employed one of the most scandalous? In short, how could they *publicly reward* Mr. Peters, when they always professed great zeal for godliness, and endeavoured to promote it in the highest degree? Men of their wisdom, courage, and zeal, can hardly be thought to have acted so inconsistent a part.*

Mr. Edwards observes of Mr. Peters, that he was a great agent for the sectaries; and that by preaching, writing, and conference, he greatly promoted the cause of independency.† In addition to the thirty thousand pounds which he collected for the persecuted protestants in Ireland, as already noticed, he was a diligent and earnest solicitor for the distressed protestants in the vallies of Piedmont, who, by the tyrannical oppressions of the Duke of Savoy, had been most inhumanly persecuted and reduced to the utmost extremity. Also, in gratitude to the Hollanders for the sanctuary he had found among them, during his persecutions under Archbishop Laud, he was of signal service to

* Historical Account, p. 35—39.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 120.

them in composing their differences with England, in the time of Cromwell.*

Mr. Peters, during his imprisonment, wrote certain papers, as a legacy to his daughter, which were afterwards published, from which some parts of this memoir have been extracted. Though a comfortable annual maintenance was conferred upon him by the parliament, he was deprived of all at the restoration; and Mrs. Peters, who lived many years after his death, was wholly dependent upon her friends for support.†

His Works.—1. God's Doings, and Man's Duty, opened in a Sermon preached before the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor, and the Assembly of Divines, 1646.—2. Peters's Last Report of the English Wars, occasioned by the Importunity of a Friend, pressing an Answer to some Queries, 1646.—3. A Word for the Army, and two Words for the Kingdom, to clear the one and cure the other, forced in much Plainness and Brevity from their faithful Servant, Hugh Peters, 1647.—4. Good Work for a Good Magistrate, or a short Cut to a great Quiet, 1651.—5. Some Notes of a Sermon preached the 14th of October, 1660, in the Prison of Newgate, after his Condemnation, 1660.—6. A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an only Child; or, Mr. Hugh Peters's Advice to his Daughter, written by his own hand, during his late imprisonment in the Tower of London, and given her a little before his death, 1660.—The portrait of Mr. Peters is prefixed to this little work.

JOHN DURY.—This zealous divine was born in Scotland, but sojourned some time in the university of Oxford, particularly for the benefit of the public library. He was there in the year 1624, but it does not appear how long he continued. Afterwards, he travelled into various foreign countries, particularly through most parts of Germany, where he visited the recesses of the muses. By long continuance in foreign parts, he spoke the German language so fluently, that, upon his return to England, he was taken for a native German. Our author adds, that he was by pro-

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 407.

† Mr. John Knowles, in a letter to the governor of New England, dated July 6, 1677, thus observes:—"There is another trouble which I presume to put upon you, that is, to speak to the Reverend Mr. Higginson, pastor of Salem, to move that congregation to do something for the maintenance of Mrs. Peters; who, since her husband suffered here, hath depended wholly upon Mr. Cockquaine, and that church whereof he is pastor. I fear she will be forced to seek her living in the streets if some course be not taken for her relief, either by Mr. Higginson, Mr. Oxenbridge, or some other sympathizing minister."—*Massachusetts Papers*, p. 514.

fession a divine and a preacher, but whether he took orders according to the church of England, which he always scrupled, doth not appear.* However, these scruples, by some means or other, he overcame. For, though he had been ordained in one of the foreign reformed churches, he was required to be re-ordained before he could be admitted to a benefice in England; and, accordingly, submitted to the renewal of this ceremony under the hands of Bishop Hall of Exeter.†

Mr. Dury was for many years employed in a design of promoting a reconciliation between the Calvinists and Lutherans abroad; or, as he used to express it, “for making and settling a protestant union and peace in the churches beyond the seas.” We shall give an account of this object, in the words of one who warmly censures both Mr. Dury and his undertaking. “He made a remarkable figure in his time, by running with an enthusiastic zeal for uniting the Lutherans and Calvinists. He was so strongly possessed with the hopes of success, that he applied to his superiors for a dispensation of nonresidence upon his living, in order to travel through the christian world to accomplish the design. And he not only procured a license for the purpose, but obtained the approbation and recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury,‡ and was assisted by Bishop Hall, and the Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland.§ He began by publishing his plan of an union in 1634; and, the same year, appeared at a famous assembly of Lutherans at Frankfort in Germany. The churches also of Transylvania sent him their advice and counsel the same year; and he afterwards negociated with the divines of Sweden and Denmark. He directed his attention to every quarter. He consulted the universities, communicated their answers, and was not discouraged by the ill success which he met with. He conferred with the learned divines in most of the places on the continent, and obtained their approbation of his design. His project, however, was much ridiculed:

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 849, 850.

† Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 390.

‡ Archbishop Laud made mention of this circumstance at his trial. But although he at first espoused Mr. Dury's undertaking, he appears afterwards to have thrown some difficulties in the way.—*Ibid.* p. 539, 541.

§ Bishop Bedell of Kilmore, who loved to bring men into the communion of the church of England, but did not like compelling them, was of opinion, that protestants would agree well enough if they could be brought to understand each other. He was therefore induced to promote Mr. Dury's design, and, towards defraying the expenses of which, he subscribed twenty pounds a year.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 136. Edit. 1779.

but this only served to inflame his zeal. He afterwards endeavoured to unite, not only the Lutherans and Calvinists, but even the whole christian world. To this end, he travelled through many parts of Germany, where he was cordially received and liberally entertained. He seems to have been an honest man, but enthusiastical. His notions were but idle fancies, and his scheme was equally wild and impracticable.*

Notwithstanding the censures of the above writer, it is manifest that Mr. Dury's undertaking received the warmest patronage and encouragement of many celebrated divines. In the year 1635 he exchanged several letters upon the subject with the learned Mr. Joseph Mede. He first solicited this celebrated scholar to give his thoughts upon the best method of pursuing the design; and then stated the method in which he had addressed the Batavian churches, desiring his remarks upon it. Mr. Mede most cordially approved of his endeavour to promote a pacification, but was doubtful of its success. He commended Mr. Dury's method of addressing the foreign churches; owned his good intentions; and spoke of his abilities in terms of the highest approbation. "From his wisdom and abilities therein," says he, "I am fitter to receive knowledge and instruction than to censure or give direction."† Mr. Dury communicated his design to the most celebrated divines of New England, who signified their hearty concurrence in the generous undertaking.‡ And Mr. Baxter observes, that "Mr. Dury having spent thirty years in his endeavours to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, was again going abroad upon that work, and desired the judgment of our association how it might be most successfully accomplished; upon which, at their desire, I drew up a letter more largely in Latin, and more briefly in English."§

Upon the commencement of the civil wars, Mr. Dury espoused the cause of the parliament, and was chosen one of the superadded members to the assembly of divines. He took the covenant with the rest of his brethren, and was appointed one of the committee of accommodation.|| It is said, that he afterwards joined the independents, took the engagement, and all other oaths that followed to the restoration.¶ He was certainly a man of a most worthy character,

* Biog. Britan. vol. vii. p. 4383. Edit. 1747.

† Mede's Works, p. 804, 863—866.

‡ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 39, 40.

§ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 117.

|| Papers of Accom. p. 13.

¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 850.

and was exceedingly revered and beloved by numerous persons highly distinguished for learning and piety; among whom, it would be a great omission not to mention the famous Sir Robert Boyle, who was his kind friend.* In the great design of promoting concord among christians, he discovered a most excellent spirit, and was indefatigably laborious. Though he was not so successful as the best of christians desired, his endeavours were certainly useful. Through the whole, he acted upon the most generous and worthy principles. This will appear from his letter, dated July, 1660, addressed to the Lord Chancellor Hyde; which was as follows:

“ My Lord,

“ In the application which I made to your honour when you were at the Hague, I offered the fruit of my thirty years labours towards healing the breaches of protestants; and this I did as one who never had served the turn of any party, or have been biassed by particular interests for any advantage to myself; but walking in the light by rules and principles, have stood free from all in matters of strife, to be able to serve through love. My way hath been, and is, to solicit the means of peace and truth amongst the dissenting parties, to do good offices, and to quiet their discontents, and I must still continue in this way if I should be useful. But not being rightly understood in my aims and principles, I have been constrained to give this brief account thereof, as well to rectify the misconstruction of former actings, as to prevent further mistakes concerning my way: that such as love not to foment prejudices may be clear in their thoughts concerning me; and may know where to find me, if they would discern me or any of the talents which God hath bestowed upon me for the public welfare of his churches, which is my whole aim; and wherein I hope to persevere unto the end, as the Lord shall enable me, to be without offence unto all, with a sincere purpose to approve myself to his majesty in all faithfulness.

“ Your lordship’s most humble servant in Christ,

“ JOHN DURY.”

During the same month he sent another letter, giving an account of certain proceedings relative to the universal pacification among christians. It was addressed to the Earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain of his majesty’s

* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 497. Edit. 1778.

household.* The author now cited denominates Mr. Dury "the Lithuanian scholar," and observes that in December, 1660, he was presented, by favour of the Earl of Manchester, with so much of the Lithuanian Bible as was then printed, which was down to the Chronicles.† Thus, Mr. Dury lived till after the restoration, but does not appear to have conformed, nor yet to have been ejected. Every thing seems to have given way to his favourite object; therefore he most probably discontinued his stated ministerial exercises some time before this period.

HIS WORKS.—1. *Consultatio Theologica super negotio pacis Ecclesiast.* 1641.—2. *Epistolary Discourse to Tho. Goodwin, Ph. Nye, and Sam. Hartlib*, 1642.—3. *Of Presbytery and Independency*, 1646.—4. *Model of Church Government*, 1647.—5. *Peace-maker the Gospel way*, 1648.—6. *Seasonable Discourse for Reformation*, 1649.—7. *The reformed School*, 1650.—8. *The reformed Library-Keeper*, 1650.—9. *Bibliotheca Augusta sereniss. Princ. D. Augusti Ducis Brunovicensis etc.*, 1650.—10. *The unchanged, constant, and single-hearted Peace-maker drawn forth into the World: or, a Vindication of John Dury from the Aspersions cast upon him in a nameless Pamphlet, called, 'The time-serving Proteus, and ambidexter Divine, uncased to the World,'* 1650.—11. *Supplement to the reformed School*, 1651.—12. *Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion*, 1654.—13. *A Summary Platform of Divinity*, 1654.—14. *A Declaration of John Dury to make known the Truth of his Way and Deportment in all these Times of Trouble*, 1660.—15. *Irenicorum Tractatum Prodrumus*, 1662.—And some others.

HENRY WHITFIELD was the son of an eminent lawyer; and, his father designing him for the law, he was educated first in one of the universities, then at the inns of court. He was inclined to religion from a child; and as he grew up to years of maturity, being desirous to be employed in preaching the gospel, he gave up all thoughts of the law, and entered upon the ministerial function. He became minister of Ockham in Surrey; at which place, as also in the adjacent country, his labours were wonderfully blessed in the conversion of souls. During the period of twenty years he remained a conformist, but was highly esteemed by all pious nonconformists, many of whom, under the molestations and persecutions of the bishops, were sheltered under his roof. At length, however, upon mature investigation and thorough conviction, he could no longer conform to the church of England. This soon brought him into those

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 197, 198.

† Ibid. p. 868.

troubles from which he had protected others. He was prosecuted by Archbishop Laud, particularly for refusing to read the Book of Sports.* Mr. Whitfield, being a man of great moderation and self-denial, would not contend with the metropolitcal power of the archbishop; but peaceably resigned his benefice and the public charge of his flock. As there was no prospect of any reformation of the church, nor of his further employ in the ministry in his native country, he sold his estate, and, in the year 1639, retired to New England. Many of his religious friends and acquaintances accompanied him; who, upon their arrival, began a new plantation, and called the place of their settlement Guildford. There they formed themselves into a christian society, choosing Mr. Whitfield to the office of pastor. After sojourning at Guildford eleven years, patiently enduring the hardships of the new colony; and having a pressing invitation to his native country, he returned to England in 1650. On his arrival, he was most cordially received by his old friends, and highly respected by some of the first persons in the nation. He settled in the ministry at Winchester, where he probably continued the rest of his days. He was an excellent preacher, eminent for liberality and self-denial, and appears to have died about the restoration.+ He was author of a work entitled, "Some Help to stir up to Christian Duties," 1636.

ADONIRAM BYFIELD, A. M.—This pious divine was the son of Mr. Nicholas Byfield, another worthy puritan, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. In the year 1642 he became chaplain to Sir Henry Colmly's regiment, in the parliament's army; and the year following was appointed scribe to the assembly of divines, being, according to Wood, "a most zealous covenanter."‡ Upon the first publication of the Directory, by order of the parliament, the profits arising from the sale of it were bestowed upon Mr. Byfield and Mr. Henry Roborough, the other scribe, who sold the copy, it is said, for several hundred pounds.§ In the year 1646, when the "Confession of Faith" was drawn up by the assembly of divines, Mr. Byfield, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and Mr. Stanley Gower, were

* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 151.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 217, 218.

‡ Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 229.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 222.

appointed to collect proofs of the various articles from scripture; all of which, upon the examination of the assembly, were inserted in the margin; and the year following, when it was printed, Mr. Byfield, by order of the house of commons, delivered a copy to each member of the house.*

He was rector of Fulham in Middlesex; and after the wars, he became rector of Collingborn-Ducis in Wiltshire. Upon his removal to the latter situation, he was nominated assistant to the commissioners in that county for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers. In this capacity he was not likely to escape the bitter censures of Dr. Walker; who endeavours to prove, that in the examination of Mr. Bushnell, he was not only too officious, but guilty of some illegal proceeding. The charges are supported, however, by very slender evidence, or rather no evidence at all.† Mr. Byfield is one of those few writers, says Granger, who have, by name, been stigmatized by Butler, in his "Hudibras." This may be true, and he might be, as he was in truth, a very pious, excellent, and useful divine. He observes, that Mr. Byfield was said to have been a broken apothecary; that he was of special note; and a very active zealot in the busy and boisterous reign of Charles I.; and then adds, that his portrait was published, "with a windmill on his head, and the devil blowing the sails."‡ The best of men have, in all ages, suffered the vile reproaches of the wicked, who frequently account them "the offscouring of all things." Mr. Byfield, with two or three others, assisted Dr. Chambers in compiling his "Apology for the Ministers of the County of Wiltshire," 1654. He died in the year 1660.§ Mr. Isaac Knight, his successor at Fulham, and Mr. Daniel Burgess, his successor at Collingborn, were both ejected nonconformists in 1662.||

CONSTANTINE JESSOP, A. M.—This person was the son of Mr. John Jessop, minister of Pembroke, born in the year 1602, and educated in Jesus college, Oxford. Having passed through a regular course of study in that university, he went into Ireland, and entered Trinity college, Dublin;

* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 351.

† Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 182—194.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 187. § Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 230.

|| Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 447, iii. 361.

but after some time returned to Oxford. About the year 1632 he entered into the ministerial office; and, upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament, took the covenant, and succeeded the celebrated Dr. John Owen, as minister of Coggeshall in Essex. Having continued his ministerial labours for some time at this place, he removed to Wimborn-Minster in Dorsetshire; in which county he was appointed assistant to the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. He did not, however, continue in this situation many years, but became rector of Tyfield in Essex, where he died about the year 1660, aged fifty-eight years. The Oxford historian denominates him "a learned, faithful, and suffering minister of Jesus Christ."* He was author of "The Angel of the Church of Ephesus, no Bishop of Ephesus," 1644; and a piece "Concerning the Nature of the Covenant of Grace; wherein is a Discovery of the Judgment of Dr. Twisse in the point of Justification, clearing him therein from Antinomianism," 1655.

HENRY DENNE.—This zealous person was educated in the university of Cambridge, and ordained by the Bishop of St. David's about the year 1630. Afterwards he signalized himself by his preaching and writings, his disputing and sufferings. He entered upon his ministerial labours at Pirton in Hertfordshire, where he remained about ten years, and was much beloved and respected by his parishioners. In the year 1641 he was appointed to preach at a visitation held at Baldock in the same county. This occasioned him to be more publicly known, and made him many friends and enemies. He had always been suspected of puritanism. The difference now subsisting betwixt the king and parliament gave many ministers an opportunity of declaring their sentiments more openly, and of endeavouring to promote the desired reformation of the church. Among these was Mr. Denne, who embraced this opportunity of exposing the sin of persecution, the vices of the clergy, and the numerous corruptions in the worship and discipline of the established church. The introduction to his sermon was extremely singular, but discovered considerable ingenuity. His text was John v. 35. *He was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light.*

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 175, 176.

In the sermon he freely censured the principal evils of the time, and laid open the numerous vices of the clergy; particularly their pride, their covetousness, their pluralities, and nonresidence. His applications were close and searching; one instance of which it may not be improper to give. The court for receiving presentments against nonconformists being held at those visitations, after having enumerated and exposed some of the most flagrant crimes of the clergy with great freedom, he said, "I must call upon those in authority, that they would make diligent search after these *foxes*. If the courts had been as diligent to find out *these*, as nonconformable ministers; surely by this time the church would have been as free from *them*, as the land is from *wolves*. But they have preferred the traditions of men before the commandments of God. I tell you, that conformity hath ever fared the worse for their sakes, who, breaking the commandments of God, think to make amends by conformity to the traditions of men."

During the delivery of the sermon, some of the clergy could hardly exercise patience to hear it out; and afterwards there was so great a noise in the country, and so many false reports were propagated against both the preacher and the sermon, that he was obliged to publish it in his own defence. From this time he began to be much noticed, not only as a man of considerable parts, but as one suitable to help forwards the reformation of the church. The revolution which soon after took place in the state occasioned a material alteration in the affairs of religion. Many learned men were led to a closer study of the sacred scriptures, as well as a more accurate investigation of some doctrines, then generally received as true. Of this number was Mr. Denne, who, judging that the baptism of infants had no foundation in scripture, or in the purest ages of the church, publicly professed himself a baptist, and, about the year 1643, was baptized by immersion. He immediately joined himself to Mr. Lamb's church, meeting in Bell-alley, Coleman-street, London; where he still continued to preach, as well as in different parts of the country.*

This change in Mr. Denne's sentiments exposed him to the resentment of the ruling powers, who put frequent obstructions in the way of his preaching and public usefulness. In the year 1644 he was apprehended in Cambridgeshire, by the committee of that county, and sent to prison

* Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 297—302.

for preaching against infant baptism. Having suffered confinement for some time, his case, through the intercession of friends, was referred to a committee of parliament. He was accordingly sent up to London, where he was kept prisoner in Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate-street, till the committee heard his case and released him.*

At this time there was confined in the same prison, the learned Dr. Daniel Featly, famous for his opposition to the baptists. The doctor having just published his book, entitled, "The Dippers Dipt; or, the Anabaptists Ducked and Plunged over Head and Ears, at a Disputation in Southwark," it was laid in the way of Mr. Denne, who having read it, thought himself called upon to defend his principles. He therefore challenged the doctor to a disputation, which being accepted, Mr. Denne is reported to have had the best of the argument, and that the doctor declined proceeding further, under pretence that it was dangerous so to do without a license from government. Mr. Denne, upon the invitation of the doctor, immediately set about answering the book, and in the course of a few weeks produced a very learned and ingenious reply.

After his release, notwithstanding the obnoxious nature of his opinions, Mr. Denne obtained, by some means, the vicarage of Eltisley in Cambridgeshire, where he preached publicly in the church, and was much followed. But this excited the jealousy and opposition of the presbyterians. Having, on a certain occasion, to preach a lecture at St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, the committee of the county issued an order to prevent him; upon which he went into a neighbouring church-yard, and preached under a tree to a great number of people, and to the great mortification of his opponents. In June, 1646, he was again committed to prison, for preaching his own sentiments and baptizing by immersion, at Spalding in Lincolnshire. Here his chief persecutors were two justices, who sent the constable on the Lord's day morning to apprehend him. Their object was to prevent him preaching; for, to their great mortification, multitudes flocked to hear him. Upon the examination of his case, the only crime brought against him was that of *dipping*, and only one person could be produced in evidence of the charge. When first called before his spiritual judges, he was urged to accuse himself; but this he utterly refused. The single witness produced in proof of the

* Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 77.

charge was one Anne Jarrat, who, June 22, 1646, made the following deposition: "This examine saith, on Wednesday last, in the night, about eleven or twelve o'clock, Anne Stennet and Anne Smith, the servants of John Mackernesse, did call out this examine to go with them to the little croft, with whom this examine did go; and coming thither, Master Denne, and John Mackernesse, and a stranger or two, did follow after. And being come to the river-side, Master Denne went into the water, and there did baptize Anne Stennet, Anne Smith, Godfrey Roote, and John Sowter, in this examine's presence."*

It was accounted a sad crime to perform this ceremony in the *night*. The oppressions of the times not suffering it to be observed in open day, ought, however, to bear all the blame. Though his persecutors discovered a most intolerant spirit, and by their extreme bigotry, exposed themselves to the reproach of all unbiassed minds, they succeeded in one thing according to their wishes. For, through their repeated oppressive proceedings, Mr. Denne was at length obliged to quit his living; and seeing no prospect of usefulness in the church, he went into the army. As he was a man of great courage and zeal for the liberties of his country, he behaved himself so well in the character of a soldier, as to gain a reputation not inferior to many who had made it the profession of their lives. At the conclusion of the war he returned to his former exercise of preaching, and took every opportunity of defending his principles.

In the year 1658 Mr. Denne was engaged in a dispute concerning baptism with Dr. Gunning, in St. Clement's church, near Temple-bar, London. The disputation lasted two days; and he is said to have afforded strong proofs of his abilities and learning, as a good scholar and a complete disputant. Indeed, he was accounted by one who had a considerable hand in the public affairs of the nation, "the ablest man in the kingdom for prayer, expounding, and preaching." In his views of the doctrines of the gospel he took the middle way, with Bishop Usher, Bishop Davenant, Mr. Baxter, and others.† Mr. Edwards, who was never suspected of partiality to those called *sectarians*, acknowledges "that he had a very affectionate way of preaching, and was much esteemed among the people;" yet he denominates him a *great antinomian*, and a *desperate arminian*!‡ Another writer observes, that he was formerly "a high altar-

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 86, 87.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 221—224, 302—307.

‡ Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 76, 77.

man, a bower at the name of Jesus, and a conformist to the abominable innovations introduced by Canterbury; that he opposed the remonstrance and the petition of the well-affected, pleading for a riddance of episcopacy, the ceremonies, and other corruptions; and that he was a rigid arminian, an enemy to free grace, and an antinomian.* Mr. Denne united with his brethren, the baptist ministers in London, in their protestation against Venner's insurrection, and in avowing their unshaken loyalty to the king.† His death is supposed to have taken place towards the close of the year 1660. After his interment the following lines were put upon his grave-stone:

To tell his wisdom, learning, goodness, unto men,
I need to say no more, but here lies HENRY DENNE.

HIS WORKS.—1. The Doctrine and Conversion of John the Baptist: a Visitation Sermon, 1642.—2. Antichrist Unmasked, 1644.—3. The Foundation of Children's Baptism Discovered and Raised, 1645.—4. The Man of Sin discovered, whom the Lord will destroy with the Brightness of his coming, 1645.—5. The Drag-Net of the Kingdom of Heaven; or, Christ drawing all Men, 1646.—6. The Levellers Design discovered, 1649.—7. A Contention for the Truth; in two Public Disputations between Dr. Gunning and Henry Denne, concerning Infant-Baptism, 1658.—8. Grace, Mercy, and Peace.

FRANCIS TAYLOR, A. M.—This excellent divine was for some time rector of Clapham in Surrey, and afterwards rector of Yalding in Kent, to one of which places he was presented by Archbishop Laud.‡ In the year 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and paid constant attendance. In the assembly he discovered great learning and moderation. His distinguished abilities and erudition were, however, most richly displayed in his writings. He wrote the Annotations upon Proverbs, in the Assembly's Annotations, as they are commonly called. He was most famous in all kinds of Hebrew learning and Jewish antiquities. He held a correspondence with Boetius, Archbishop Usher, and the most celebrated scholars of his time. Among the letters to the archbishop, still preserved, there is one from Mr. Taylor, dated from Clapham, in 1635.§ Upon his removal from Yalding, he became preacher at Christ's church in the city of Canterbury, where he appears to have died about the restoration. He left behind him the character of an able

* Rutherford's Survey of Antichrist, part i. p. 193. Edit. 1641.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 358.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 369.

§ Parr's Life of Usher, p. 475.

critic and a most celebrated divine.* He had a son of the same name, who, though he lost his sight by the small-pox, while a student in Cambridge, was a minister of good learning, genuine piety, and great usefulness; but was silenced and imprisoned in 1662.†

His WORKS.—1. The Danger of Vowes Neglected, and the Necessitie of Reformation, a Sermon before the House of Lords, at the late solemn Fast in the Abbey-church, Westminster, May 27, 1646—1646.—2. God's Glory in Man's Happiness, 1654.—3. Opuscula Rabbinica, 1654.—4. Examen Prefationis Morini in Biblia Græca de Textus Ebraici Corruptione, 1660.—5. Tractatus de Patribus Rabbi Nathan.—6. Capitula Patrum.—And most probably some others.

EVAN BOWEN appears to have been born in Wales, where he laboured in the work of the ministry. He was employed for some time in the Principality as one of the itinerant preachers, whom Dr. Walker profanely denominates *gospel-postillions*.‡ Afterwards he obtained a settled ministry. Mr. William Williams being ejected for some delinquency, he was appointed by the commissioners to be his successor at Llanafan. Dr. Walker mentions this affair more than once. He observes that there were four thousand souls in the parish; and brings four separate charges against Mr. Bowen: as, “That he had been an itinerant, and had received a salary for his labours, as appeared from the account of the sequestration.” We may, therefore, suppose he was a man of approved abilities for so laborious an office; and he might have been many years employed in the ministry. After he had proved himself to be an able minister of the gospel, he would be accounted no unfit person for the charge of so large a parish.

“He was fifty-five years of age.” This is a heavy charge, indeed! if such a number of years necessarily disqualify a man for the ministerial work. This, surely, could be no great blemish in his character. By the experience of many years, and a long acquaintance with the world, he would not be less qualified for the numerous duties of so populous a parish.

But “he was a mason by occupation.” The charge may be true, and be no greater blemish in his character than his years. Dr. Walker himself mentions several clergymen who kept tippling-houses, and, surely, the occupation of a mason will not be accounted less honourable. But the

* Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 271.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 323.

‡ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 159.

fact most probably was, that Mr. Bowen, when a youth, or during the former part of his life, had been employed in this business; and what disgrace was there in this? If the doctor had said, that he followed his trade even while he was an itinerant, it would have shewn him to be a man of most extraordinary abilities, and the charge would have been no great crime.

“He was untaught in the *English* tongue, and confessed he had never read the Primer in English.”* Had he been *well* taught in the *English* tongue, it would have been no very important qualification for preaching among the mountains of *Wales*. There were thousands of excellent scholars who never read the Primer. The puritans were not very partial to that book. The truth is, Mr. Bowen was a most laborious, acceptable and useful preacher. He was a nonconformist to the established church, and supposed to have been of the baptist denomination. He died about the year 1660.†

WALTER CRADOCK was descended from a reputable family, born at Trefela, near Llangeven in Monmouthshire, and educated at Oxford, most probably with a design to the christian ministry. Upon his return from the university, having heard of the fame of Mr. Wroth, a zealous puritan minister in Wales, and of his singular way of preaching, he had the curiosity to go and hear him. The happy consequence was, that he believed Mr. Wroth was a true minister of Christ; was fully convinced of the truth and importance of his doctrine; and began himself not long after to preach the same gospel, with much concern for the salvation of his countrymen. Afterwards he became curate to Mr. William Erbery, another zealous puritan, who was vicar of St. Mary's church, Cardiff, in Glamorganshire. Mr. Cradock was remarkably zealous and courageous in the cause of Christ; on which account the Bishop of Landaff calls him “a bold ignorant young fellow;” and says, “he was very disobedient to his majesty's instructions,” most probably by refusing to read the Book of Sports, and that he preached very schismatical and dangerous doctrine; for which he suspended him and deprived him of his curacy. For proof of his disobedience, and of his schismatical and dangerous doctrine, his lordship observes, “that he used this base and unchristian passage in the pulpit:

* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 161. ii. 409.

† Thomas's MS. Hist. p. 129.

*That God so loved the world, that he sent his Son to live like a slave, and die like a beast.** These troubles came upon him in the year 1634.

Mr. Cradock having received the episcopal censure, and being driven from his stated ministerial exercises, he preached up and down the country as he found an opportunity, sometimes in the churches and sometimes out of them. In imitation of his Master, "he went about doing good," and wherever he could procure hearers, there he preached. He was uncommonly zealous and laborious, and preached in most places throughout north and south Wales, with great acceptance and usefulness.† His fame spread through the country, and his labours were made a blessing to the people. This gave him comfort and encouragement in his work. His ministry was instrumental in the conversion of Mr. Vavasor Powell, who became his zealous fellow-labourer in the vineyard of the Lord.‡

In the year 1639, Mr. Cradock, with the assistance of Mr. Wroth, formed a church according to the model of the independents, at Llanfaches.§ About the same time he settled at Wrexham, where he preached in the church. His constant and laborious preaching made him many enemies; and his name is said to have made so deep an impression on their minds, that they denominated all persons eminent for piety, *Cradockims*. It was accounted a sufficient reproach to call them by his name; which, in fact, was conferring no small honour upon him, and was no real disgrace to them. This term of supposed reproach continued in practice above a hundred years.|| By Mr. Cradock's ministry at Wrexham many sinners were called "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God;" among whom were Mr. Morgan Lloyd and Mr. David ab Hugh, who afterwards became eminent ministers of the gospel.¶

During the confusion of the civil wars, this pious divine was obliged to leave Wrexham; and being driven out of Wales, he fled to London, where he became pastor of

* The king, in his remark on this expression, observes, that this was not much unlike that not long since uttered: "That the Jews crucified Christ like a damned rogue between two thieves." Then, surely, the royal comment was equally schismatical as the text!!—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 533.

† Cradock's Works, Pref. Edit. 1800.

‡ Life of Vavasor Powell, p. 106. Edit. 1671.

§ Thomas's MS. Materials, p. 131.

|| Thomas's MS. Hist. of Baptists, p. 159.

¶ Thomas's MS. Eccl. Hist. p. 299.

Alhallows the Great. In this situation he continued till things became more settled in the nation, and then, with several others, resumed his labours in his native country. It does not appear, however, that he returned to his former charge at Wrexham, or to any other stated ministry, but was employed, with many others, as an itinerant, under the direction of the parliament, for propagating the gospel in Wales. He was a leading man among the *travelling gospellers*, as Dr. Walker is pleased to call them;* and went from place to place preaching the word of God with great popularity and success. This incurred the displeasure and roused the malice of his enemies. The writer just mentioned cannot speak of him without misrepresentation and abuse. He observes that Mr. Cradock, Mr. Powell, and other enthusiasts, represented their countrymen to the parliament “as pagans and infidels, and a people that understood nothing of God, or of the power of godliness; and so had need be converted to the faith.” From the deplorable darkness which at this time overspread the whole of the Principality, there was certainly too much truth in this representation. But he adds, “that they made it their business, by all possible methods of calumny and reproach, to decry not only the old ministers, but the ministry itself, and the tithes and revenues, as Babylonish and antichristian; and this they did from the pulpit, with all the bitter railings and invectives that can be imagined.”† They undoubtedly disapproved of the ceremonies, government, and persecution of the church of England, as savouring too much of the church of Rome. They might also endeavour to instil the same sentiment in the minds of the people. This was certainly the practice among all parties. In those distracted times, all ministers, whether friends or enemies to the established church, laboured to propagate their own opinions. And, surely, if they believed their opinions to be the truth, they were sufficiently authorized so to do, provided they proceeded with christian moderation. That Mr. Cradock, or his brethren, acted at all inconsistent with sound christianity, could appear only to Dr. Walker and writers of a similar spirit, whose pens are always dipped in gall.

It was impossible for him to escape the bitter censures of Mr. Edwards’s presbyterian bigotry. This intolerant writer says, “There is one Master Cradock, who came out of Wales, and is going thither again to be an itinerary preacher, who declined coming to the assembly; but now lately, seeing

* Walker’s Attempt, part i. p. 158.

† Ibid. p. 147, 159.

the pay could not be had without the concurrence of the lords, and having made some leading men his friends, he came to be examined, and is passed. Besides that he hath gathered a church, and administered the Lord's supper in a house at evening, he hath preached many odd things in the city, strains tending to antinomianism and libertinism, speaking against men of an Old Testament spirit, and how poor drunkards and adulterers could not look into one of our churches but hell fire must be flashed in their faces. That, if a saint should commit a gross sin, and, upon the commission of it, should be startled at it, that would be a great sin in him." This heavy charge appears, however, to be without the least foundation, and stands directly opposed to Mr. Cradock's clear and consistent views of the gospel, and his uniform christian character.

The bigoted historian also observes of our pious divine: "That lately he preached on that text in Thames-street, *We are not of the night, but of the day*; when he delivered matter to this effect; that since the apostles' times, or presently after, there had been a great night, but now the day was breaking out after a long night, and light was coming every day more than other; and there were many gospel privileges, and of the new Jerusalem that we should then enjoy. In that day there should be no ordinances to punish men for holding opinions; there should be no confessions of faith; there every one should have the liberty of their consciences, as in Micah it is prophesied of those gospel times: *All people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God, for ever and ever*; which place was brought by him for liberty of conscience; and in that day neither episcopacy, nor presbytery, nor any others should intermeddle or invade the rights of the saints. Many such flings he had; and this sermon was preached just at the time when the ordinance against heresies was taken into debate, and the confession of faith to be brought into the house of commons: so that by these and many more particulars, his frequent hints about dipping, and suffering such, shews what are the first fruits of these itinerary preachers, and what a sad thing it is, that men so principled should go among such people as the Welsh, with so large a power of preaching as he and his fellows have."* Mr. Cradock was a zealous advocate for religious liberty and universal toleration, as the

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 163.

birthright of man, which awakened the intolerance of this furious presbyterian.

He was a man of an excellent character and of high reputation; therefore, in the year 1653, he was appointed by the parliament to be one of the committee for the approbation of public preachers, commonly called *tryers*. Here his name is classed with those of Dr. Owen, Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Manton, and many other celebrated divines.* This probably called him out of Wales, and brought him back to London. He died about the year 1660. Mr. Cradock was an independent in his views of church government; but he could agree in the important doctrines of the gospel, with those who differed from him in matters of discipline. He had a low opinion of himself, and a very high esteem for his Lord and Master. He excelled in clear views of the doctrine of justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and in the great simplicity of his manner of preaching.† His "Works," consisting of sermons, expositions, and observations, were collected and published in one volume octavo in the year 1800. By his zealous endeavours he procured the New Testament to be printed in Welsh, for the use of the common people.‡

WILLIAM JEFFERY was the son of pious parents, born at Penhurst in Kent, about the year 1616, and afterwards lived at Seven-oaks in the same county; where he and his brother David were the chief supporters, if not the founders, of a congregation of baptists. He was chosen pastor to this congregation, which greatly increased under his zealous and laborious ministry. At the time of his ordination to the pastoral office, it was denominated the church of Bradburn; and afterwards that which assembled at Bedsell's-green. He did not confine his labours to any one place; but, while he took particular care of his own flock, he extended his labours to distant places in the country. By his unwearied assiduity, many separate congregations were raised, and a church was formed about Speldhurst and Pembury, over which Mr. John Care was ordained elder. This church afterwards removed to Tunbridge-wells. By the united labours of Mr. Jeffery and several others, it is said there were more than *twenty* particular congregations gathered in the county of Kent;

* Scobell's Collec. part ii. p. 279.

† Cradock's Works, Pref.

‡ Parliament Explained, p. 29. Edit. 1646.

which, with very little variation, continued many years, and some of them were very respectable interests. The great object of this constant and faithful labourer was to preach and establish the fundamental truths of the gospel, without entering upon points of controversy and matters of mere speculation. He was very zealous in maintaining the love of God; a vigorous and successful promoter of the interests of the baptists; and one who suffered much with great patience and pleasure in his Master's cause. He had several disputations with the episcopalians, the independents, and quakers. With the last, he and Mr. Matthew Caffin had several contests. He was author of a piece entitled, "The whole Faith of Man; being the Gospel declared in plainness, as it is in Jesus, and the way thereof, of old confirmed by divers signs, wonders, miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost," second edition, printed in 1659.

The following anecdote is related of Mr. Jeffery's congregation:—The magistrates of Seven-oaks sent their officers to his congregation, then meeting at Bradburn; who took all the men into custody, and carried them up to the town, where they were kept prisoners during the night. The following day, when the justices were assembled, the prisoners were brought before them, and they underwent an examination; after which they were dismissed. They all, with one heart, full of wonder and joy, returned to the meeting-house whence they were carried, to return their united thanks to God for this unexpected deliverance. When they entered the place, to their great surprize and inexpressible joy, they found the women there, who had not departed from the house of God, but spent the whole night, and following morning, in fasting and prayer to God in their behalf.*

Mr. Jeffery survived the restoration, and bore his share of persecution with the rest of his brethren; on account of which, they unitedly published an address to the king, the parliament, and the people, entitled, "Sion's Groans for her Distressed: or, sober endeavours to prevent innocent blood," &c. This is dated March 8, 1661, and is signed by Thomas Monck, William Jeffery, William Reynolds, Joseph Wright, Francis Stanley, Francis Smith, and George Hammon.

Many pious and worthy persons were now prisoners in Maidstone jail, among whom were Mr. Jeffery, Mr. John Reeve his colleague, Mr. George Hammon a minister at Canterbury, and Mr. James Blackmore, minister at some

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 97—100.

other place in Kent. These persecuted servants of Christ, while under the cruel rod of oppression, published a work entitled, "The humble Petition, and Representation of the Sufferings of several peaceable and innocent subjects, called by the name of Anabaptists, inhabitants of the county of Kent; and prisoners in the jail of Maidstone for the testimony of a good conscience." It is addressed "To his Majesty Charles II. King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging," and is as follows:*

"May it please your majesty,

"For as much as by authority derived from yourself, several of us your subjects, inhabitants in the county of Kent, are now imprisoned; it therefore much concerns thee, oh king, to hear what account we give of our distressed condition. Thou hast already seen our confession of faith, wherein our peaceable resolutions were declared. We have not violated any part thereof, that should cause that liberty promised from Breda to be withdrawn. And now for our principles that most particularly relate to magistrates and government, we have with all clearness laid them before thee; humbly beseeching they may be read patiently, and what we say weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, and then judge how worthy we are of bonds and imprisonment. And this we the more earnestly desire, because not only our own lives are in danger, but also an irresistible destruction cometh on our wives and little ones by that violence which is now exercised on us. Disdain not our plainness in speaking, seeing the great God accepts of the like. And now, oh king, that all thy proceedings, both towards us and all men, may be such as may be pleasing to the eternal God, in whose hands thy and our breath are, who ere long shall judge both quick and dead according to their works, is the prayer of thy faithful subjects and servants."

After stating their sentiments respecting his majesty's authority, they conclude with an earnest supplication to be released from their present bondage, and to enjoy the full liberty of worshipping God. It is signed in the name of the baptists now prisoners in the jail of Maidstone, by

WILLIAM JEFFERY,

JOHN REEVE,

GEORGE HAMMON,

JAMES BLACKMORE.

It does not, however, appear what was the result of this application to his majesty, nor when Mr. Jeffery and his brethren were released from prison. He was a person much

* Ivimey's Hist. of Baptists, p. 314, 315.

esteemed for his steady piety and universal benevolence. When he had finished his labours and his sufferings, he died in a good old age, but at what period we cannot learn, and was succeeded in the pastoral office by his son Mr. John Jeffery.*

CHRISTOPHER BLACKWOOD received a learned education, and was probably trained up at one of our universities. He was beneficed in Kent, and possessed of a parochial charge in that county at the commencement of the civil wars. In the year 1644, Mr. Francis Cornwell, a zealous baptist, having preached a visitation sermon at Cranbrook in Kent; and having openly declared his sentiments upon the subject of baptism, Mr. Blackwood, who heard the sermon, and took it down in short-hand, became a proselyte to his opinions. Having changed his sentiments about baptism, he did not long continue in the established church. He was equally zealous against national churches, as against infant baptism. Upon his leaving the ecclesiastical establishment, he collected a separate congregation at Staplehurst in Kent; but his sentiments being *Calvinistic*, and contrary to those of the society, he afterwards left it to the pastoral care of Mr. Kingsnorth. He was a zealous advocate for liberty of conscience, and as much opposed to the establishment of presbyterianism as episcopacy. In the first piece he published, he joined together infant baptism and compulsion of conscience, calling them "The two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist." He was accounted, by one who lived in those times, "among those worthy guides, in all respects well qualified for the ministry, who voluntarily left their benefices in the establishment." In the year 1653 he went into Ireland with the army under the command of General Fleetwood and Lieutenant Ludlow; and preached to a congregation in Dublin.† He lived till after the restoration, and signed the apology of the baptists in 1660, declaring against Venner's insurrection.‡

HIS WORKS.—1. The Storming of Antichrist in his two last and strongest Garrisons, Compulsion of Conscience and Infant-baptism, 1644.—2. A brief Catechism concerning Baptism, 1644.—3. Four Treatises. First, the Excellency of Christ. Second, a Preparation

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 99.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 90.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 347—351.

for Death. Third, our Love to Christ. Fourth, our Love to our Neighbours, 1653.—4. A Treatise concerning Repentance, wherein the Doctrine of Restitution is largely handled, 1653.—5. A Soul-searching Catechism, 1653.—6. An Exposition of the ten first Chapters of Matthew, delivered in Sermons, 1659.—7. Apostolical Baptism; or, a sober Rejoinder to a Treatise of Mr. Blake's.

WILLIAM TAYLOR, A. M.—This worthy person was born at Keighley in Yorkshire, September 30, 1616, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he was employed for some time in the capacity of schoolmaster, at Keniton in Herefordshire, and afterwards at Cirencester in Gloucestershire. At the latter place he succeeded one Mr. Henry Toppe, who is said to have been ejected by the puritanical townsmen. In the year 1642 the place was stormed and taken by the royal forces, when Taylor was ejected, and Toppe restored. Mr. Taylor being driven from the place, retired to London, became minister at Bow, near the city, and afterwards at St. Stephen's church, Coleman-street, in the place of Mr. John Goodwin, who was turned out by the parliament. Here he met with considerable opposition, and therefore resigned the place; upon which he preached for some time in a church in Wood-street, and delivered a lecture every Lord's day at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and another on a week day at St. Peter's, Cornhill. It is said, that he was afterwards called by the rump parliament to his former charge in Coleman-street, which he kept to the day of his death;* but, from the register of the place, this manifestly appears to be a mistake.† Dr. Calamy says he was ejected from St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, after the restoration, but he afterwards corrected his improper statement.‡ Mr. Taylor united with his brethren, the London ministers, in their declaration against the death of King Charles; when, it appears, he was pastor at the above place.§ He published several sermons, one of which is in the "Morning Exercise at St. Giles's," on Christ's Exaltation; and collected and revised several of Mr. Christopher Love's sermons, to which he prefixed commendatory epistles. He died September 5, 1661, and his remains were interred in the chancel of the above church. Dr. William Spurstowe preached and published his funeral sermon, giving a high commendation of his character. Wood denominates him

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 169. † Kennet's Chronicle, p. 793.

‡ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 39.—Continuation, vol. i. p. 58.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 744.

“ a frequent preacher, a laborious divine, a learned man in his profession, and a zealous and loyal presbyterian.”*

JOHN JAMES.—This unfortunate man was minister to a baptist congregation which assembled in Bulstake-alley, Whitechapel, London, observing the seventh day as the sabbath. October 19, 1661, being assembled for public worship, with the doors of their meeting-house open, they were interrupted by Justice Chard and Wood the headborough, as Mr. James was preaching, whom they commanded in the king's name to be silent and come down, charging him with treason against his majesty. As Mr. James proceeded in his discourse without noticing their summons, the headborough approached him, and commanded him again to come down, or he would pull him down. The disturbance then became so great that he could not proceed, but told the headborough he would not come down except he was pulled down; upon which he pulled him down and dragged him away. Mr. James was charged by one Tipler, a man of base character, with uttering certain treasonable words in his sermon. The men and the women who were at the meeting were carried at the same time, by sevens, before four justices, then sitting at the Half-moon tavern; to whom they tendered the oath of allegiance, and committed those who refused, some to Newgate, and some to other prisons.†

Afterwards the justices assembled in the meeting-house, and sent for Mr. James. In the mean time the lieutenant of the Tower, pulling a paper out of his pocket, said, he would inform them what doctrine had that day been preached in that place. Upon the reading of this paper, certain women belonging to the meeting, and still detained, were asked how they could hear such things delivered; to which they, in the fear of God, unanimously replied, “ That they never heard such words, as they should answer it before the Lord, and they durst not lie.” Nevertheless, upon the evidence of this paper, taken from the mouth of Tipler, the prosecution of Mr. James was founded. When he was brought before the justices he underwent an examination; and among other questions put to him were the following: When the lieutenant asked him whether he had not been before him before, he answered, that he had. “ And,” said the lieutenant,

* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 169.

† Narrative of the Condemnation and Execution of Mr. James, p. 7, 8, Edit. 1662.

"were you not civilly used?" "Yes," replied Mr. James, "and I thank you for your civility." "And were you not counselled," said the lieutenant, "to take heed in future?" "Yes," said Mr. James, "I have taken heed, so far as I could with a good conscience." Upon this, the lieutenant said, "You shall *stretch* for it; and if you be not hanged, I will be hanged for you." To which Mr. James meekly replied, "I am not careful in that matter: you can do no more than the Lord shall permit you to do." Then said the lieutenant, "I think you are not careful; for you have a mind to be hanged, as some of your holy brethren have before you." Mr. James being asked whether he owned the *fifth kingdom*, and signifying in the affirmative, they laughed at him, and said, *now they had it from his own mouth*. He was also charged with having learned to sound a trumpet, in order to a rising with Venner's party; when he said, there was a friend of his who lodged in his house, and who, designing to go to sea, and wishing to learn the sound, desired that he might have liberty to be taught in his house: but he never learned himself, neither was he at all concerned in that *rising*, judging it to be a *rash act*. The lieutenant of the Tower then called in Captain Hodgskin, who commanded the party of soldiers standing at the door, and said, "Take this man, be careful of him, and commit him close prisoner to Newgate," and gave him a warrant for that purpose.*

November 14th, Mr. James was brought to the bar in the King's-bench, Westminster, and was indicted, 1. "For compassing and imagining the king's death.—2. For endeavouring to levy war against the king.—3. For endeavouring a change of government." In compassing, imagining, and contriving the king's death, he was charged with having maliciously, traiterously, and by instigation of the devil, not having the fear of God before his eyes, declared these words: "That the king was a bloody tyrant, a blood-sucker, and a blood-thirsty man, and his nobles the same.—That the king

* This warrant was as follows:—"To the keeper of the goal of Newgate, or his deputy, Middlesex.

"These are in the king's majesty's name, to require you to receive into your custody, the body of John James, whom we send you herewith; being taken this present day at a *conventicle*, or private meeting, in the parish of Whitechapel; and there speaking in the audience of the people present, treasonable words against his majesty's royal person; you shall therefore keep him close prisoner until further order, and this shall be your warrant. Given under our hands this 19th day of October, 1661.

John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower,

Thomas Bide,

Edward Chard,

Thomas Swallow."

Narrative, p. 9, 10.

“and his nobles had shed the blood of the saints at Charing-
“cross, and the blood of the covenanters in Scotland.—That
“the king was brought in to this end, to fill up the measure
“of his iniquity; and that the king’s cup of iniquity had
“filled more within the last year than in many years before.
“—That he did bemoan they had not improved their oppor-
“tunity when they had power in their hands, and he said it
“would not be long before they had power again, and then
“they would improve it better; and that he did bewail the
“apostacy of the people of God, and say, they had not fought
“the Lord’s battles thoroughly, but when the Lord should
“give power to them again, and give his work into their
“hands, they would do it better.—That the death and
“destruction of the king drew very near.”

The indictment being read, and Mr. James required to plead guilty or not guilty, he desired a copy of his charge, and time to consider of it; pleading, that he humbly conceived it to be his privilege as an Englishman, and till then he was unable to plead one way or the other. He alleged, that Chief Justice Cook and Judge Heath had declared it good law, and that the latter gave John Lilburn a copy of his charge, being arraigned for high treason. His request, however, was peremptorily denied; and he was told, that if he would not plead, they would proceed against him for contempt, and consider him as mute. Mr. James seeing he was overruled, pleaded *Not guilty* either in *matter* or *form*. Upon this he was sent to the King’s-bench prison in Southwark, where he remained till November 19th, when he was again brought to the bar.

During this interval Mr. James received information from a person of respectability, that there was a jury picked on purpose to take away his life; and that if he did not except against them, or most of them, he was a dead man. Upon his appearance at the bar at Westminster before four judges, and still pleading *not guilty*, four witnesses were produced against him. John Tipler, the first witness, said, that he was, at the time mentioned in the indictment, in a yard adjoining the meeting-house, and, through a window, saw Mr. James preaching, and heard him repeat those words mentioned in the indictment. To this evidence Mr. James excepted, that it was difficult to swear that he was the person, when the witness was not in the place, and only saw him through the window, which might intercept the light. The second witness was Justice Chard, who said he could declare nothing of the words spoken, only he found Mr. James preaching in the place

alleged in the indictment, and pulled him out of the pulpit. The next witness was a Yorkshireman, whose name does not appear, who said he was at Tipler's house, and heard one say, "That the Lord had a great work to do for his people, and that they were the people who must do it." The judge asked him, if he heard nothing concerning the king's cup of iniquity, and he answered, No. When he was asked whether the prisoner at the bar was the man, he said he could not say that he was. The last witness was one Bernard Osburn, who said he heard Mr. James say, "That King Charles was a blood-thirsty, tyrannical king, and that the nobles of England were blood-thirsty. That he had drunk pretty deep of the blood of the saints already, in that he had shed their blood twelve months ago at Charing-cross, and the blood of the covenanters in Scotland, and that God had brought him in to that end, to fill up the measure of his iniquity, and he had filled it up more in twelve months than in many years before. That they should have power in their hands, then they should fight the Lord's battles more thoroughly. That the ruin of the king was very near." Upon this, Mr. James being allowed to call his witnesses, four were produced in court, who gave evidence, "That this Bernard Osburn confessed to them, that upon a previous examination, he had sworn against Mr. James he *knew not what*: and one of them, a person whom Osburn was about to marry, further declared, that he told her, he did not only swear he knew not what, but that he was affrighted into what he swore." Osburn repeatedly refused to swear at all; nor would he take the oath as witness against Mr. James, till he was threatened to be sent to prison for refusal, and rewards were offered him for swearing against the prisoner.* Mr. James then produced four other witnesses, all of whom swore, "That the words charged against him were not spoken."

After the examination of all the witnesses, Mr. James was allowed to speak for himself, but did little more than make a declaration of his own innocence. He denied the charge both in matter and form, and declared he had not any malicious thought against the king, but desired the salvation of his soul, as he did his own; that he had never dealt maliciously against him; but that what he had done, he had done in the fear of God. He denied the various particulars of the charge, that he ever spoke any such things, and therefore desired they would clear him of all such evil things. He then

* Narrative, p. 10—12.

said, "I have but one word for the Lord, and I have done: The Lord Jesus Christ is king of nations, as well as of saints, and the government of all kingdoms of right belongs to him. 'And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.'" Having spoken these words, he was interrupted by Lord Chief Justice Foster, who said, "Hold sirrah, sirrah, you think you are preaching in the conventicle in Whitechapel." Afterwards, when his judges would not allow him to speak even to the jury, he replied, "If you will not suffer me to speak to the jury, you had as good have hanged me in Bulstake-alley, before I came here, and not brought me hither to cover the matter over with the pretence of law."

The jury having brought in a verdict of *guilty*, judgment was deferred till November 22d, and he was sent back to the place of his confinement. During the interval, his wife, by the advice of some friends, endeavoured to address the king, with the view of acquainting him with her husband's innocence, and the condition of those loose persons who had falsely accused him. This she put in writing, lest she should either want an opportunity, or not have courage enough to speak to him. With some difficulty, however, she at last met the king, and acquainting him who she was, presented him with the paper. To whom his majesty held up his finger and said, "Oh! Mr. James, he is a sweet gentleman;" but following him for some further answer, the door was shut against her. Not being discouraged, she attended again next morning; and an opportunity being soon presented, she implored his majesty's answer to her request. His majesty then replied, *He is a rogue, and shall be hanged.* One of the lords, who attended him, asking her of whom she spake, the king immediately replied, "Of John James, *that rogue: he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged.*"*

Mr. James was brought to the bar on the above day, and being asked what he had to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he answered, that he had not much to say, only two or three scriptures he would leave with them. *As for me, said he, do as seemeth good unto you. But know ye for certain, that if you put me to death, you shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.—Precious in the sight of the*

* Narrative, p. 19—24.

*Lord is the death of his saints.—He that toucheth the Lord's people, toucheth the apple of his eye.** He then told them he had no more to say for himself; only one word for the Lord, and then he had done: "Jesus Christ the Son of God, is King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all the kingdoms of the world." He had no sooner spoken this, than he was silenced, and the judge immediately pronounced upon him the following sentence:—"John James, thou hast
 " been here indicted, arraigned, and tried, as a false traitor of
 " his majesty, his crown and dignity, and hast put thyself upon
 " the trial of God and thy country, and the country hath found
 " thee guilty; and therefore, John James, thou art to be
 " carried from hence to prison, and from thence to the place
 " of execution, and there to be hanged by the neck, and, being
 " yet alive, to be cut down, and thy bowels to be taken out,
 " and to be burnt before thy face, (a fire being prepared,) and
 " thy head to be severed from thy body, and thy body to be
 " quartered, and thy head and body to be disposed of accord-
 " to the king's pleasure." This being done, Mr. James had only time to say, "Blessed be God, that he whom man hath condemned God hath justified," and so was immediately carried to Newgate, where he was confined in a dungeon.

During his confinement in the dungeon, one of his friends visiting him, and weeping over him, he, with a smiling countenance, said, "I beseech you, let me not see any of this, for all is well. I beseech you forbear such carriage, which will encourage the Lord's enemies. I pray you let me not see a sad countenance from any of you." To others of his friends he said, "This poor weak body has often been near the gates of death, and now the Lord chooses to take it off in such a way as this. Oh! blessed be God! let him take it." He spoke much of the goodness of God, who supported and comforted him under so great a trial; and added, "I have got the start of my brethren, and am going to the place 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.' God hath delivered me from all my fears. My good Lord hath helped me over two of my steps, and I have only one more to get over: I am going to a place where my sins will trouble me no more." Being asked how he did, he replied, "I bless God I am well; never better in all my life. No poor creature ever dreaded this condition more than I have done. I have been so much afraid of a prison, that I have trembled to think of it, and

* Jer. xxvi. 14, 15.—Psalm cxvi. 15.—Zech. ii. 8.

would have fled out of the land to have escaped it; but now my fears are all gone, every cloud is blown over. I bless God, I no more fear this death, than to lie down upon this bed. Oh! how good the Lord is." At another time, being asked how he was, he answered, "Very well, I bless the Lord, never better in my life. My wife and I have had the best morning that we ever enjoyed. We have been giving up one another to the Lord; and, I bless the Lord, he hath made us as willing to part as ever we were to come together." To his friends, who urged him to petition the king for his life, he said, "I have discharged my duty and conscience in clearing myself already, and to the king I have done no wrong; therefore I will submit myself to the Lord, and rest satisfied in his good pleasure." The night before he suffered, being at supper with some of his friends, he said to them, "I sup with you to-night, but you would be glad to sup with me to-morrow night." When the messenger brought him tidings of the time of his execution, he said, "Blessed be God, that is good news."*

Upon the morning of his execution, Mr. James was carried from Newgate to Tyburn on a sledge; and having leave from Mr. Sterling the sheriff, he delivered a speech of some length to the people. In this speech, after giving an account of his parentage, clearing himself of some foul aspersions, and relating his religious sentiments, he said, "I am not come here to sow sedition: the Lord knoweth I have it not in my heart. This hath not been my practice, though it be the pretended cause of bringing me hither; but the Lord knows, before whom I now stand, and with whom I shall shortly be, that I am free from those things of which I am accused; and I desire you may hear and remember, that the things charged upon me are *notoriously false*. I speak this as my last words; and the Lord, who knows all hearts, and will call all men one day to an account, knows I speak the truth, both in respect of the *manner* and *matter* of the things charged against me. I do, in the fear of the Lord, also tell you, that I bless the Lord I have not the least hard thought of those who swore against me, nor the least rising of spirit against the judge, the jury, or any other, the Lord knoweth: but have sought their pardon upon my bended knees, and I hope to do it again, if God permit."

Mr. James having finished his speech, fell upon his knees, and offered up a prayer to God at considerable length, part

* Narrative, p. 24—37.

of which was as follows:—"Glorious and holy majesty, in whose eyes all the nations of the world are only as the drop of a bucket, or as the small dust of the balance; and therefore, O Lord, this mighty concourse of people are as nothing in thy sight. Thy eyes are open to the ways of thy people, and thy ears are open to their cries, and thou wilt one day shew thyself strong in behalf of them that fear thee. Sweet Father! blessed be thy dear and holy name, that such a poor worm as is now before thee can call thee Father, and come and take hold of thee through thy dear Son. O Lord, what am I, or what was my father's house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? This, O Lord, has been but a small thing in thy sight, but thou hast spoken thy servant's welfare, even to eternity. Dear Lord, in the audience of all this people, thy poor worm cannot but bless thee that thou didst ever call him, and wert ever pleased to engage his soul to walk in thine own paths; and, blessed be thy holy name, thy paths do not seem in the eyes of thy servant ever the worse because of this thing: but he can bless thee; he can rejoice before thee; he can say, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name.' Blessed be thy holy name, that thou hast hitherto been pleased to keep the soul of thy poor servant, and that he does not suffer as an evil doer; yea, blessed be thy name, thy poor worm can approve his heart unto thee *even now at the very giving up of the ghost, that he is not guilty*. Dear Father, thy poor worm can now with much boldness lift up his face unto thee, and is assured that he whom man hath condemned God hath justified: and now, for thy dear name's sake, give thy poor worm leave, in integrity and godly simplicity, to beg one request at thy hands for the poor witnesses. O Lord, pardon them in that very thing they have done, and shew them as much grace as thou hast done to thy poor worm. As they have done their utmost to wash their hands in the blood of thy servant, O that thou wouldest thoroughly wash their souls in the blood of Jesus Christ. Be pleased, for thy tender mercy's sake, to deal graciously with every one, from the least to the greatest, from the first to the last, that hath had any hand against thy servant."*

Having finished his prayer, and being very much exhausted, he said he had done. The hangman then said, "The Lord receive your soul." Mr. James replied, *I thank you*. A friend saying, "This is a happy day," he added, *I bless the*

* Narrative, p. 38—44.

Lord, it is indeed. His friend adding, "The Lord make your passage easy;" he said, *I trust he will.* Being asked if he had any thing to say to the sheriff, he said, *No, but only to thank him for his civility.* The hangman then preparing him for death, and drawing away the cart, Mr. James cried aloud, with his hands lifted up towards heaven, *Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit.*

The sheriff and hangman were so civil to him in the execution, that they suffered him to be dead before his body was cut down. The hangman then took out his heart and bowels, and burned them in a fire prepared for the purpose. He then cut off his head, and cut his body into four quarters; and, by the appointment of the king, the quarters were fixed upon the gates of the city, and his head first upon London-bridge, then upon a pole opposite the meeting-house in Bulstake-alley.*

This tragic and brutal scene was transacted upon the remains of this humble and holy man, November 26, 1661. But if there were any undue combination against him; and if he suffered for some reason of state, rather than for any crime that he was guilty of, his blood will God require at the hands of his enemies. Several remarkable judgments befell those who were active instruments in promoting his sufferings, or expressed their delight in them.†

PRAISE-GOD BAREBONE was of the baptist persuasion, and pastor to a church of that denomination, meeting in Fleet-street, London. This church was originally part of that under the pastoral care of Mr. Stephen More; which, upon his death, divided by mutual consent, just one half choosing Mr. Henry Jessey for its pastor, the other half Mr. Barebone. He was by trade a leather-seller, afterwards a very popular preacher, and at last a member of parliament, and a man of so much celebrity, that one of Cromwell's parliaments was, out of contempt, called Barebone's parliament. In a pamphlet entitled, "New Preachers, New," is the following scurrilous, but amusing account of him and several others:—"Greene, the felt-maker; Spencer, the horse-rubber; Quartermine, the brewer's clerk; and some few others, who are mighty sticklers in this new kind of talking trade, which many ignorant coxcombs call preaching. Whereunto is added the last tumult in Fleet-street, raised by the disorderly preach-

* Narrative, p. 46.

† Ibid. p. 47.

ment, pratings, and prattlings of Mr. Barebones, the leather-seller; and Mr. Greene, the felt-maker, on Sunday last, the 19th of December."

The tumult alluded to is thus curiously described:—"A brief touch in memory of the fiery zeal of Mr. Barebones, a reverend unlearned leather-seller, who, with Mr. Greene, the felt-maker, were both taken preaching or prating in a conventicle, amongst a hundred persons, on Sunday, the 19th of December last, 1641.

"After my commendations, Mr. Rawbones, (Barebones, I should have said,) in acknowledgment of your too much troubling yourself, and molesting of others, I have made bold to relate briefly your last Sunday's afternoon work, lest in time your meritorious pains-taking should be forgotten, (for the which you and your associate Mr. Greene, do well deserve to have your heads in the custody of young Gregory, to make buttons for hempen loops:) you two having the spirit so full, that you must either vent, or burst, did on the sabbath aforesaid, at your house near Fetter-lane end, in Fleet-street, at the sign of the Lock and Key, there and then did you and your consort (by turns) unlock most delicate strange doctrine, where were about thousands of people, of which number the most ignorant applauded your preaching, and those that understood any thing derided your ignorant prating. But after four hours long and tedious tattling, the house where you were beleaguered with multitudes that thought fit to rouse you out of your blind devotion; so that your walls were battered, your windows all in fractions, torn into rattling shivers, and worse the hurly-burly might have been, but that sundry constables came in with strong guards of men to keep the peace, in which conflict your sign was beaten down and unhanged, to make room for the owner to supply the place; all which shews had never been, had Mr. Greene and Mr. Barebones been content (as they should have been) to have gone to their own parish churches."*

This account shews that these *new preachers* excited uncommon attention, and were so very popular as to draw thousands after them. The tumult was occasioned, not by their preaching, but by the opposition that was raised against it, "by certain lewd fellows of the baser sort." The preachers and a hundred of the people were taken by the constables, but it is not said whether they were taken to preserve them from the fury of the mob or to bring them to justice. Had

* New Preacher's, New.

the latter been the case, and they had suffered any thing for their conduct, it is highly probable this writer would have transmitted some account of it to posterity. Mr. Barebone, however, continued his ministerial labours for many years among the people; and, in the year 1654, when the baptist churches published their "Declaration," he was still pastor of this church. Among those who subscribed it, "twenty-two were of the church that walks with Mr. Barebone."*

According to Rapin, he passed among his neighbours for a notable speaker, and used to entertain them with long harangues upon the times.† This undoubtedly pointed him out to the notice of Cromwell, who nominated him a member of the legislative body that succeeded the long parliament in 1653. Thus he continued pastor of his church, even after he became member of parliament. In this assembly, he was so greatly distinguished for ability and activity, that the members, who were but little skilled in politics, received from him, in derision, the appellation of Barebone's parliament.‡ As a politician, he was constantly zealous in the cause of the commonwealth; but upon the dissolution of the above assembly, about five months afterwards, he appears to have retired from any further concern in the government. Upon the motion of inviting home the king, he took part with the opposition, and presented a petition to the parliament, from the "well-affected persons, inhabitants of the cities of London and Westminster," declaring their determination to support the commonwealth. General Monk, being then in London, with a view to restore the king, and intent upon the re-admission of the secluded members, who knew Mr. Barebone's popularity, was obliged to make a general muster of his army; when he wrote a letter to the parliament, expostulating with them "for giving too much countenance to that furious zealot and his adherents." The petitioners, however, received the thanks of the house for the expression of their good affections to the parliament.§

Mr. Barebone was at this time concerned in the publication of a book against the court of Charles the Second, entitled, "News from Brussels, in a letter from a near attendant on his majesty's person, to a person of honour here. Dated March 10, 1659, O. S." A reverend prelate styles this "a rascally piece against the king, to expose him to the hatred of his people;"|| and it was designed, it is said, "to

* Declaration, p. 22.

† Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 590.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 68.

§ Ibid.—Kennet's Chronicle, p. 52.

|| Ibid. p. 80.

destroy the favourable impressions that many had received of his natural inclination to *mildness* and *clemency*.* It ought, however, to be observed, that the reputed author of this book was Marchmont Needham, and Mr. Barebone was only his agent in conveying it to the printer or bookseller.†

On the thirtieth of the foregoing month, Mr. Barebone was summoned before the council of state, to answer such matters as were objected against him; but, on signing an engagement not to act in opposition to the existing government, or to disturb the same, he was discharged from any further attendance.‡ After the restoration of the king, he was looked upon with a jealous eye, and on November 26, 1661, was apprehended, together with Major John Wildman, and James Harrington, esq., and committed prisoner to the Tower, where he continued for some time.§ On the meeting of parliament, early in the following year, Lord Clarendon, then lord chancellor, thought fit to alarm the house with the noise of plots and conspiracies, and enumerated the names of several persons whom he reported to be engaged in traitorous designs against the government. Among these were Major Wildman, Major Hains, Alderman Ireton, and Mr. Praise-God Barebone.|| How far the charge against these persons was substantiated, or whether it was only a political engine of government to get rid of suspected individuals, we will not take upon us to affirm. Certain it is, that Mr. Barebone had now to contend with the strong arm of the civil power, which was directed with all the acrimony of party prejudice against persons of his stamp. Wood, in contempt, styles him “a notorious schismatic, and a grand zealot in the good old cause.”¶

The time of Mr. Barebone's death is not mentioned by any author we have seen, nor are we acquainted with any further particulars of his history. It may be observed, however, for the amusement of the reader, that there were three brothers of this family, each of whom had a sentence for his christian name, viz. Praise-God Barebone; Christ-came-into-the-world-to-save Barebone; and If-Christ-had-not-died-thou-hadst-been-damned Barebone. In this last instance, some are said to have omitted the former part of the sentence, and to have called him only “Damned Barebone.”** This style

* Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 613. Edit. 1778.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 469.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 101.

§ Ibid. p. 567.

|| Ibid. p. 602.

¶ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 469.

** Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 68.

of naming individuals was exceedingly common in the time of the civil wars; yet the absurd practice was not peculiar to that period; but was in use long before, and continues, in some measure, even to the present day. It is said that the genealogy of our Saviour might be learnt from the names in Cromwell's regiments; and that the muster-master used no other list than the first chapter of Matthew.

JOHN LEY, A. M.—This laborious divine was born at Warwick, February 4, 1583, and educated at Christ's Church, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he was presented to the vicarage of Great Budworth in Cheshire, where he continued a constant preacher for several years. Afterwards, he was made prebendary and sub-dean of Chester, where he had a weekly lecture at St. Peter's church, and was once or twice elected member of the convocation. But having always been puritanically inclined, he, upon the commencement of the civil war, espoused the cause of the parliament, took the covenant, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and appointed Latin examiner to the assembly.

A certain writer has placed Mr. Ley at the head of those divines who, he says, "encouraged tumults," and whom, in derision, he styles "able, holy, faithful, laborious, and truly peaceable preachers of the gospel." The proof of his accusation is contained in Mr. Ley's own words, which are as follows:—"It is not unknown, nor unobserved by the wise, that the ministers have been very serviceable to the civil state, and to the military too; not only by their supplications to God for good success in all their undertakings, and their happy proceedings in all their warlike marches and motions, as at the removal of the ark, Num. x. 35., *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered: Let them that hate thee, flee before thee*; but by their informations and solicitations of the people to engage both their estates and persons in the cause of God and their country." The author, having produced these, with some other similar citations, triumphantly adds: "After these proofs and declarations of the ministers' zeal and industry for promoting, supporting, and carrying on the late bloody, impious, and unnatural war; let any man take upon him any longer to acquit the nonconformist divines of the guilt and consequence of that execrable rebellion."* These are certainly

* L'Estranges's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 51, 55.

very heavy charges, and ought to be supported by very substantial evidence. Though some of the nonconformist divines were zealous in the cause of the parliament, will any unprejudiced person affirm, that they "encouraged tumults," any more than those who were conformable? No man who is conversant with the history of those distracted times, and is uninfluenced by a bigoted party spirit, I am persuaded will affirm any such thing. With respect to the "execrable rebellion," as it is called, it is well known to all parties to have originated in the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of the king and his tyrannical courtiers, which, after many years, led to all the horrors of a civil war. If, therefore, there was any rebellion, it is easy to see who was guilty.

Mr. Ley became rector of Ashfield in Cheshire, and for a short time, rector of Astbury in the same county, chairman of the committee for the examination and approbation of ministers, one of the committee of printing, and one of the committee for the ordination of ministers. About the year 1645 he was chosen president of Sion college, and about the same time, inducted into the rich living of Brightwell in Berkshire. In 1653 he was appointed one of the tryers of ministers, and, the year following, assistant to the commissioners of Berkshire for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. After some time he resigned the living of Brightwell, and was presented to that of Solihull in Warwickshire. But by too much exertion and constant preaching, he broke a blood vessel; and being disabled from attending to the duties of his office, he resigned Solihull, and retired to Sutton Colfield in the same county, where he lived privately the rest of his days. He died May 16, 1662, aged seventy-nine years, and his remains were interred in the church at Sutton Colfield. He was accounted "an excellent preacher, a person of great learning, deeply read in the fathers and councils, and one of the chief pillars of presbyterianism."*

HIS WORKS.—1. An Apology in Defence of the Geneva Notes on the Bible; which were, in St. Mary's in Oxford, publicly and severely reflected on by Dr. John Howson. Written about 1612, and examined and approved by Bishop Usher.—2. A Pattern of Piety; or, the religious Life and Death of Mrs. Jane Ratcliff of Chester, 1640.—3. Several occasional Sermons, 1640, &c., one of which is entitled, "The Fury of Warre, and Folly of Sinne, a Sermon before the Commons, April 26, 1643."—4. Sunday a Sabbath: or, a

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 190—194.

preparative Discourse for discussion of Sabbatarian doubts, 1641.—He was assisted in this work, by the MSS. and advice of Archbishop Usher.—5. The Christian Sabbath maintained, in Answer to a book of Dr. Pocklington, styled, 'Sunday no Sabbath,' 1641.—6. Defensive doubts, hopes, and reasons, for refusal of the Oath, imposed by the sixth Canon of the Synod, 1641.—7. A Letter against the Erection of an Altar, written June 29, 1635, to John, Bishop of Chester, 1641.—8. Case of Conscience concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 1641.—9. A Comparison of the Parliamentary Protestation with the late canonical Oath, and the Difference between them, 1641.—10. A further Discussion of the Case of Conscience touching the receiving the Sacrament, 1641.—11. Examination of John Saltmarsh's New Query, 1646.—12. A Censure of what Mr. Saltmarsh hath produced, 1646.—13. Apologetical Narrative of the late Petition of the Common Council and Ministers of London to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, 1646.—14. Light for Smoak; or, a clear and distinct Reply to a dark and confused Answer, in a book made and entitled, 'The Smoak of the Temple, by John Saltmarsh,' 1646.—15. An After-reckoning with Mr. Saltmarsh; or, an Appeal to the impartial and conscientious Reader, 1646.—16. A learned Defence of Tithes, 1651.—17. General Reasons grounded on Equity, Piety, Charity, and Justice, against the payment of a fifth part to sequestered Ministers, their Wives, and Children, 1654.—18. An Acquittance or Discharge from Dr. E. H. (Edward Hyde) his demand of the fifth part of the Rectory of Br. (Brightwell) in Berks, pleaded as in the Court of Equity and Conscience, 1654.—19. A Letter to Dr. Edward Hyde, in Answer to one of his, occasioned by the late Insurrection at Salisbury, 1655.—20. A Debate concerning the English Liturgy, between Edward Hyde, D. D. and John Ley, 1656.—21. A Discourse of Disputations chiefly concerning Matters of Religion, 1658.—22. Animadversions on John Onely, 1658.—23. A Consolatory Letter to Dr. Bryan, upon the Death of his worthily well-beloved and much bewailed Son, Mr. Nathaniel Bryan, 1658.—24. Equitable and necessary Considerations for the Association of Arms throughout England and Wales.—25. A Petition to the Lord Protector by divers, for the establishment of themselves, and other their brethren, in the places to which they are admitted to officiate as Ministers of the Gospel, without institution and induction by Bishops.—26. A Comparison of the Oath of the sixth Canon of the last Synod of Bishops, and the Protestation set forth by Parliament, in Answer to a Letter of Pedael Harlow, Gent.—27. Attestation of the Ministers of Cheshire, to the Testimony of the Ministers of London, against errors, heresies, and blasphemies.—28. Exceptions many and just.—29. Annotations on the Pentateuch, and the four Evangelists, in the Assembly's Annotations.

JOHN SIMPSON.—This person was a zealous fifth monarchy-man of the baptist denomination, and for some time lecturer at St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate, London. One Mr. Simpson, and no doubt this person, was for a time silenced from preaching, because he differed in certain points from the assembly of divines; but, October 28, 1646, he

was restored to his ministry.* He and Mr. Feake are styled "two of the chief captains of the anabaptists, who preached most scornfully against Cromwell's government."† Mr. Erbery, in his piece entitled "The Bishop of London; being a brief Narrative of what passed at London-house among church Ministers, Mr. Simpson at Bishopsgate, and others, on Monday night, November 22, 1652," has given us the following very curious information, which, because Mr. Simpson took an active part on the occasion, and it may afford the reader some amusement, we shall give in the author's own words:—"The churches of London," says he, "both independent and baptized, having formerly associated and girt themselves with a sword, or martial power; I mean some army preaching men, joined in a body at Great Alhallows, to pray for a new representative, and to preach against the old: for which they received no countenance, but rather a check from those in authority. Having there 'laboured in vain, and spent their strength for nought,' not finding the spirit in a presbyterial or parochial church, they changed their quarters, and came to seek it in the episcopal see at London-house. There, as men who would again build up Babylon, they founded a structure of two stories high: not a pulpit and reading pew, but a stately frame of wood to preach and pray in two distinct forms. The one being the highest, I conceive, is for the independent fellowship; the other is the baptized footstool.

"The Lord brought me there to behold their order, but seeing their confusion, I heard one praying below, afterwards another above, Captain Spenser; at whose loud and long prayer, my spirit was stirred: I could scarcely refrain from crying, 'A noise and nothing else.' The first man that I heard preaching was Mr. Feake, who, I thought, spake to the purpose concerning prayer, even that the saints should now return to their old spirit of prayer in gospel times, which was not in loose requests, and long confessions of sins, but in short breathings of their present desires to God, with abundance of fervency and faith to obtain a blessing. Looking up on high, I spied Mr. Simpson, Mr. Cockayn and others, preparing themselves to do something. The first, instead of praying, began to preach, or prophesy, as he terms it. Before Mr. Simpson would name his text, he opens himself in a large preface; and, as if he stood on the stool of repentance, he confesseth his faults before us all.

* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 230.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 67.

First, he professeth himself a fool, for the rising of his heart against that which another held forth not according to his apprehension. Secondly, he said again that he was a fool, for that rigidness of spirit to stick to his own opinion, or to oppose the light that might shine in another. He shewed further how God had judged that rigidness in prelacy and presbytery, and would also in independency or dippers. But see how the man doth judge and condemn himself, or backslide into the same sin or folly which just now he confessed. For, as Mr. Feake had truly declared what was said before concerning prayer, Mr. Simpson doth presently censure, and publicly condemn, what his brother had spoken in peace and truth, and with much submission. I wondered at the magisterial spirit and self-confidence in the honest man. But he confessed himself before to be a fool, and, it may be, he had not thoroughly repented of it.

"My spirit, indeed," says he, "was exceedingly stirred; and though I came thither to hear in silence, yet my spirit being hot, I spake at last with my tongue, saying, 'Mr. Simpson, you have preached long. Will you suffer another fool to speak a little concerning prayer?' There was much reluctancy and murmuring in many, who bid me hold my peace. Then said I, whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, I must speak a word to the churches. It is this: Prelates had their common prayers, and your prayers are common also. Presbyters had their directory, so have you this day, teaching one another how to pray. I could not be suffered to speak any more, only I told the churches, saying, Sirs, your prayers are legal, and your preaching legal; I see you are all in the dark; and so I bid you good night." Such is the curious account given by our author.

Mr. Simpson and Mr. Feake preached with great warmth against the protectorship of Cromwell, for which, in the year 1653, they were both apprehended and sent prisoners to Windsor-castle, where they continued for some time.† But, July 26, 1654, Mr. Simpson was released from confinement, and allowed to preach at any place within ten miles of London.‡ This, however, was not the conclusion of his troubles. He was again cast into prison, most probably after the restoration, when many fifth-monarchy-men were apprehended and committed to Newgate, where they continued several months.§ Upon Mr. Simpson's release from

* Erbery's Testimony, p. 43—46.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 485.

‡ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 564, 579.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 363.

prison, he took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, for which he was severely censured by many of his brethren. It is, indeed, observed, that, for some time previous to his imprisonment, he had publicly declared his readiness to take the oaths; the same he also made known to his friends while he was in confinement. When he was brought before the court, he found that he must take them, or return to prison, when he complied without hesitation. He was of opinion, that, if he had refused, "he should have sinned against God, against the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, against his family, and against himself.*

In the "Declaration of the several churches of Christ, and godly people in and about the city of London," published in the above year, nine of those who subscribed it are said to be "of the church that walks with Mr. Simpson."† Dr. Calamy mentions one John Simpson as silenced from his lecture at Botolph's church, Bishopsgate or Aldgate, whom he denominates "a great antinomian." He afterwards acknowledges, that he died previous to the black Bartholomew-day, in 1662, and so should not have been included in the list of *ejected* ministers.‡ This was undoubtedly the same person.

Whether Mr. Simpson was, indeed, a great antinomian, we shall not attempt, because we are unable, to ascertain; but, from the account given of him by the author of his funeral sermon, he appears to have been a diligent, pious, and useful minister of Christ. We will let the author speak for himself. Addressing the bereaved congregation, he says, "Many of you lived for years under the ministry of this faithful servant of Christ, and his ministry hath been to you as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: you have heard his words, but you would not do them. There hath not been a suitable conversation to such a ministry. A gospel, spiritual, and heavenly ministry, calls for a gospel, spiritual, and heavenly conversation. Such was his ministry, but such, I fear, hath not been the conversation of many of his hearers. Indeed, all of us who enjoyed more or less of his labours, have cause to mourn before the Lord this day for our misimprovement of his ministry, and for taking no more care about hearing, receiving, and practising what God was pleased to reveal unto us by his servant. This faithful man, according to the judgment of reason, might have lived

* Funeral Sermon for Mr. Simpson.

† Declaration, p. 22.

‡ Calamy's Account, vol. i. p. 39.—Contin. vol. i. p. 58.

many years, and done much service: but for God to take away his faithful labourers in the midst of their days, and cause their sun to set at noon, is a providence of a dreadful aspect upon unfaithful and unfruitful hearers. Oh! what would many a condemned wretch give at the great day of the Lord, to have Christ, and mercy, and pardon proffered him, as they have been proffered by this glorified saint! God took him away immediately upon his release from prison, when you had some hopes of the further enjoyment of his labours; at a time when there is the greatest want of such faithful and zealous labourers; especially of such as are enlightened in, and are zealous for church-work; such as have a heart and abilities to encourage the people of God in their separation from the world and antichristian defilements.

“There was a near relation between this servant of the Lord and many of you present. He was to many of you a faithful pastor and teacher, labouring among you in word and doctrine. If the Lord prevent not, now that the shepherd is smitten, you will be scattered. It will be hard to find a person so ready to venture life and liberty to serve you. To many of you he might be a spiritual father, a means of your conviction and conversion; and oh! what hard hearts must you have, if you cannot mourn over a dead father, a dead shepherd, a faithful pastor, when taken from you. Consider those blessed qualifications with which this servant of Christ was endowed, and by which he was enabled to promote the glory of God and the welfare of your souls. He had love for all the saints. He had room in his heart to receive every one whom Christ received. He held communion with the saints, not on account of their names, or forms of worship, but on account of their union to Jesus Christ. He loved no man on account of his opinions, but his union to Christ, as he often declared in his congregation. He made known to the members of his church, to whom he gave the right hand of fellowship, that their union to Christ was the ground of their communion with saints; and that the reason of their admission was not because they were of this or that opinion, but because they were looked upon as interested in Christ; and that they who were heirs of glory ought to receive all saints, not as presbyterians, or independents, or anabaptists, but as saints.

“He had a great insight into the doctrines of grace. Having cast anchor within the vail, he understood well the great mystery of the mercy-seat. It was the glory of his ministry to hold forth the riches of the grace of God in Christ Jesus.

In preaching this doctrine he was a mystery to a blind world: they could not understand him; and, therefore, they hardly knew by what name to call him. He was an offence to many professors, who charged him with giving liberty to sin, notwithstanding he often preached upon the apostolic cautions against it. As at many other times, so a little before his imprisonment, he so charged professors with their lukewarmness, their hypocrisy, their neglect of closet devotion, family religion, and the duties of public worship, that he left a sufficient testimony to stop the mouths of such for ever. The doctrine of the covenant was, indeed, his great delight. When he spoke of the unsearchable riches of the grace of Christ, he was carried beyond himself: he had a flood of words, yet seemed to want words to express what he knew and enjoyed of divine grace.

“ He was a faithful servant of Christ. Whatever the Lord made known to him, he made known to his people without reserve, whether it pleased or displeased. He did not shun to declare all the counsel of God, so far as it was revealed to him. Also, if at any time he was convinced that he had delivered any thing not consonant to scripture, he would openly and publicly confess his error, and trample upon his own name and honour, rather than deceive the souls of his people by leading them to imbibe false doctrine. While he thus ingenuously and openly confessed his mistakes, it shews how eminently faithful he was to truth and to the souls of his hearers.

“ He was a zealous servant of Christ. He was willing to spend and be spent, that he might fulfil his ministry, and do good to souls. How laborious was he in preaching; how constant in attending the assemblies of the church; and how often did he blame his people for neglecting them! He was not one who did the work of the Lord negligently, but he served his God with fervency of spirit. He did not stand upon terms with God, saying, Lord, I will serve thee, if my name, and estate, and liberty may be secured: but whatever he judged to be his duty he would be sure to attend to it, and leave the event to the Lord. He enjoyed much communion with God, and a rich experience of his goodness. Many a faithful minister of Christ lived but low, compared with what this blessed saint enjoyed. By this rich experience of divine favour, he was enabled to administer comfort to others.

“ He was a very humble and holy man. For the sake of peace, he would condescend to the meanest member of his

church. He followed after those things which made for peace, and laboured always to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. After the Lord was pleased to work upon him by his mighty power, and to reveal the grace of Christ to his soul, he was of a heavenly conversation. He walked closely with God in his family. He was a saint at home as well as abroad; and he made it appear that he was really and relatively good, by being a good husband, a good father, &c. He lived loose from the world, and made not his gain his godliness. He had no design to make merchandize of Christ and the gospel. He often refused money for preaching, especially funeral sermons; and if, on those occasions, any was forced upon him, or sent after him, he soon disposed of it by giving it to the poor. His discourse was mostly upon spiritual and heavenly subjects, in which he always discovered great pleasure and forwardness. In his youthful days he was greatly addicted to vanity and ungodliness, which, to his own shame, and to the praise of divine grace, he acknowledged to his dying day.

“His ministry was very successful, and attended by the abundant blessing of God. He was instrumental in the conversion of many souls; and he left behind him many seals to his ministry. Every faithful preacher was not so remarkably blessed. God blessed him above scores, nay, hundreds of preachers, in the great work of conversion, by ‘turning souls from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.’ His happiness is unquestionable. Your loss is his gain. He is taken up into glory, and there hath communion with God. He is out of the reach of all his enemies. They can now imprison him no more. He will never have any thing more imposed upon him contrary to his conscience. He will never suffer there for nonconformity. There God will be for ever served, adored, and glorified with one heart, and with one consent.”* Mr. Simpson’s funeral sermon, entitled, “The Failing and Perishing of good Men a matter of great and sore Lamentation,” was preached June 26, 1662, the day of his interment.

JOHN BIDDLE, A. M.—This great sufferer was born at Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire, in the year 1615, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. Here he prosecuted his studies with great

* Funeral Sermon.

assiduity and success, and became an ornament to his college. In 1641 he was chosen master of the free-school of Crypt,* in the city of Gloucester; where, for his excellent talents and diligence in his profession, he was highly esteemed. Here his freedom of inquiry in his academical studies was directed to the subjects of religion. His opinions concerning the Trinity differed very soon from those commonly received; and, having expressed his thoughts with much freedom, he was presently accused of heresy. He was accordingly summoned before the magistrates; to whom he presented, on the point about which he was accused, the following confession of faith:

1. "I believe that there is but one infinite and almighty essence, called God.

2. "I believe, that, as there is but one infinite and almighty essence, so there is but one person in that essence.

3. "I believe that our Saviour Jesus Christ is truly God, by being truly, really, and properly united to the only person of the infinite and almighty essence."†

This confession, dated May 2, 1644, proved unsatisfactory to the magistrates, who urged him to be more explicit concerning a plurality of persons in the divine essence. Accordingly, about four days after, he confessed, that there were three in that divine essence, commonly called persons. This appears to have given greater satisfaction.

Mr. Biddle, having made up his mind more fully upon this subject, drew up his thoughts upon a paper entitled, "Twelve Arguments, drawn out of Scripture, wherein the commonly received opinion touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit is clearly and fully refuted." This paper he shewed to one whom he supposed to be his friend, but who was ungenerous enough to betray him to the magistrates of Gloucester, and to the committee of parliament, then residing there. Upon this information, he was committed to the common gaol, December 2, 1645, being at the same time ill of a dangerous fever. The design of his imprisonment was to secure his person, till the parliament should take his case into consideration. The intolerance of this proceeding was, however, soon mitigated by the interposition of a compassionate friend, a person of eminence in Gloucester, who, by giving bail for his appearance, procured his enlargement.

About June, 1646, the famous Archbishop Usher, passing through Gloucester on his way to London, had a conference

* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 303. Edit. 1778.

† Toulmin's Life of Biddle, p. 18. Edit. 1791.

with Mr. Biddle, respecting his sentiments upon the Trinity, and endeavoured to convince him of his dangerous error. Mr. Biddle, our author observes, had but little to say, and was none moved by the zeal, piety, and learning of the archbishop, but continued obstinate.* In about six months after Mr. Biddle was set at liberty, he was summoned to appear at Westminster, when the parliament appointed a committee, to whom the consideration of his cause was referred. Upon his examination he freely and candidly confessed, "That he did deny the commonly received opinion concerning the Deity of the Holy Ghost, as he was accused: but that he was ready to hear what could be opposed to him, and, if he could not make out his opinion to be true, honestly to acknowledge his error."† However, at the distance of sixteen months from his first imprisonment, being wearied by tedious and expensive delays, he wrote a letter to Sir Henry Vane, a member of the committee, requesting him either to procure his discharge or to report his case to the house of commons. This letter, dated April 1, 1647, answered the end proposed. Sir Henry became a friend to Mr. Biddle, and reported his case to the house; but the result was not favourable to Mr. Biddle's comfort and liberty. Instead of obtaining his release, the house committed him to the custody of one of its officers, and he remained under this restraint five years. In the mean time the matter was referred to the assembly of divines, before some of whom, it is said, he often appeared, and gave them in writing, his "Twelve Arguments against the Deity of the Holy Spirit."‡

The answers which he received on these occasions not producing sufficient conviction in his mind, he was induced, during this year, to print this tract, with the above title. The piece was no sooner published than its author was summoned to appear at the bar of the house of commons, when he owned the book, and the sentiments therein contained, to be his. Upon this, he was sent back to prison; and by an order from the house, dated September 6, 1647, the book was appointed to be called in and burnt by the common hangman, and the author to be examined by the committee of plundered ministers.§ Accordingly, he was

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 87, 88.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 197.

† Life of Biddle, p. 28.

‡ Ibid. p. 28—24.

§ Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 270, 271.

examined, and the book was burnt, on the eighth of the same month.*

In the year 1648 Mr. Biddle published "A Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity, according to Scripture;" and another work, entitled, "The Testimonies of Ireneus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Novatianus, Theophilus, Origen," &c. Upon the appearance of his writings, the presbyterians, having now the ecclesiastical government in their own hands, and being altogether averse to a universal toleration, solicited the interference of the parliament, and obtained an ordinance for the punishment of all blasphemies and heresies. Hence Mr. Biddle's life was in danger. But the act was directed to so many objects, and so various, and meeting with considerable opposition from the army; and because there was a dissention in the parliament itself, it lay unregarded for several years. Though the force of this severe ordinance remained dormant, Mr. Biddle suffered, for several years, the miseries of a prison. His keeper, however, at length allowed him more liberty, and permitted him, upon security being given, even to go into Staffordshire. Here the oppressions he had suffered were, in some degree, counterbalanced by the patronage and kindness of a justice of the peace, who received him into his house, courteously entertained him, made him his chaplain, and appointed him preacher in one of the churches in that county, and, at his death, left him a legacy.

Mr. Biddle was not long permitted to enjoy the comfort of this friendly asylum. Sir John Bradshaw, president of the council of state, being informed of his retreat, issued orders for him to be recalled, and more strictly confined. In this confinement he continued in prison till February, 1651; and, during the whole of his seven years' imprisonment, no divine, it is said, except Mr. Peter Gunning, afterwards bishop of Ely, ever paid him a visit, not even to attempt to convince him of his errors. In addition to his long confinement in prison, he was reduced to great poverty and want. After having endured much suffering for want of the comforts and necessities of life, a door was unexpectedly opened for providing him a comfortable supply. A printer in London, being about to publish a Greek version of the Old Testament, Mr. Biddle, having an exact knowledge of that language, was employed

* This piece was answered by the learned Mr. Matthew Poole, in a work entitled, "A Plea for the Godhead of the Holy Ghost."—*Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 198.

in correcting the press, by which means he obtained a comfortable subsistence.*

In the year 1651, such public measures were taken as proved favourable to Mr. Biddle, and he again obtained his release. He improved his liberty by meeting his friends in London, every Lord's day, for the purpose of expounding the scriptures, and discoursing upon them. In 1654 Dr. Gunning, who had before visited him in prison, came to their meeting on the Lord's day, accompanied by several of his friends. His conduct soon explained his intentions; that he was not come to be a hearer of Mr. Biddle, but to confound and refute him publicly, and in the face of his own adherents. Therefore, he presently commenced a disputation with him, first concerning the Deity of the Holy Spirit; then, on the next Lord's day, concerning the Deity of Christ. His biographer informs us, "That Mr. Biddle acquitted himself with so much learning, judgment, and knowledge in the sense of the holy scriptures, that he gained much credit by the contest."† The doctor, however, paid him another visit, when they had another disputation.

During this year, Mr. Biddle's life was distinguished more by the publication of "A Two-fold Catechism; the one simply called A *Scripture* Catechism, the other called A brief *Scripture* Catechism for *Children*," than by his public disputations with Dr. Gunning. The celebrated Dr. John Owen published an answer to the "Two-fold Catechism," entitled, "*Vindiciæ Evangelicæ; or, the Mystery of the Gospel Vindicated, and Socinianism examined.*" Also, for this publication, he was brought to the bar of the house of commons, and, December 12th, was committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, and forbidden the use of pen, ink, and paper, and denied the access of any visitant. On the 13th of the same month, the parliament having voted that the book contained many impious and blasphemous opinions against the Deity of the Holy Ghost,‡ it was called in, and burnt by the common hangman. But the protector dissolving the parliament, he obtained his liberty, May 28, 1655.

This great sufferer did not, indeed, enjoy his liberty very long. For July 3d, this year, he was, by an order from Cromwell, apprehended and committed to the Compter, then to Newgate; and, at the next sessions, was tried for his life, on the ordinance against blasphemy and heresy before mentioned. At his trial, when he requested that counsel might

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon*, vol. ii. p. 199.—Life of Biddle, p. 34—62.

† Ibid. p. 70.

‡ Whitlocke's *Mem.* p. 591.

be allowed him to plead the illegality of the indictment, and it was denied him by the judges, he gave in his exceptions, and, by much struggling, at length had counsel allowed him; but the trial was deferred to the next day. In this emergency, the principles and policy of Oliver Cromwell operated in favour of Mr. Biddle.* He saw it would be against the interest of his government to have Mr. Biddle either condemned or absolved. He, therefore, took him out of the hands of the law, and detained him in prison. The protector, at length being weary with receiving petitions for and against him, to terminate the affair, and, in some degree, meet the wishes of each party, banished Mr. Biddle to the island of Scilly, whither he was sent October 5, 1655. After he had been some time in a state of exile, Cromwell, who could by no means approve of his sentiments, allowed him a hundred crowns a year for his subsistence. This act of pure generosity, shewn to a persecuted man, reflects no small honour on his name.†

In 1658, through the continued solicitations of friends, the protector suffered a writ of habeas corpus to be granted out of the upper-bench court, by which Mr. Biddle was brought back, and, nothing being laid to his charge, was by that court set at liberty. Upon his return to London, he resumed his ministerial exercises among his friends, and became pastor of a congregation in the city, formed on the principles of the independents in matters of discipline. Here he did not continue very long. For, upon the death of Cromwell, in about five months, and his son Richard calling a parliament

* The protector was an enemy to persecution. Among the capital articles on which his government was founded, was this: "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though they differ in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession and exercise of their religion; and that all laws, statutes, and ordinances against such liberty shall be esteemed null and void."

† The name of Cromwell was formidable abroad as well as at home. This will appear from the following anecdotes: "A tumult having arisen at Nismes in France, in which some disorder had been committed by the Huguenots; and they, apprehending severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great expedition to Cromwell, who sent him back to Paris in an hour's time, with a most decisive letter to his ambassador at the court of France, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be overlooked, or to come away immediately. Cardinal Mazarin complained of this way of proceeding as too imperious; but the state of their affairs made him yield." It is also observed, that the cardinal would change his countenance whenever he heard the name of Cromwell mentioned; so that it became a proverb in France, "That Mazarin was not so much afraid of the devil as of Oliver Cromwell."—*Burnet's Hist. of his Time*, vol. i. p. 77.—*Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 104.

consisting chiefly of presbyterians, whom of all men Mr. Biddle most dreaded, he retired privately into the country. On the dissolution of the parliament he returned to his former station. But this period of tranquillity was of very short continuance. Upon the restoration of Charles II. all dissenters from the episcopal worship were treated on the same intolerant principles. Their liberty was taken away, and their assemblies were punished as seditious. Mr. Biddle endeavoured, however, to avoid the threatening storm, by restraining himself from public to more private assemblies. Nevertheless, June 1, 1662, he was dragged from his lodgings, where he and a few of his friends were met for divine worship, and carried before Sir Richard Brown, a justice of the peace, who committed them all to prison, without admitting them to bail. Mr. Biddle was doomed for some time to a dungeon; but the recorder afterwards released them on giving security for their appearance. Accordingly, they were tried at the following sessions, when his hearers were fined in a penalty of *twenty* pounds a piece, and Mr. Biddle himself in *one hundred*; and they were ordered to lie in prison till their several penalties were paid. But in less than five weeks, Mr. Biddle, through the noisomeness of the place and the want of fresh air, contracted a disease which presently cut him off. He died September 22, 1662, aged forty-seven years.* His life was irreproachable, and, according to Wood, there was little or nothing blame-worthy in him, excepting his opinions. He was a hard student, an exact Grecian, a ready disputant, and had a prodigious memory.† It is, indeed, said, that he retained all the New Testament in his memory, and could repeat it *verbatim*, both in English and in Greek, as far as the fourth chapter of Revelation.‡ In addition to the articles already mentioned, Mr. Biddle published a piece upon the Apocalypse, and several translations of other men's productions.

BENJAMIN COX, A. M.—This learned divine appears to have received his education at Broadgates-hall, Oxford, where he took his degree of master of arts in the year 1617.§ He had a parochial charge in Devonshire, where, for some time, he was particularly zealous for the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the established church; but afterwards he

* Life of Biddle, p. 70—100.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 197—202.

‡ Life of Biddle, p. 13.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 827.

found sufficient reason for altering his opinions. In the year 1639 he was convened before Bishop Hall, his diocesan, who sent him to Archbishop Laud, for preaching a sermon from Hosea iv. 4., in which he proved that the church of England did not maintain the calling of bishops to be *jure divino*. This sermon, it appears, made a great noise in the country. "But when he came to me," says the archbishop, "it pleased God so to bless me, that I gave him satisfaction, and he went home very well contented, and made a handsome retraction."*

Mr. Cox afterwards espousing the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, and opposing the presbyterian establishment of religion, the presbyterians upbraided him with his former superstitions and innovations. Mr. Edwards, whose pen was mostly dipped in gall, says, "he came out of Devonshire, was an innovator, and a time-server in the time of the bishops; and that against the will of Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter, he had brought innovations into the church."† Admitting this account to be correct, his change of sentiments was undoubtedly on conviction, and therefore no disgrace to his character.

When the affairs of state led men to think and speak more freely upon religious subjects, Mr. Cox was among the first in promoting a further reformation, when he had flattering prospects of high preferment; but his sentiments upon baptism obstructed his advancement in the established church, and prejudiced against him those divines who were at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. He preserved, however, the character of a man eminently furnished with abilities and learning. After episcopacy and the common prayer were laid aside, he was, for some time, minister at Bedford. In the year 1643, some pious persons in Coventry having embraced the opinions of the baptists, invited Mr. Cox, being an aged minister and of good reputation, to come to them, and assist them in the formation of a distinct church, according to the peculiar sentiments of the baptists. Several presbyterian ministers, among whom was Mr. Baxter, had taken refuge in that city. Mr. Baxter, being zealous in opposing the peculiar opinions of the baptists, therefore challenged Mr. Cox to a disputation upon the points of difference. The challenge was accepted, and they disputed both by conference and by writing: but it was broken off by the interference of the committee, who required Mr. Cox to depart from the city, and to promise not to return. As he refused to observe their tyrannical requisitions, he was imme-

* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 563.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 95.

diately committed to prison, where he remained for some time; till Mr. Pinson made application to Mr. Baxter, by whom his release was procured. This was, indeed, complained of as very hard and illegal usage, not without some reflections upon Mr. Baxter himself, as having procured his imprisonment. This, however, Mr. Baxter denied.*

Mr. Cox, after his departure from Coventry, went to London, and was one of the principal managers, on the part of the baptists, of a public dispute concerning infant baptism, at Aldermanbury church, to which a stop was afterwards put by the government. In the year 1644, when the seven churches in London, called anabaptists, published a confession of their faith, and presented it to the parliament, his name was subscribed to it, in behalf of one of those congregations.† Though, when the act of uniformity came out, in 1662, he at first conformed, yet his conscience soon after smote him for what he had done, when he threw up his living, and died a nonconformist and a baptist, at a very advanced age. He was a divine of great abilities, learning, and piety, and is said to have been the son of a bishop.‡ It seems more probable, however, that he was the grandson of one; as Dr. Richard Cox, upwards of twenty years bishop of Ely, died in the year 1581.§

HIS WORKS.—1. A Declaration concerning the public Dispute which should have been in the public Meeting-house of Aldermanbury, December 3, 1645, concerning Infant Baptism.—2. God's Ordinance the Saints Privilege, proved in two Treatises: viz. The Saints Interest by Christ in all the Privileges of Grace cleared, and the Objections against the Same answered. And the peculiar Interest of the Elect in Christ, and his saving Graces: wherein is proved, that Christ hath not satisfied for the Sins of all Men, but only for the Sins of those that do or shall believe in Him; and the Objections against the Same answered.

JOHN NORTON, A. M.—This excellent divine was born at Stortford in Hertfordshire, May 6, 1606, and educated in Peter-house, Cambridge, where he became a celebrated scholar. Having finished his studies at the university, he became curate at Stortford, the place of his nativity; when he formed an acquaintance with the excellent Mr. Jeremiah Dyke of Epping, by whose ministry he was first awakened to

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 220, 221.

† Featley's Dippers Dipt, p. 177.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 353, 354.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 162.

a serious concern for his soul. He now resolved to devote himself wholly to the ministerial work, and soon became a most accomplished and popular preacher. He frequently preached upon the necessity of faith, repentance, and holiness, which, by the eloquence of his language, accompanied with a spirit of most serious devotion, he set forth in a most interesting and engaging light. Though his prospect of rising in the church was very flattering, he refused all preferment, on account of the ecclesiastical impositions. His aversion to arminianism and the superstitious ceremonies, hindered him from possessing a rich benefice which his uncle designed to have conferred upon him. It is also observed, that the pious Dr. Sibbs was so taken with his excellent endowments, that he earnestly solicited him to accept a fellowship at Cambridge; but he was so thoroughly dissatisfied with the terms of admission, that he could not do it with a good conscience. He was content with lesser things, and therefore became domestic chaplain to Sir William Marsham, preaching as he found opportunity. Though no minister was more highly admired and esteemed for every engaging and excellent accomplishment, he was utterly silenced for nonconformity. Having no prospect of any further usefulness in his native country, he resolved to remove to America, where he could worship God according to the light of scripture and his own conscience, without the impositions of men.* He accordingly sailed for New England, where he arrived in October, 1635. During the voyage, the ship, in a most dreadful storm, was in the utmost danger of being lost. The storm is said to have been so tremendous, that as it washed several of the seamen overboard on one side of the ship, it threw them on board on the other side.

After Mr. Norton's arrival, he was chosen pastor of the church at Ipswich, where he laboured with great zeal, assiduity, and success about seventeen years. But upon the death of Mr. Cotton, pastor of the church at Boston, he accepted an invitation to become his successor. Upon the restoration of Charles II., Mr. Norton and Simon Bradstreet, esq. were sent to England, as agents of the colony, with an address to his majesty, soliciting the continuance of their privileges. This address contained, among other things, the following passages:—"To enjoy our liberty and to walk according to the faith and order of the gospel, was the cause of us transplanting ourselves, with our wives, our

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 32, 33.

“ little ones, and our substance ; choosing the pure scripture
 “ worship, with a good conscience, in this remote wilder-
 “ ness, rather than the pleasures of England, with submission
 “ to the impositions of the hierarchy, to which we could not
 “ yield without an evil conscience. We are not seditious to
 “ the interests of Cæsar, nor schismatical in matters of reli-
 “ gion. We distinguish between churches and their impu-
 “ rities. We could not live without the public worship of
 “ God, but were not allowed to observe it without such a
 “ yoke of superstition and conformity as we could not con-
 “ sent to without sin.”*

In the month of February, 1661, they entered upon their voyage ; and having obtained the king's letter, confirming the privileges of the colony, they returned in September following. Mr. Norton, however, did not long survive his return. His death was very sudden. For he expected to have preached in the afternoon of the day on which he died ; but, instead of preaching, his heavenly Father received him to himself. He departed greatly lamented, April 5, 1663, nearly fifty-seven years of age. Mr. Richard Mather preached his funeral sermon to his numerous and mournful flock. He was a man of great piety, an excellent scholar, and a good divine, but certainly of too irritable a temper. He is said to have been at the head of all the hardships which were inflicted upon the quakers in New England, for which they afterwards reproached him as dying under the just judgment of God. “ John Norton,” said they, “ chief priest in Boston, was smitten by the immediate power of the Lord ; and as he was sinking down by the fire-side, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died.”† Though this reflection was undoubtedly unjust, it certainly would have been much better, if neither he, nor any others, had, by their unchristian severities, given them occasion to make it.

Mr. Norton was author of several learned and excellent works. His book, entitled “ *Responsio ad Gal. Appollonium*,” 1648, rendered his name famous in the controversial world. Fuller observes, “ that of all the authors he had ever perused, concerning the opinions of the dissenting brethren, none gave him more information than Mr. John Norton, a man of no less learning than modesty, in his answer to

* Massachusetts Papers, p. 345—371.—Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 37.

† Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. ii. p. 340.

Apollonius.* This is supposed to have been the first Latin book that was written in America.

HIS WORKS.—1. The Sufferings of Christ, 1653.—2. The Orthodox Evangelist, 1654.—3. The Heart of New England rent at the Blasphemies of the present Generation; or, a brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers, demonstrating the destructive Nature thereof to Religion, the Churches, and the State; with Remedies against it, 1660.—4. Several Sermons.

SAMUEL NEWMAN.—This pious divine was born at Banbury in Oxfordshire, in the year 1600, and educated in the university of Oxford. He imbibed the spirit of genuine christianity, became an able minister of the New Testament, and shewed himself an avowed, but moderate nonconformist. This, indeed, rendered him obnoxious to the ruling prelates, by whom he was cruelly harassed and persecuted. Through the episcopal molestations he was silenced, and driven from one place to another, no less than seven times.† But, agreeably to the advice of Christ, when he was persecuted, and not suffered to labour for the good of souls in one place, he fled to another. This he did till he could find no place of rest; and, at length, to avoid the fury of the persecuting bishops, he resolved to transport himself to New England, where he should be out of their reach. He arrived in the new plantation, with many other excellent christians, in the year 1638; and spent one year and a half at Dorchester, five years at Weymouth, and nineteen at Rehoboth, in Plymouth colony. He gave the name to the town last mentioned, because, upon a removal to that place, his flock, which before had been short of room, might then say, “The Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land.”

Mr. Newman was particularly attentive to the state of religion, both in his family and in the church of God. He was in like manner exceedingly mindful over his own heart, and most exactly attentive to the duty of self-examination. This will appear from an account transcribed from his own papers. For his own advantage, it was his daily practice to examine himself, and make such memorials as the following:—
“I find, that I love God, and desire to love him more.—I find a desire to requite evil with good.—I find, that I am looking up to God, to see him, and his hand, in all things.—I find a

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 213.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 114.

greater fear of displeasing God than all the world.—I find a love to such christians as I never saw, or received good from.—I find a grief when I see the commands of God broken.—I find a mourning when I do not enjoy the assurance of God's love.—I find a willingness to give God the glory of all my ability to do good.—I find a joy in the company and conversation of the godly.—I find a grief when I perceive it goes ill with christians.—I find a constant love to secret duties.—I find a bewailing of such sins as the world cannot accuse me of.—I find I constantly choose suffering to avoid sin.*

This method did Mr. Newman daily observe betwixt God and his own heart. Towards the close of his life he became more and more watchful. He became more fruitful towards God, as he approached nearer his heavenly Father's kingdom. His last sermon was from Job xiv. 4. *All the days of my appointed time will I wait, until my change come.* He fell sick immediately after his sermon, and in a few days closed his eyes in peace, saying, "Now, ye angels of the Lord Jesus Christ, come, and do your office." He died July 5, 1663, aged sixty-three years. He was a hard student, a lively preacher, remarkably charitable to the poor; and a person of invincible patience and constancy under numerous and painful trials.+ He was author of "A Concordance to the Bible," a work well known at the present time.

SAMUEL STONE.—This very pious divine was born at Hertford, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. Having finished his studies at the university, he sojourned for some time in the house of the excellent Mr. Richard Blackerby. Here, while he received useful instructions from his venerable tutor, he imbibed his excellent spirit and principles. Afterwards, he became minister at Towcester in Northamptonshire, where his superior accomplishments and great industry were manifest to all. This, however, would not screen him from the oppressions of the times. He was an avowed, but modest nonconformist to the ecclesiastical impositions; and having no prospect of enjoying his liberty in his native country, he resolved to withdraw from the scenes of persecution, and retire to New England. He went in the same ship with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, and arrived in the year 1633; when he was chosen colleague to Mr. Hooker over

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 115, 116.

† Ibid. p. 114.

the church which they gathered in a new plantation, which they called Hartford. This church afterwards became famous in the new commonwealth.

Dr. Mather gives the following account of this holy and excellent man. He was godly, sober, and righteous, and could with truth appeal to God, and say, "Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee." He was remarkable for the observance of days of fasting and prayer, by which his spirit was wonderfully ripened for the heavenly inheritance. His conversation was grave, serious, and holy; and he was a most exact observer of the sabbath. The sermons which he intended to deliver on the Lord's day, he usually delivered in his own family on a Saturday evening. In his sermons, which were rather doctrinal, he handled the great points of divinity with admirable skill. He delivered them with an uncommonly nervous address, and concluded with a close and direct application to the hearts of the people: by his fervent prayers, his sound doctrine was turned into devotion.

Towards the close of life Mr. Stone was exercised with much trouble. A misunderstanding arose betwixt him and one of the elders of the church, which could not be rectified without the dismissal and removal of several pious members further up the country. It is not easy to conceive how extremely painful this was to his humble and holy soul. He, however, continued feeding the flock of God fourteen years with Mr. Hooker, and sixteen years after him. In due submission to God, he was desirous to leave the world and be with Christ. Expressing his longing desires for heaven, he used to say, "Heaven is the more desirable for such company as Hooker, and Shepard, and Hains, who are got there before me."* He died July 20, 1663. Mr. Stone was a pious, learned, and judicious divine, equally qualified for the confirmation of the truth and the refutation of error. His ministry was attended with the powerful demonstration and application of the truth. His views of church discipline were congregational.† He published "A Discourse upon the Logical Notion of a Congregational Church," of which Dr. Mather gives a very high character.

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 116—118.

† Merton's Memorial, p. 168.

THOMAS PATIENT was some time an independent minister in New England, where he embraced the sentiments of the baptists. This was probably the reason why he is not mentioned by Dr. Cotton Mather, who seems to have possessed a portion of that bigotry which disgraced some of his countrymen. Mr. Patient not being suffered to live quietly on the other side the Atlantic, came over to England about the commencement of the civil wars, and was chosen colleague with the excellent Mr. William Kiffin,* pastor of the baptist church in Devonshire-square, London. Their names are united in the confession of faith published by the seven baptist churches in London, in 1644.† After this, he travelled about the country, and was very industrious in propagating his opinions. Crosby informs us, that he went over to Ireland with General Fleetwood, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, who, having displaced Dr. Winter, appointed Mr. Patient to preach in the cathedral of Dublin. He also preached at other places through the country.‡ In Dublin he became chaplain to Colonel John Jones, who married the sister of Oliver Cromwell, and was one of the lords of his house. Colonel Jones is described as a person lost in fanaticism; which, it is said, led him to prefer his favourite chaplain Patient, before the regular clergy. Accordingly, he was appointed to preach before Jones and the council, in Christ's-church, Dublin, every Lord's day. It appears, from Milton's State Papers, that Mr. Patient travelled into different parts of Ireland along with the English army: He dates a letter from the head-quarters, Kilkenny, April 15, 1650. Mr. Thomas has preserved the copy of a very excellent letter, dated Dublin, the 12th of the 4th month, 1656, addressed to the churches of Ilston and Llantrisant, in Glamorganshire; which is subscribed by Mr. Patient and many others, and contains much excellent advice.§ Crosby says, he was very instrumental in promoting the interests of the baptists in that country; and was probably the founder of the baptist church at Clough-Keating, which, at the time he wrote, was in a very flourishing state.||

We do not find in what year Mr. Patient returned to England, but it was, most probably, after the restoration. After his return, being chosen to the office of joint-elder with

* A very interesting account of Mr. Kiffin has been lately published.— See Wilson's Hist. and Antiquities of Dissenters, vol. i. p. 400.

† Featley's Dippers Dipt, p. 177.

‡ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 90.—Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 43.

§ Thomas's MS. History, p. 14, 15.

|| Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 43.

Mr. Kiffin, he was set apart in Devonshire-square, June 28, 1666; Mr. Harrison and Mr. Knollys assisting on the occasion. In this office, however, he was not suffered to continue long, by reason of death; as appears from the following memorandum in the church-books belonging to that society:—
 “July 30, 1666: Thomas Patient was, on the 29th instant, discharged by death from his work and office, he being then taken from the evil to come; and having rested from all his labours, leaving a blessed savour behind him of his great usefulness and sober conversation. This his sudden removal being looked upon to be his own great advantage, but the church’s sore loss. On this day he was carried to his grave, accompanied by the members of this and other congregations, in a christian, comely, and decent manner.”* Mr. Patient published nothing besides “The Doctrine of Baptisme,” 1654.

WILLIAM THOMPSON was a lively, powerful, and useful preacher, but much persecuted for nonconformity. He was preacher at some place in Lancashire; where, through a divine blessing upon his zealous and affectionate labours, many souls were converted to God. This worthy servant of Christ having endured manifold interruptions, he, to avoid the furious proceedings of the prelates, retired from the scenes of oppression and persecution; and, in the year 1637, he went to New England.†

Upon his arrival in the new plantation, he was chosen pastor of the church at Braintree, where he continued for many years in the faithful and successful discharge of his numerous ministerial duties. Some time after his settlement at Braintree, he was sent, by the churches of New England, with the glad tidings of the gospel, to Virginia. But the good effects of his mission became no sooner manifest than persecution was raised against him, and he was driven from the place by those who called themselves *The Church of England*.‡ The good man, therefore, returned to his stated charge at Braintree, where he continued the rest of his days.

Towards the close of life Mr. Thompson was deeply afflicted with melancholy; and was obliged, several of his last years, to relinquish all public ministerial exercises. It pleased

* Wilson’s Hist. and Antiq. of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 432, 433.

† Morton’s Memorial, p. 181.

‡ Mather’s Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 119.

God, however, in his last sickness, to remove the clouds of darkness from his mind, and to administer sweet consolation to his soul. He fell asleep in the Lord, December 10, 1666, in the enjoyment of great peace and comfort. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." Mr. Thompson had so warm an affection for the welfare of his people, and was so ardently zealous in the propagation of the gospel among them, that he laid aside his own ease and worldly advantage, and wholly employed himself in promoting the salvation of their souls.*

SAMUEL OATES, father to the infamous Titus Oates,† was a popular preacher among the baptists, and a fellow-labourer with Mr. Thomas Lamb, at the meeting-house in Bell-alley, Coleman-street, London. Edwards, who is mostly angry with separatists from the established church, denominates him a weaver, and endeavours to place him in the most odious light. It appears, from this author, that he spent much time in travelling through different parts of the country, with the view of disseminating his opinions. Speaking of the county of Essex, he says, "Oates hath been sowing his tares and wild Oates in those parts these five weeks, without any controul, and hath seduced and dipped many in Bocking river; and when that is done, he hath a feast in the night, and then the Lord's supper. All these are the works of darkness." If Mr. Oates observed these things in the night, the fault, if there were any, was none of his. The intolerance of the times would not allow such exercises to be observed

* Hist. of New England, p. 161.

† The following account is given of this man: He was restrained by no principle, human or divine: like Judas, he would have done any thing for *thirty shillings*, and was one of the most accomplished villains that we read of in history. He was successively an anabaptist, a conformist, and a papist; and then again a conformist. He had been chaplain on board the fleet, whence he was dismissed for an unnatural crime. He was a man of some cunning, more effrontery, and the most consummate falsehood. Soon after the accession of James II., he was convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of above *sixty* reputable witnesses. He was sentenced to pay a fine of *two thousand marks*; to be stripped of his canonical habit; to be whipped twice in three days by the common hangman; and to stand in the pillory at Westminster-hall gate, and at the Royal Exchange. He was, moreover, to be pilloried five times every year, and to be imprisoned during life. The hangman performed his office with uncommon rigour. The best thing *James* ever did was punishing *Oates* for his perjury; and the greatest thing *Oates* ever did was supporting himself under the most afflictive part of his punishment with the resolution and constancy of a martyr. The æra of Oates's plot was the grand æra of Whig and Tery.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 201, 202, 348.

in the light of day. Crosby, alluding to the above circumstance, observes that, in the year 1646, Mr. Oates took a journey into Essex, preached in several parts of that county, and baptized by immersion great numbers of people, especially about Bocking, Braintree, and Terling. This made the presbyterians in those parts very uneasy; especially the ministers, who complained bitterly that such things should be permitted, and would have urged the magistrates to suppress them. "No magistrate in the country, however, dare meddle with him; for they say they have hunted such persons out of the country into their dens in London, and imprisoned some of them, but they have been released."*

If any credit may be given to Mr. Edwards, the conduct of Mr. Oates and some others, in one of their excursions, was highly censurable. He says, "I was informed for certain, that, not long ago, Oates, an anabaptist, and some of his fellows, went their progress into Essex to preach and dip, and among other places they came to Billericay. On a Tuesday at a lecture kept there, Oates and his company, with some of the town, when the minister had done preaching, went up in a body, about twenty of them, (divers of them having swords,) into the upper part of the church, and there quarrelled with the minister that preached, pretending they would be satisfied about some things he had delivered, saying to him, he had not preached free grace. But the minister, one Mr. Smith, replied, if they would come to a place where he dined he would satisfy them; but it was not a time now to speak. Whereupon these anabaptists turned to the people, and said to them, they were under antichrist, and in antichrist's way," and more to the same purpose. After this they committed a riot in the town.†

The same author relates a circumstance in the life of Mr. Oates, that was attended with more serious consequences. "Last summer," says he, "I heard he went his progress into Surrey and Sussex, but now this year he is sent out into Essex. This Oates is a young lusty fellow, and hath traded chiefly with young women and young maids, dipping many of them, though all is fish that comes to his net. A godly minister of Essex, coming out of those parts, related, that he hath baptized a great number of women, and that they were called out of their beds to go a dipping in rivers, dipping many of them in the night, so that their husbands and masters could not keep them in their houses; and it is

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 3, 8.—Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 236.

† Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 106. Third edit.

commonly reported, that this Oates had for his pains ten shillings a piece for dipping the richer, and two shillings and six-pence for the poorer. He came very bare and mean into Essex, but, before he had done his work, was well lined, and grown pursy. In the cold weather in March he dipped a young woman, one Ann Martin, whom he held so long in the water that she fell presently sick, and her belly swelled with the abundance of water she took in; and within a fortnight or three weeks died, and upon her death-bed expressed her dipping to be the cause of her death.* The enemies of the baptists considered this as a fair opportunity for exercising their power to oppress them. Accordingly, for this, "and other misdemeanors, he was committed to Colchester jail, made fast in irons, and bound over to the next sessions at Chelmsford. The other crimes laid to his charge were these: 'That he had preached against the assessments of the parliament and the taxes laid upon the people, teaching them that the saints were a free people, and should contribute not by compulsion, but voluntarily; but now, contrary to this, they had assessment upon assessment, and rate upon rate.' That in his prayers he made use of this petition: 'That the parliament might not meddle with making laws for the saints, which Jesus Christ was to do alone.' Since his commitment," our author adds, "there hath been great and mighty resort to him in the prison. Many have come down from London in coaches to visit him; and I have a letter by me," says he, "from a minister in Colchester, wherein he writes thus: 'Oates, the anabaptist, hath had great resort to him in the castle, both of town and country; but the committee ordered the contrary last Saturday.'"

Mr. Oates was brought to trial April 7, 1646, and acquitted of the charge of murder; but the judge bound him to his good behaviour that for the future he should neither preach nor dip. This, however, had very little effect upon him; for, on the following Lord's day, he returned to his work as usual. Though Mr. Oates escaped with his life, the presbyterians were determined he should not go unpunished. "The people at Wethersfield," says Edwards, "hearing that Oates and some of his companions were come to the town, seized on them (only Oates was not in the company) and pumped them soundly. And Oates coming lately to Dunmow in Essex, some of the town hearing where he was, fetched him out of

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 121.

+ Ibid. p. 122.

the house, and threw him into the river, thoroughly dipping him."*

Dr. Calamy gives an account of a public disputation, in which Mr. Oates was engaged with Mr. William Sheffield, a minister afterwards ejected. He says, "Mr. Oates, an anabaptist, coming into the country, disturbed several congregations, and dispersed public challenges to dispute with any minister or ministers upon the point of baptism. Several justices of the peace sent to Mr. Sheffield, desiring him to accept the challenge, and dispute the point with him in Leicester-castle. He yielded to their desire, and, by agreement, Sir Thomas Beaumont was moderator. At the entrance of the dispute, Mr. Sheffield openly protested that it was truth, and not victory, he was aiming at and pursuing; and that, therefore, if he could not answer the arguments that should be brought against him, or maintain the points he pretended to defend, against the opposition of his opponent, he would frankly acknowledge before them. He desired the same of Mr. Oates, who also agreed. The dispute continued three hours, and was managed with great fairness and temper. At length, Mr. Oates was gruelled with an argument, and yet loudly called on by the people present either to answer, or, according to promise, to confess he could not. Whereupon he frankly confessed that he could not at present answer it. The justices, at the breaking up of the meeting, obliged Mr. Oates to give his promise that he would no more disturb the congregations in that county."†

Mr. Oates lived till after the restoration, when a place of considerable importance was offered him by the Duke of York. This temptation prevailed with him at first to conform; and he was presented to the living of Hastings in the county of Sussex. Afterwards, according to Crosby, his conscience smote him, and he left his living. Coming again among the nonconformists, he returned to Mr. Lamb's congregation, where he continued about five or six years, and died about the year 1666. The same author, who styles him "a popular preacher and a great disputant," says he was minister to a baptist church in Lincolnshire.‡ Edwards charges Mr. Oates with

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 105, 106.

† Calamy's *Account*, vol. ii. p. 421, 422.—Such disputations as that now related, and many others mentioned in this work, are to be regarded only as a sort of religious duels, which can no more decide the equity of any cause than an appeal to the sword or pistol, and ought to be as much discountenanced among all denominations of christians.

‡ Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 60, 61.

the tenets of *arminianism*; and with having publicly declared in his sermon in Bell-alley, "That the doctrine of God's eternal election and predestination was a damnable doctrine."* Bailie, on the other hand, charges him with propagating *antinomianism*.† These contradictory charges we shall not, however, attempt to reconcile. There is probably no more truth in either of them than there was in similar charges which they brought against his fellow-labourer, Mr. Lamb.‡

JOHN WILSON, A. M.—This excellent divine was born at Windsor, in the year 1588, and educated first at Eton school, then in King's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. While at Eton, he twice narrowly escaped being drowned. He was a youth of considerable talents, application, and improvement; and when the Duke of Biron, ambassador from the court of France, visited the school, he was appointed to deliver a Latin oration in his presence, of which this honourable person manifested his high approbation by making him a very handsome present. During his abode at Cambridge he became seriously concerned about his soul. This soon awakened in his breast the warmest desires for the welfare of others, especially the malefactors in prison, whom he assiduously visited and instructed. He remained for some time exceedingly bigoted to the established church, and decidedly averse to the puritans, as if they held many strange and erroneous opinions. He utterly declined their acquaintance; yet, on account of his precise deportment, he was denominated one of them. Afterwards, by reading some of their works, he saw cause for altering his opinion, and for thinking more favourably of them, when he formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Richard Rogers, Mr. Greenham, Mr. Dod, and others. He now saw, as our author observes, that they who were stigmatized by the name of puritans were the most suitable companions for one seriously concerned about his own salvation. He, therefore, embarked with them, though accounted the offscouring of all things, and united with several of his brethren in the university in keeping private meetings for prayer, fasting, and religious conversation.§

Hitherto he remained a conformist, but determined to examine the subject for himself. To this end he procured all

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 126. Second edit.

† Bailie's *Anabaptism*, p. 95.

‡ See Art. Thomas Lamb.

§ Mather's *Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 41, 42.

the books in his power, both for and against conformity, and entered upon a minute and impartial examination of the arguments on both sides; the result of which was, that he cordially espoused the principles of the nonconformists. Mr. Wilson having, upon conviction, imbibed these sentiments, acted upon them, and omitted certain human impositions in the worship of God; for which the Bishop of Lincoln pronounced his expulsion from the university within fifteen days, if he did not conform. His father, Dr. William Wilson, rector of Cliff, and prebendary of St. Paul's, Rochester, and Windsor, used all the means in his power to bring him back to conformity, and interceded with the bishop to have a longer time allowed him. He sent his son to several learned doctors, with a view to have his scruples and objections removed; but this, instead of reclaiming him, only served to confirm him the more in his principles. His father then diverted his attention from the ministry, and directed him to the study of the law. He accordingly went to London, and spent about three years at one of the inns of court. All his father's efforts, nevertheless, proved ineffectual. He was still bent upon the ministry, and he could be satisfied with no other employment. Therefore, with the consent of his father, he returned to Cambridge, and, by the favour of the Earl of Northampton, obtained admission into Emanuel college without subscription.

Mr. Wilson, having finished his studies at the university, became chaplain in several respectable families; and after preaching about three years at Bumsted, Stoke, Clare, and Cavendish, in Suffolk, he was chosen to succeed old Mr. Jenkin, minister at Sudbury in that county. Here he preached with great acceptance and applause for several years; but was at length suspended by the Bishop of London; and after being restored, he was again silenced by the Bishop of Norwich. Afterwards, by the favour and mediation of the Earl of Warwick, he again obtained his ministerial exercise. But, as he found himself constantly exposed to fresh troubles, he resolved to withdraw from the scenes of persecution, and retire into a foreign land. Previous to his departure, visiting his father on his death-bed, the old gentleman thus addressed him:—"I have taken much care of thee," said he, "while thou wast at the university, because thou wouldst not conform. I fain would have brought thee to some higher preferment; but I see thy conscience is very scrupulous about some things imposed in the church. Nevertheless, I have rejoiced to see the grace

and fear of God in thy heart; and seeing thou hast hitherto maintained a good conscience, and walked according to thy light, do so still. Go by the rule of God's holy word, and the Lord bless thee."* Previous to his departure from his native country, he married the pious daughter of Lady Mansfield.

In the year 1630, Mr. Wilson, together with a number of his friends, embarked for New England, where they arrived in the month of July. As the great object of these christian pilgrims, in leaving their native country and settling in this wilderness, was "to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ according to his own institutions;" so they were no sooner arrived than Mr. Wilson, Governor Winthrop, and some others, entered into a formal and solemn covenant with each other, to walk together in the fellowship of the gospel. This covenant was as follows:—"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, "and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinance, "we whose names are here underwritten, being, by his most "wise and good providence, brought together to this part of "America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to "unite ourselves in one congregation or church, under the "Lord Jesus Christ our head, in such sort as becometh all "those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, "do hereby solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy "presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our "ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all "sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual "love and respect to each other, so near as God shall give "us grace.

JOHN WINTHROP,
THOMAS DUDLEY,

ISAAC JOHNSON,
JOHN WILSON, &c."†

A foundation was thus laid of the church at Charlestown, in the Massachusetts colony. This was in July, immediately on their arrival; and in the month of August the court of government ordered, that a dwelling-house should be built for Mr. Wilson at the public expense, and the governor and Sir Richard Saltonstall were appointed to put the same into effect. By the same authority it was also ordered, that Mr. Wilson's salary, till the arrival of his wife, should be twenty pounds a year. However, before the following winter, he, with the greater part of the church, removed from Charlestown and settled at Trimountain,

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. p. 42—44.

† Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 46.

afterwards called Boston. This they found a more healthy and agreeable situation.*

Some time after Mr. Wilson's settlement at Boston, he came over to England, when his wife, with many others, returned with him to the new plantation. He afterwards came to England a second time, and, upon his return, four ministers and nearly two hundred passengers accompanied him. He continued pastor of the church at Boston to the day of his death, and was greatly admired and beloved. The celebrated Dr. Ames used to say, "If I might have my choice of the best situation on this side heaven, I would be teacher to a congregational church of which Mr. Wilson was pastor." This happiness enjoyed Mr. Cotton, and after him Mr. Norton, in the church of Boston. He was a most exact and judicious preacher, especially in his younger years, and was greatly admired by Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Burroughs, and other celebrated divines. During the latter part of his life he took greater liberties; when his sermons chiefly consisted of exhortations, admonitions, and counsels, delivered with much warmth and affection.

He was a man of great piety, and uncommon charity and liberality, employing all his estate to supply the wants of the necessitous. Being of a sweet natural disposition, he was universally beloved, and accounted the very father of the new plantation. All the inhabitants of the town being once upon a general muster called together, a gentleman present thus observed to Mr. Wilson: "Sir," said he, "here is a mighty body of people, and there are not seven of them all who do not love Mr. Wilson." To which he replied, "Sir, I will tell you something as strange: There is not one among them all but Mr. Wilson loves."

Mr. Wilson was a man of a meek and quiet spirit, and always discovered a becoming resignation to the will of God. When at any time he sustained any outward losses, he quietly submitted himself to his heavenly Father's will. Having been once on a journey, a person of his acquaintance met him on the road and told him, saying, "Sir, I have bad news for you. While you have been abroad, your house is burnt down." To which he meekly replied, "Blessed be God: he has burnt down this house, because he intends to give me another." He vigorously opposed the antinomian and familistic errors in the synod of 1637, but too much favoured the prosecutions of the quakers and

* Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 39, 40.

baptists, by encouraging the magistrates to put the penal laws in execution against them. Indeed, this was the common error of those times.*

Mr. Wilson, during his last sickness, was visited by all the neighbouring ministers, who took their final farewell with many tears. The elders of his own church also came to see him, when the venerable old man, after offering up a short prayer, lifted up both his hands, and blessed them, saying, "I am not likely to be long with you. The Lord pardon and heal us, and make us more heavenly, and take us off from the world, and make us burning lights by our doctrine and example. I beseech the Lord, with all my heart, to bless you, and to bless all his churches, to bless all his people, all your families, all your wives, and all your children, and your children's children, and make us all more and more meet for our inheritance, and in good time bring us to enjoy it." As the hour of his departure approached, he lifted up his hands towards heaven and said, "I shall now soon be with my old friends, Dr. Preston, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Sibbs, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norton, and my children and grandchildren in the kingdom of my God." And after offering a short and affectionate prayer, he died, August 7, 1667, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, having been pastor of the church at Boston thirty-seven years.† During all the changes through which he lived, "he continued unmoved in his principles, full of faith and prayer, eminent for sincerity and humility, and highly distinguished for love and acts of kindness. He was eminently charitable in his deportment, orthodox in judgment, and holy in conversation; and few ever left the world so universally revered, beloved, and lamented."‡

ABRAHAM CHEARE was born at Plymouth; and being favoured with religious parents, he enjoyed a pious and useful education. He knew the scriptures from a child, and found constant delight in searching them. Having espoused the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, he was baptized by immersion, and, about the year 1648, admitted a member of the baptist church at Plymouth. He was soon after called by the church to the office of pastor. He possessed eminent gifts and graces, and preached the gospel with great success. The Lord having owned and blessed his labours, the church, by its united efforts, purchased

* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 44—46.

† Ibid. p. 46—49

‡ Morton's Memorial, p. 183.

certain premises within the borough of Plymouth, near Frankford-gate, about the year 1651, and after making suitable alterations for their own convenience, they used the same for a place of public worship. Here they continued to assemble in peace and comfort till the fatal year 1662; when Mr. Cheare was apprehended, and cast into prison, for holding an unlawful conventicle. The church now became as sheep without a shepherd, surrounded with cruel and hungry wolves. The worthy pastor endured five years' confinement in six different prisons, and was at last banished, for a testimony of his love to Christ, to the island of St. Nicholas, near Plymouth; where he died a most happy death, March 5, 1668. The church, at the time of his death, consisted of one hundred and fifty members.*

Crosby, by mistake, says he was *ejected* from Plymouth, and was afterwards minister to a numerous congregation at Looe in Cornwall. He was a very pious, laborious, and useful preacher; he took great pains in his ministry, and wrote many seasonable lessons to youth while he was in bonds for Christ. In the year 1665 he was imprisoned in the Guildhall, Plymouth; from whence, after a month's detention, he was sent to the above island. Previous to this removal he affixed the following lines to the wall of the prison:†

Nigh four years since, sent out from hence
To Exon goal was I;
But special grace, in three months' space,
Wrought out my liberty.
'Till Bartholomew, in sixty-two,
That freedom did remain:
When, without bail, to Exon goal
I hurried was again.
Where having lain, as do all the slain,
'Mong dead men, wholly free;
Full three years' space, my native place
By leave I come to see.
And thought not then, I here again
A month's restraint should find:
Since to my den, cast out from men,
I'm during life design'd.
But since my lines, the Lord assigns
In such a lot to be;
I kiss the rod, confess my God
Deals faithfully with me.
My charged crime, in his due time
He fully will decide;
And until then, forgiving men,
In peace with him I 'bide.

* Meen's MS. Collec. p. 494, 495.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 12.

This excellent person, after suffering the most cruel usage, and enduring numerous inhumanities from merciless jailers, for more than three years, was continued a prisoner under military guard upon the foregoing island. On the Lord's day preceding his death, he addressed a christian lady, then all the family, in the following manner :

"Ah ! sister," said he, "the Lord gave you a heart to own and profess him, his name, and ways early, when they were ways *every where spoken against*; and you have held up, and out, the profession thereof in a flourishing day, and now are concerned in, and with the same, in this hour of temptation, at which I beseech you be not affrighted or offended. You know how it fared with our Lord and Master, whom the religious, as well as the profane world, persecuted and expelled their coasts. *The servant is not above his master.* It is true, you have had the name of a gentlewoman, and of being descended of great parentage, and raised to great things on a worldly account : but keep these all under foot as you ought, and let that still be the song, *Worthy is the Lamb to receive power and riches, wisdom and strength, honour and glory, and blessing.* Oh ! give up all to him, as Araunah of old, as a king to a king, so let the offering be given up cheerfully, and resignedly, entirely to him.

"I bless God, I have learned something of this in conversing with you, of your readiness and freeness heretofore and now to lay out for the Lord. Though I now go the way of all flesh ; yet you know in all your hearts, and in all your souls, that we have none of us cause to be sorry or repent for what we have laid out for the Lord. And you, for your part, have heretofore entertained saints, yea, it may be angels, unawares. The Lord reward you for it ; and the God, under whose wings you trust, be your great reward. But, oh ! take heed your good be not evil spoken of ; and that your table become not a trap, nor what was provided for good, turn to your hurt. I desire the Lord Jesus may teach you to look carefully about you, that you lose not the things you have wrought, but receive a full reward. I remember it is said of Abel, that though dead, he yet speaketh ; and have thought that word, in a bad sense, looked at me and many others, who, while living, have been but dead speakers : but I am now hastening to another kind of death, where, after worms have consumed this flesh and bones, I may be brought forth as a living,

speaking witness in those words of mine, against such as slight the instruction of them."

He then gave thanks to God for the hope he possessed of eternal life through Jesus Christ, and warned his friends to improve the present dispensation, and the religious opportunities now afforded. He spoke, with the deepest concern, of the national guilt in persecuting God's faithful servants; and, with the strongest assurance and joy of the delight which God takes in his suffering saints, and the ample recompence with which he will crown their present sorrows. He then addressed his friends as follows:

"I charge you," said he, "in the name of the Lord Jesus, and as you will ever answer it at the great day, that you make religion your business, and that you make not godliness a slight thing, nor walking with God a small matter, as ever you hope to stand with boldness before God in judgment. God, indeed, hath taken strength from these arms of mine. I speak it not as if I murmured at it, or by way of discouragement, as if he could not, if it pleased him, raise dead bones, and of stones make children to Abraham."*

This pious servant of God, having thus addressed those about him, desired them to lift up his arms, when he solemnly charged them, that they would, by lifting and holding up his hands, bear witness to it as his dying charge to them all. He pressed them to make it their great business the remainder of their days, to live to the praise and glory of the Lord Jesus, and in true obedience to his will. During nearly the whole of his illness, he continued glorifying God, and exhorted all who visited him to steadfastness and perseverance, notwithstanding the perils of the times. About three hours previous to his dissolution, a friend perceiving him under great pressures, said to him, "They looked unto the Lord, and were lightened: a right look will bring down relief under all difficulties." "Yea," replied he, with great earnestness, "and their faces were not ashamed;" after which he spoke no more, but fell asleep in the Lord.

Mr. Cheare, during his imprisonment, wrote many excellent letters to his friends, in which he warmly and affectionately exhorted them to holy constancy and steadfastness. One of these epistles was occasioned by certain

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 13—16.

provisions sent to him and his fellow-prisoners; and is dated the 22nd of the 9th month, 1667, and addressed, "Unto our brethren and friends, in the bonds and bowels of the gospel, whose hands have made them willing, under the bounteous influences of the God of Israel, to comfort the hearts of the unworthy prisoners of the Lord in Plymouth Island by a costly present; and to every one who hath contributed or helped therein to a tender groan, or the value of a cup of cold water, be a large recompence of reward given in grace, and ascertained in glory, by him who is not unfaithful to forget such labour of love shewed to his name." This letter, containing many pious and generous sentiments, is still preserved.*

This holy man wrote several religious tracts, some of which were published after his death, entitled, "Words in Season;" to which was annexed the following account of the author:—"If any inquire," says the writer, "what might occasion so much severity as to detain the author a prisoner so many years, and till death? It may suffice to insert here, that he left the state of his case, under his hand, setting forth the illegality and unrighteousness of the proceedings against him. He never, in the former wars, was enlisted in any troop or company under pay; and in the trained-bands of the town where he served, never was accounted worthy of promotion; nor in the corporation, whereof he was a member, ever advanced so high as a constable; and never bettered his estate one farthing by all the propitious advantages that might have given him opportunity of so doing; nor was he conscious to himself of the least desire of adding to what he possessed, by any present or future advantages, to which any favourable overtures of the times might tempt him. He never improved his own interest in any place or office of trust or profit, civil, military, or ecclesiastical; save only for a few weeks, unknown to him, and against his will, he was made a chaplain to the fort, but quickly got himself discharged from it. Never was he concerned in, or truly charged with any plot, mutiny, or tumult, giving the least disturbance, occasion of fear, or jealousy. This then was the only thing that could give colour to such proceedings; that he, being convinced of his duty to his Lord, by the light of scripture, joined himself in a holy covenant, *to walk in all the ordinances of the Lord blameless*, to the best of his light and power, in fellowship with a poor and despised people."†

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 17—24. † Ibid. p. 24—26.

RICHARD MATHER.—This excellent divine was born at Lowton in Lancashire, in the year 1596, and educated first at Winwick school in that county, then at Brazen-nose college, Oxford. Afterwards he was chosen minister and schoolmaster at Toxteth-park, near Liverpool. His first sermon was preached November 13, 1618, to a crowded assembly, and with great acceptance. He was ordained by Bishop Morton of Chester, who, at the close of the service, selected him from the rest who had been ordained, intimating that he wished to speak to him alone. Mr. Mather was afraid of some information on account of his puritanism; yet, when the bishop had called him from the rest of the company, he said, "I have an earnest request to make of you, sir, and you must not deny me. I know the prayers of men who fear God will avail much; and you I believe to be such a one. I therefore request that you would pray for me."

Mr. Mather entered upon his sacred charge with great zeal and fidelity. He preached twice every Lord's day at Toxteth, and delivered a lecture regularly at Prescott. This he did without interruption for fifteen years, until the month of August, 1633; when complaints were brought against him, and he was suspended for nonconformity. His suspension did not, however, continue very long; for in November following, by the kind intercession of several worthy friends, he was again restored. This awakened him to a close examination of the controversy about ecclesiastical matters, the result of which was, that he became more than ever dissatisfied with the established church, and fully persuaded that the principles and government of congregational churches was the model laid down in the New Testament.

This worthy divine did not, indeed, long enjoy his liberty. For, the next summer, Archbishop Neile of York,* sending his visitors into Lancashire, he was again brought under the ecclesiastical censure. During his examination before his unmerciful judges, they would not suffer him to speak for himself; but proceeded to suspend him, without hearing what he had to say in his own defence. While his persecutors treated him with so much rashness and severity, he was enabled to exercise much wisdom,

* It is observed that Archbishop Neile taught the people to pray for his predecessor after he was dead, on which account the king very seasonably admonished him for his inclinations to popery.—*Mather's Hist of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 125.—*Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic*, p. 130.

prudence, and submission to the will of God. This appears from his own private memorial following:—"I have this to bless God for," says he, "that the terror of their threatenings, their pursuivants, and the rest of their pomp, did not terrify my mind: but I stood before them without being in the least daunted; and answered for myself, when permitted to speak, with that truth and soberness which the Lord put into my mouth, not fearing their faces. This supporting presence of the Lord I count not a much less mercy than if I had been altogether preserved out of their hands." When the pious ecclesiastics inquired how long he had been a minister, and being told fifteen years; they asked how long he had wore the surplice, and being informed that he had never wore it, "What," said one of them, with an oath, "preach fifteen years and never wear a surplice! It had been better for him if he had gotten seven bastards!!!"*

Mr. Mather being again deprived of his liberty, and all means of obtaining his restoration proving ineffectual; and having no prospect of deliverance from the tyrannical sentence in future, he resolved to remove with his family to New England. He accordingly drew up his reasons, and presented them to his friends, who justified his conduct; and even his friends at Toxteth, who dearly loved and valued him, could not oppose the design. By transporting himself to the new continent, he said, "He should remove from a corrupt to a purer church:—from a place where the truth, and the professors of it, are persecuted, to a place of greater quiet and safety:—From a place where all the ordinances of God cannot be enjoyed, to a place where they may be enjoyed:—From a place where the discipline of the Lord Jesus Christ is wanting, to a place where it may be practised:—From a place where the ministers of God are unjustly prohibited from the exercise of their functions, to a place where they may freely execute the same:—And from a place where there are fearful signs of desolation, to a place where one may have a well-grounded hope of God's protection."†

He was further encouraged in the undertaking by letters which he received from Mr. Hooker and others, already settled in the new colony. In one of these letters, Mr. Hooker gave him the most flattering account, saying, "If I speak my own thoughts freely and fully, though there

* Clark's Lives, p. 130.—Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 122—125. † Ibid.

are many places where men may expect and obtain greater worldly advantage; yet, I do believe, there is not a place on the face of the earth where a person of a judicious head and a gracious heart may receive greater spiritual good to himself, and do more temporal and spiritual good to others." Therefore, after taking leave of his numerous friends, he travelled to Bristol in disguise, to escape the hungry pursuivants, who sought to apprehend him; and sailed from thence May 23, 1635, and arrived at Boston the 17th of August following. Thus he was delivered from the persecution with which he was exercised while in his native country.

When the ship in which he sailed arrived on the coast of New England, they were involved in a most tremendous hurricane, and in the utmost danger of being lost. Mr. Mather, in his journal of the 15th of August, after giving a circumstantial and very affecting account of the danger, observes: "In this extremity and appearance of death, we cried unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have mercy upon us. By his overruling-providence, he guided the ship, and assuaged the violence of the sea and the wind. The Lord on that day granted us as wonderful a deliverance, I think, as ever any people enjoyed; and the seamen confessed they never knew the like. I hope we shall not forget it to our dying day. During the whole of the storm my fear was the less when I considered the clearness of my call from God. In some measure, the Lord gave us hearts to be content and willing that he should do with us and ours as he pleased, and as might be most for his glory: and here we rested. But when the news was brought that the danger was over, oh! how our hearts did melt within us. We burst into tears of joy and love to our gracious God, and in admiration of his marvellous deliverance."*

The year after his arrival, Mr. Mather was chosen pastor of the church newly formed at Dorchester, where he continued all the rest of his days. He was a man of most exemplary piety and diligence. His excellent spirit and character may be seen from the following instrument, which, about this time, he drew up or renewed for his own private use:†

"Promises made to God, by me, Richard Mather.
I. "Touching my ministry.—That I will be more painful

* Clark's Lives, p. 130.—Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 126. † Ibid. p. 127.

and diligent in private preparation, by reading, meditation, and prayer.—That in and after preaching I will earnestly strive against inward pride and vain-glory.—That before and after preaching I will seek unto the Lord for his blessing upon his word, more carefully than in time past.

2. “Touching my family.—That I will be more frequent in religious discourse with those in my house, and be more careful in catechizing my children.

3. “Touching myself.—That I will strive more against worldly cares and fears, and the inordinate love of worldly things.—That I will be more frequent and regular in private prayer.—That I will practise more seriously and frequently the duty of self-examination.—That I will strive against carnal security and excessive sleeping.—That I will strive against vain jangling and the misspending of time.

4. “Touching others.—That I will be more careful and zealous to do good to their souls by private instructions, exhortations, and reproofs.—That I will be ready to do offices of kindness and love, not for the praise of men, or to purchase commendation, but out of conscience to the command of God.

“Renewed with a profession of my own inability, and a desire that I may fetch power from Christ, to live upon him, and act from him in all spiritual duties. June 15, 1636.

“RICHARD MATHER.”

Such were the promises and engagements into which this pious divine entered. He was resolved, by the help of the Lord, to devote his time, his talents, and his all, to the honour of his God and the welfare of immortal souls. Mr. Mather preached his last sermon from 2 Tim. iv. 6—8. *The time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course, &c.* He was presently after seized with a total obstruction of urine. Though he laboured under extreme pain, he was a pattern of patience to all beholders. He never murmured, and seldom groaned, but resigned himself to the will of God. Being asked how he did, he meekly answered, “Far from well, yet better than mine iniquities deserve.” When his son reminded him of the Lord’s goodness and faithfulness towards him all his days, he immediately replied, “Yes, I must acknowledge the mercy of God hath been very great towards me all my life; but I must also acknowledge, that I have had many failings, and the thoughts of them abaseth

me, and worketh patience in me." Being desirous to be carried into his study, where, he observed, "his books wanted him," his friends endeavoured to help him: but finding himself unable to bear the fatigue, he said, "I see I am not able. I have not been in my study for several days. Is it not a lamentable thing that I should lose so much time?" His son, perceiving the symptoms of death upon him, said, "If there be any thing which you would have me to do, in case the Lord should spare me, and take you to heaven, I wish you to mention it." After pausing a little, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he said, "That which I would commend to you is, the care of the rising generation, that they may be brought under the government of Christ; and that, when grown up and qualified, they and their children be baptized. I must confess I have been defective in practice; yet I have publicly declared my judgment, and manifested my desires to practise that which I think ought to be attended to; but the dissenting of some in our church discouraged me. I have thought that persons might have a right to baptism, and not to the Lord's supper; and I see no cause to alter my judgment." His extreme pain continued to the last; and he died April 22, 1669, aged seventy-three years. According to our historian, "he was a man of most exemplary piety, an excellent scholar, and a plain, judicious, and majestic preacher, shooting the arrows of divine truth into the hearts of his hearers."* Wood denominates him "a pious man, and a zealous and laborious preacher;" and adds, "that he was much followed by the precise party," as he in contempt styles them; but "that he was a severe Calvinist, and no friend to the church of England."†

A copy of Mr. Mather's last will and testament, dated October 16, 1661, is still preserved; the conclusion, which is an address to his children, is worthy of being transmitted to posterity.—"I think it not amiss," says he, "for the spiritual good of my children, to lay upon them the solemn charge of a dying father; that none of them, after my decease, may presume to walk in any way of sin, or in a careless neglect of God, and the things of God, and their own salvation by Christ. For if they shall do so, (which God forbid,) then, and in such case, I do hereby testify unto them, that their father who begat them, and their mother

* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 127, 129.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 305, 306.

who bore them, with all the prayers which they have offered up, and tears which they have shed for them; their example, their admonitions, and their exhortations, which they have delivered to them, together with this my last will and solemn charge; all these will rise up against them, as so many testimonies for their condemnation at the last day. But I hope better things of them; and do hereby declare unto them, that if they shall seriously repent of their sins, believe in the Lord Jesus, and by his grace walk in all the ways of God, as this will be to the honour and glory of him who made them, so it will redound to their own unspeakable comfort and benefit, both in this and another world: and their father who now speaketh to them, with their dear mother, now with God, shall exceedingly rejoice in the day of Christ, when we shall receive our children into those everlasting habitations; and shall, not ourselves only, but those who came out of our bowels, enjoy their portion in that eternal glory. I desire and hope it may be so. I commend them all to the Lord's gracious blessing; and let the blessing of God in Jesus Christ be poured out and remain upon them all for evermore, amen."

Mr. Mather was twice married. His first wife was the pious daughter of Edward Holt, esq. of Bury in Lancashire, and his second wife the widow of Mr. John Cotton. He had four sons employed in the ministry, all eminent in their day. Nathaniel, Samuel, and Increase were preachers in England, and all ejected by the fatal Act of Uniformity, in 1662.+ His son Eleazer was pastor of the church at Northampton in New England, where he died a few months after his father. The celebrated Dr. Cotton Mather, well known by his historical and other writings, was his grandson.

His WORKS.—1. A Discourse on the Church Covenant, 1643.—2. An Answer to Thirty-two Questions, 1643.—3. Answer to Mr. Charles Herle and to Mr. Samuel Rutherford, wherein is defended the Congregational Way of Church Government, and how it differs from the Presbyterian, 1646.—4. An Heart-melting Exhortation, together with a Cordial of Consolation, presented in a Letter from New England to his Countrymen in Lancashire, 1650.—5. A Catechism, 1650.—6. A Treatise of Justification, 1652.—7. A Defence of the Churches of New England.—8. A Farewell Exhortation to the Church and People at Dorchester, consisting of seven Directions.—He had a principal hand in drawing up "The Platform of Church Discipline, agreed unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches assembled in the Synod at Cambridge in New England, in the year 1648."

* Clark's Lives, p. 137.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 4, 245, 355.

ZECHARIAH SYMES was born at Canterbury, April 5, 1599, and received his education at Cambridge. He descended from worthy and pious ancestors, who opposed the progress of idolatry, and favoured the gospel, during the persecutions of Queen Mary. He trod in the steps of his forefathers; was pious from a child, averse to superstitious novelties in divine worship, and a sufferer for nonconformity. After finishing his studies at the university, he was employed by several persons of quality as tutor to their children; yet not without molestation from the prelates. In the year 1621 he was chosen lecturer at St. Antholin's church, London; where he met with many troubles from the ecclesiastical courts, for refusing to observe certain rites and ceremonies contrary to the convictions of his conscience. He was, at length, obliged to leave the place, when he removed, in 1625, to Dunstable; but there his persecutors followed him. He was often summoned to appear in the bishops' courts, and interrupted in his ministry; and seeing no prospect of better days in his own country, he withdrew from the cruel persecution, in the year 1635, and fled to New England. Upon his arrival in the new colony he was chosen teacher to the church at Charlestown, of which Mr. James was pastor, where he continued the remainder of his days. He was a man of excellent abilities, integrity, and zeal, and a reverend and laborious preacher.* He died February 4, 1670, in the seventy-first year of his age. Mr. Symes being invited to assist in the formation of a christian church at Woburn in New England, it is said, "he continued in preaching and prayer about *four or five hours.*"† He appears, however, to have exercised some degree of severity against the baptists.‡

JOHN DAVENPORT, B. D.—This learned divine was born at Coventry, in the year 1597, and educated first in Merton college, then in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he was called to preach in London, where his rare ministerial endowments, and his pious courage in visiting the sick during the raging of the plague, soon brought him into public notice. His sermons were distinguished by the labour with which they were prepared, and by the gravity, the energy, the plea-

* Hist. of New Eng. p. 70.—Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 131, 132.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 110.

‡ Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 362.

santness, and the engaging elocution with which they were delivered. His very enemies allowed him to be an excellent preacher; and by his midnight studies, and his uncommon industry, he obtained the just reputation of a universal scholar.

About the year 1626 Mr. Davenport was chosen one of the feoffees for buying impropriations; but Bishop Laud, looking with great jealousy upon the undertaking, lest it should become the nursery of puritanism, put an effectual stop to it. This he did, to the great grief of all good people, and the lasting reproach of his own character. About the same time Mr. Davenport, by a conference with Mr. Cotton, became an avowed, but a peaceable nonconformist. Soon after his removal to London he became vicar of St. Stephen's church, Coleman-street, where he continued some years. Here his preaching, with that of Mr. Norton's, was instrumental in the conversion of the excellent Mr. Kiffin.* In the year 1631 he was convened before Bishop Laud, by whose arbitrary proceedings he was afterwards driven into Holland.† He was also convened before the high commission as a notorious delinquent, only for uniting with some other worthy persons in promoting a private subscription for the poor distressed ministers of the Palatinate, even after public collections failed.‡ Previous, however, to his departure for Holland, finding himself in danger, he called together the principal people of his charge, desiring their opinion and advice; when he acknowledged their right to him as their pastor, and declared that no danger should drive him from any service which they required or expected from him. But with a noble disinterestedness of soul, which reflected great honour upon them, and demonstrated their tender affection, they relieved him from his scruples of conscience; and, though aware of their own loss, they advised him to resign his office for his own safety. Having sent in his resignation, instead of enjoying the peace and quietness which he expected, he found himself more officiously watched than ever, being continually hunted by hungry pursuivants. Therefore, in the year 1633, he fled from the storm and retired to Holland, where he was immediately chosen co-pastor with Mr. John Paget to the English church at Amsterdam.§

* Wilson's Hist. and Antiq. of Dissenters, vol. i. p. 404, 405.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 526.

‡ Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 164.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 51—53.

Mr. Davenport did not, however, enjoy much comfort in this new situation. His objections against the promiscuous admission of children to the ordinance of baptism excited considerable opposition; and he soon found that he must baptize children when there was no charitable evidence of their belonging to christian parents, or give up his pastoral relation to the church. Therefore, in the year 1635, he resigned his charge, and opened a catechetical exercise at his own lodgings every Lord's day evening, after the public services of the city were over. But the popularity of his talents soon collecting great numbers, increased the jealousy and opposition of the contrary party. He then returned to England, saying, "that he thought God had carried him to Holland on purpose to bear witness against that promiscuous baptism, which bordered on a profanation of the holy ordinance." He used to observe, that when the reformation of the church had been effected in any age or country, it was seldom advanced beyond the improvements of the first reformers; and that it was as easy to remove Noah's ark from Ararat, as to persuade people to proceed beyond the first remove of their leaders.* This coincides with the just observation of the celebrated Mr. John Robinson. "The Calvinists," said he, "stick just where John Calvin left them."

Mr. Davenport had long been a warm friend to New England. He took an active part with some others in obtaining the patent of Massachusetts colony. His purse and his time had been employed to promote the advantage of the new plantation, even before his departure to Holland. This now seemed to be the only field in which he could carry his ideas of ecclesiastical reformation to their full extent. About the same time Mr. Cotton, of Boston in New England, wrote to him, saying, "that the order of the churches and commonwealth was now so settled in that country, that it reminded him of the new heaven and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness," which led him to determine to cross the Atlantic. Therefore, in the year 1637, Mr. Davenport, with several eminent christians and their families, went over to New England. Among these adventurers were Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two London merchants, men of good estates, and highly celebrated for wisdom and piety. The Oxford historian, by mistake, therefore observes, that Mr. Davenport did not return from Holland till after

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 51—53.

the commencement of the civil wars, when he came to England, and obtained a benefice in the church; but afterwards went to New England.*

When this learned divine fled to New England, with a view to escape the storm of persecution in his own country, Archbishop Laud said, "My arm shall reach him there;" but whether the cruel oppressions of this arbitrary prelate were, in this instance, equally extensive as his wishes, appears extremely doubtful.† Upon the arrival of Mr. Davenport and his friends, they found the colony deeply agitated by the antinomian and familistic errors, which, by the influence of a bold woman, had shaken the pillars of the government, and threatened the existence of the churches. She held public assemblies in her own house, and expounded the scriptures to all who came. Mr. Davenport arrived just before the famous synod at Cambridge, appointed to consider the errors that were then propagated. His assistance and influence on this occasion were peculiarly seasonable. In the conclusion, he was appointed to announce the result of the synod, when he preached a sermon from Phil. iii. 15., in which, it is said, "he shewed the occasion of differences among christians, and, with much wisdom and sound argument, persuaded the people to unity."‡

In the month of March, 1638, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Prudden, and Mr. Eaton, brother to the above person of this name, removed, with many families, from Massachusetts, intending to form a new settlement at Quinipioke. They had formed a high opinion of the situation, and expected there to escape the power of a general governor, whom they feared would soon be sent over. The good people of Massachusetts parted very reluctantly with these valuable brethren. Charlestown made them large offers to induce them to settle there. Newbury generously offered them their whole town, and the legislature kindly offered them any place they should choose, which had not been already granted. But Quinipioke, which they now called New Haven, was the spot on which they resolved to fix their station, and no allurements could divert their attention from it. The first public service observed in this new plantation was on Lord's day, April 18, 1638, under a large spreading oak. Mr. Davenport preached from Matt. iii. 1. on the temptations of the wilderness. Here he endeavoured to

* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 334.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 71.

establish a civil and religious order more strictly according to the word of God, than he had seen exhibited in any other part of the world. He was an original genius, and the plan he adopted was his own; and, our author adds, “if success be any evidence of merit, he certainly has high claims to the veneration and gratitude of nations.”* There the famous church of New Haven, as also the neighbouring towns, enjoyed his ministry, his discipline, his government, and his *universal direction* for many years. The holiness, the watchfulness, and the usefulness of his ministry, are worthy of the remembrance of all who would set before them an example of ministerial excellence. His attention and influence extended to all the churches. He was a man of much devotion; and he used to say, “ejaculatory prayer is like arrows in the hands of the mighty; and happy is the man who hath his quiver full of them.”

Mr. Davenport was scrupulously careful in the admission of persons to the Lord's table. To promote church-purity was one important object of his life. It was a fixed principle with him, that no person should be admitted a member of a church who does not make such a profession of faith as the church may in discretion conclude he is in a state of salvation. He was persuaded that there are many rules in the word of God, by which it will appear who are saints, and by which those who admit others to gospel ordinances are to be guided; so as to separate between the precious and the vile. This, indeed, is no more than all sects and even individuals claim for themselves. The only difference is, they do not all fix on the same standard for the admission of members. Mr. Davenport had the same right to his terms of communion that other men have to theirs. He thought too much caution could not be used, where some persons might think very little to be necessary. His own words are these: “The officers and brethren of churches are but men, who judge by outward appearance; therefore, their judgment is fallible, and hath been deceived, as in the reception of Ananias, Sapphira, and Simon Magus. Their duty is to proceed as far as possible by rule, with due moderation and gentleness, to try those who offer themselves to church fellowship, whether they be true believers. And when they have done all, hypocrites will creep in.”†

Mr. Davenport continued at New Haven till the year

* Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 69, 71.

† Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 54, 55.

1667, when his fame was so great in all the churches, that he was invited to Boston, even in the sixty-ninth year of his age, to succeed a Cotton, a Norton, and a Wilson. He remained in this new situation only till March 15, 1670, when, by a fit of apoplexy, he was called to his everlasting rest. He was seventy-two years old, and his remains were interred in the same tomb with those of Mr. Cotton. He was a great scholar, an admirable preacher, and a man of exemplary piety. He was so remarkably diligent in his studies, that the Indians used to call him, *The big study man*.* And even Archbishop Laud denominates him "a most religious man, who fled to New England for the sake of a good conscience.† He was a millenarian in sentiment, being fully persuaded of Christ's personal reign upon the earth for a thousand years. He was, nevertheless, one of the greatest men that New England ever enjoyed.‡ Mr. Oxenbridge, ejected in 1662, succeeded him as pastor of the church at Boston.§

His WORKS.—1. A Letter to the Dutch Classis, containing a just Complaint against an unjust Doer, 1634.—2. Certain Instructions delivered to the Elders of the English Church deputed, which are to be propounded to the Pastors of the Dutch Church in Amsterdam, 1634.—3. A Report of some Passages or Proceedings about his Calling to the English Church in Amsterdam, against John Paget, 1634.—4. Allegations of Scripture against the Baptizing of some kind of Infants, 1634.—5. Protestation about the Publishing of his Writings, 1634.—6. An Apologetical Reply to the Answer of W. B., (William Bradshaw,) 1636.—7. The Profession of the Faith of the Reverend and Worthy Divine Mr. John Davenport, sometimes Preacher at Stephen's, Coleman-Street, London: made publicly before the Congregation at his Admission into one of the Churches of God in New England, 1642.—8. A Catechism containing the chief Heads of the Christian Religion, 1659.—9. The Saints Anchor-hold in all Storms and Tempests, 1661.—10. The Power of Congregational Churches asserted and vindicated, 1672.—11. An Essay for Investigation of the Truth.—12. Several Sermons and some other articles.

CHARLES CHAUNCEY, B. D.—This learned divine was the fifth and youngest son of George Chauncey, esq.; born at Yardley-Bury in Hertfordshire, in the year 1589,|| and

* Mather's Hist. p. 56.

+ Laud's Ans. to Lord Say's Speech, p. 47.

† Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. ii. p. 370.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 299.

|| He is said to have been born in the year 1592. He was great uncle to Sir Henry Chauncey, author of "The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire;" and descended from a family which came to England with William the Conqueror.—*Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. p. 482—484. Edit. 1778.

educated at Westminster school, then in Trinity college, Cambridge; where he took his degrees, was chosen Greek lecturer, and fellow of the college. In the year 1627 he became vicar of Ware, in his native county, and afterwards minister at Marston-Lawrence in Northamptonshire.* At each of these places his labours were made a blessing to many souls; "for the hand of the Lord was with him, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord." Upon the publication of the Book of Sports, under the direction of Laud, Mr. Chauncey was prohibited preaching on the Lord's day afternoon, that the people might have the better opportunity for their profane sports. He then catechized all, both old and young, who would come to him. "This," said the bishop, "*was as bad as preaching!!*"†

Most of the puritan divines were now treated with the utmost cruelty. Bishop Laud was determined to bring them to an exact conformity, or stop their mouths, or cast them into prison, or drive them out of the land. Mr. Chauncey did not escape the vengeance of this tyrannical prelate. In January, 1629, he was questioned in the high commission court for having used the following expressions in his sermon:—"That idolatry was admitted into the church; that not only the prophets of Baal, but Baal himself, was received, and houses multiplied for their entertainment; and that the preaching of the gospel would be suppressed. That there wanted men of courage to remind their superiors of their neglect, and that there was a great increase of atheism, heresy, popery, and arminianism in the church." To the charges founded upon these expressions, Mr. Chauncey gave his answer upon oath in the high commission, in the month of April following. The next day, the cause, by order of the court, was referred to the decision of Bishop Laud. This was on condition, that, if Mr. Chauncey did not submit to observe what the bishop should appoint, his lordship might, if he pleased, refer him back to be censured in the high commission. But he is said to have made his submission to the bishop.‡

This, however, was not the end of his troubles. For in 1635 he was again prosecuted in the high commission for opposing the railing in of the communion table at Ware; when he was suspended, cast into prison, condemned in costs, and obliged to make the following degrading recantation:

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 904.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 94.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 134, 135.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 362.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 34.

“ Whereas I, Charles Chauncey, clerk, late vicar of
 “ Ware, in the county of Hertford, stand, by sentence of
 “ this honourable court, legally convicted for opposing the
 “ setting of a rail about the communion table in the chancel
 “ of the parish church of Ware, with a bench thereunto
 “ affixed, for the communicants to resort unto, and to
 “ receive the blessed sacrament there, kneeling upon their
 “ knees, saying it was an innovation, a snare to men’s con-
 “ sciences and a breach of the second commandment, an
 “ addition to the Lord’s worship, and that which hath
 “ driven me out of the town. I, the said Charles Chauncey,
 “ do here, before this honourable court, acknowledge my
 “ great offence in using the said invective words, and am
 “ heartily sorry for them. I protest, and am ready to
 “ declare by virtue of mine oath, that I now hold, and am
 “ persuaded in my conscience, that kneeling at the receiving
 “ of the holy communion is a lawful and commendable
 “ gesture; and that a rail set up in the chancel of any
 “ church by the authority of the ordinary, with a bench
 “ thereunto affixed for the communicants to repair unto, to
 “ receive the holy communion kneeling, is a decent and
 “ convenient ornament for that purpose, and this court
 “ conceiveth, that the rail set up lately in the parish church
 “ of Ware, with the bench affixed, is such a one. And I
 “ do further confess, that I was much to blame for opposing
 “ the same, and do promise, from henceforth, never, by
 “ word or deed, to oppose either that or any other the
 “ *laudable rites and ceremonies* prescribed and commanded
 “ to be used in the church of England.

“ CHARLES CHAUNCEY.”*

This submission is said to have been forced from Mr.
 Chauncey, and designed only to deter others from opposing
 the archbishop’s innovations. After he had made this dis-
 graceful recantation in the open court, the archbishop
 judicially admonished him “ to carry himself peaceably
 and conformably to the doctrine, the discipline, and rites
 and ceremonies of the church of England ; and that, in case
 he should be brought before them again for any similar

* This prosecution was procured chiefly by the tyrannical power and
 influence of Laud ; and when Dr. Merrick, counsel to Mr. Chauncey,
 endeavoured to vindicate his client, because the setting up of the rail was
 done by a few parishioners, and without any warrant from those in autho-
 rity, the archbishop, in a rage, threatened to suspend the doctor from his
 practice, for pleading thus in his favour.—*Prynne’s Cant. Doome*, p. 93,
 95, 96.—*Rushworth’s Collect.* vol. ii. p. 316.

offence, the court intended to proceed against him with all severity ;” and so dismissed him.*

Though Mr. Chauncey was overcome in the hour of temptation ; and enforced, by the terrors and censures of his cruel oppressors, to make the above recantation, he afterwards felt the bitterness of it, and deeply bewailed his sinful compliance. Though he obtained forgiveness of God, he never forgave himself as long as he lived. He often expressed a holy indignation against himself, as well as the superstitious innovations in the church. He was a most exemplary man, and lived a most holy life ; yet, at the time of his death, nearly forty-years after, he made the following humiliating declaration in his last will and testament :—
 “I do acknowledge myself to be a child of wrath, and sold under sin, and one who hath been polluted with innumerable transgressions and mighty sins ; which, as far as I know and can call to remembrance, I keep still fresh before me, and desire, with mourning and self-abhorrence, still to do, as long as life shall last ; and especially my so many sinful compliances with, and conformity unto, vile human inventions, and will-worship, and hell-bred superstitions, and other evil things patched to the service of God, with which the *English mass-book*, I mean the Book of Common Prayer, is so fully fraught.”† Our author further observes, that there were very few who suffered more for nonconformity, by fines, by jails, by necessities to abscond, and at last by an exile from his native country.

At length he withdrew from these perils and tribulations and went to New England, where he arrived January 1, 1638. There he preached for some time, and with great applause, at Plymouth ; and would have been chosen pastor of the church, had not his peculiar sentiments hindered his settlement. He was of opinion, “that the Lord’s supper ought to be administered in the evening, and every Lord’s day ; and that baptism ought only to be by dipping or plunging the whole body under water, whether in the case of children or adults.”‡ Afterwards, he became pastor of the church at Scituate, where he continued twelve years a zealous and faithful labourer in the vineyard of the Lord. At the time of his settlement, in his discourse to the congregation, reflecting upon his sinful compliance with the arbitrary and superstitious demands of the high commission,

* Prynne’s Cant. Doome, p. 96, 494.

† Mather’s Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 135.

‡ Backus’s Hist. of New Eng. Bap. vol. i. p. 115, 145.

he said, with tears in his eyes, "Alas! my soul hath been defiled with false worship; and how wonderful is the free grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I am still employed to labour in his vineyard."*

When the episcopal power was destroyed in England, and his friends at Ware invited him to return, he came as far as Boston with a view of returning to England. There he was interrupted by the overseers of Harvard college, who, being very unwilling that the country should lose so valuable a person, pressed him to accept the office of president of the college, in the room of Mr. Henry Dunster, removed for his antipædobaptist sentiments. Mr. Chauncey yielded to their earnest and repeated importunities, and spent the rest of his days in the education of the youth of the country. He continued his labours to the very last, even when his years and infirmities required a recess. When he was desired to spare himself, he replied, "It behoveth a general to die on the field; and I should be glad to die in the pulpit." However, finding himself at last almost worn out, he delivered a farewell oration in the college, in which he took his solemn leave of his friends, and died February 19, 1671, aged seventy-two years, having been president seventeen years. In his last sickness he was speechless; but as the hour of his departure approached, Mr. Urian Oakes, who had been praying with him, desired him to give some sign of his assurance of future glory; when the speechless old man lifted up both his hands as high as he could towards heaven, and then expired. He was a man of most exemplary piety, an admirable preacher, an excellent scholar, and an indefatigable student, even in old age. He rose at four o'clock in the morning, winter and summer; and after spending about an hour in his closet, he visited the college, prayed with the students, expounded a chapter out of the original Hebrew, and, in the evening, prayed and expounded a chapter out of the Greek. His natural temper was rather hasty and passionate, but, by watchfulness and prayer, he was enabled to bring it into the obedience of Christ. He had six sons, Isaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathaniel, Elnathan, and Israel, all ministers.† His son Isaac was ejected by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662.‡ Mr. Chauncey was author of "Sermons on Justification;" and "Antisynodalia Americana."

* Mather's Hist. p. 136.

+ Ibid. p. 136—140.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 380.

JOHN ALLEN.—This very pious divine was born in the year 1596, and educated, probably, in the university of Cambridge. He was a hard student, a good scholar, an excellent preacher, a grave and pious divine, and a man of a most humble, heavenly, and courteous behaviour, full of sweet christian love to all; earnestly, and with much meekness of spirit, contending for the faith and peace of Christ. All these excellencies, however, were insufficient to screen him from the persecutions of the times. Though it does not with certainty appear at what place he was settled, after his removal from the university, he bore his share of sufferings with the holy and zealous puritans of those times. A divine of his name, and probably the same person, was minister at Ipswich, who, during the oppressions of Bishop Wren, voluntarily departed from his cure, and went to London.* Having no prospect of better days, or of enjoying rest from persecution, he went, with many others, to New England, where he arrived about the year 1637. Soon after his arrival he was chosen pastor of the church of Dedham, where he continued, much beloved and very useful, all the rest of his days. He died greatly lamented, August 26, 1671, aged seventy-five years. His flock published his last two sermons; the one from Cant. viii. 5., *Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness, leaning on her beloved:* and the other from John xiv. 22., *Peace I leave with you.* In their preface to these sermons, written with tears of grief, they denominate him “a constant, faithful, diligent steward in the house of God, a man of peace and truth, and a burning and shining light.” He published “A Defence of the Nine Positions;” and “A Discourse in Defence of the Synod held at Boston in the year 1662.” He, with the assistance of Mr. Thomas Shepard, wrote upon “Church-reformation.”†

THOMAS GRANTHAM was a faithful and laborious minister of Christ, born in the year 1634. He feared the Lord from his youth, and, about the age of nineteen, he joined the baptist church at Boston in Lincolnshire. Having obtained favour of the Lord, he had a good reputation in the church of God, and soon discovered his abilities for making known the gospel to others. In the prosecution of

* Wren's Parentalia, p. 96.

† Hist. of New Eng. p. 115, 125.—Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 132, 133.

his work he had the honour to be classed among the sufferers for Christ and his cause; for he soon became the object of cruel persecution, and was cast into Lincoln jail, where he continued some time, during which period he wrote his first piece, entitled, "The Prisoner against the Prelate." This book contains the reasons of his separation from the church of England; and, though it is written in verse, the argument is said to be close and nervous.

Crosby says, there is extant a manuscript of Mr. Grantham's, entitled, "Christianitas restaurata, or Christianity restored;" from which it appears, that, about the year 1644, there was a reformed christian church gathered in the south marshes of Lincolnshire, the members of which endured great persecution, in their names and substance, by slanders and confiscations; because they could not in conscience conform in all points to the national establishment. These pious and holy people, being zealous in the service of God, firmly adhered to the holy scriptures, and readily carried forwards the work of reformation. At length a separation took place in the society, when four of the members, who had espoused the sentiments of the baptists, formed themselves into a distinct society. Among these Mr. Grantham exercised his gifts privately, and procured ministers to dispense the word to them publicly. By the blessing of God upon their co-operation, the society soon increased in number; and, in the year 1656, Mr. Grantham was chosen to the pastoral office, though he was only twenty-two years of age.

This christian society, being settled in the order of the gospel, like a fruitful vineyard, grew and multiplied, and sent forth several ministers to preach the gospel. While these zealous christians were respected by the friends of true piety, they met with uncivil and unkind usage from others, particularly the bigoted clergy; who, by warrants, carried Mr. Grantham and several others before the magistrates; but having only falsehood to support their accusations, the wisdom of the magistrates soon perceived their innocence, as well as the malice of their persecutors, and immediately set them at liberty. Their release was no small reproach to their adversaries, and comfort to themselves. They went on cheerfully and prosperously, not only at Halton, but at many other places, though they received much rude treatment from those of the baser sort, who sometimes dragged them out of doors, and stoned them with stones; all of which they received with patience and

meekness. At length they obtained the use of Northolm chapel, where they remained some years, enduring the scoffs and frowns of their enemies. In this situation Mr. Grantham and his brethren had many seals to their ministry, among whom was Mr. John Watts, a person of great repute, who had been educated at the university; but who could not conform to the national establishment, and therefore became pastor of a baptist church which assembled in his own house.

Soon after the restoration of Charles II. Mr. Grantham experienced the revival of persecution. He was apprehended and carried before a magistrate, who bound him over to the assizes held at Lincoln; and others of the baptists were cruelly harassed, being constrained to pay fines of *twenty* pounds a month, for not going to the established church. Under these barbarities, Mr. Grantham and his people resolved to present a petition to his majesty, humbly imploring his favour, and to be relieved from these cruel oppressions. Agreeably to this resolution, Mr. Grantham and Mr. Joseph Wright were chosen the two messengers; who, in the year 1661, were admitted into the king's presence, when they declared their grievances to him, and delivered into his hands, "Their brief confession, or declaration of faith, set forth by the baptized churches, to inform all men of their innocent belief and practice." The king received their petition and the declaration of their faith, treated them very courteously, protested against the cruelty of their adversaries, and promised them their liberties. Accordingly, he set forth his declaration in their favour, December 26th following; when they who had been indicted for religion, were, at the next sessions or assizes, acquitted in open court, to the shame and vexation of their persecutors, who were then sitting on the bench.

Upon the passing of the "Conventicle Act," another persecution was raised against these pious christians, and soldiers were sent to disarm them, on account of their separation from the established church. Though they could not find any arms in their possession, they rifled their houses, took away their goods, and forced Mr. Grantham, Mr. John Gree, and several others, from their wives and families, making them run along like lackeys by the sides of their horses; nor would they tell them whither they designed to lead them, nor whether they should be prosecuted by law, or punished by force of arms. They were constrained, however, to go where the soldiers pleased, who

dragged them from town to town; but, night coming on, they put up at an inn, where the prisoners were confined in a room not fit for entertainment, and so tied up all night that they could enjoy no rest. Also the soldiers sat near them, cursing and swearing, drinking and singing through the night, by which they made the place a kind of hell to these devout and pious souls. When the morning arrived, they were carried to Louth, committed to the house of correction, and afterwards convened before a committee; when, instead of being charged with any crimes, their persecutors sought, by ensnaring questions, to pick up some accusation against them; then tendered oaths to them, and inquired whether they would conform to the established worship of the church of England. In the conclusion, Mr. Grantham, Mr. John Gree, and Mr. John Green, were, by strict command, sent to jail, where they remained half a year. During this period were the assizes, at which time their unfeeling persecutors prevented them from being heard; and afterwards, when they were brought before the justices at the quarter sessions, the bench refused to own them, or proceed to hear their cause. Upon which the sheriff said, that, as he had shewed them in open court, he was released from his charge, and so they were all set at liberty.

Notwithstanding Mr. Grantham's release, his troubles were not over. Soon after the above, his enemies attempted to ruin him, by bringing an action against him of one hundred pounds, upon a pretence that he, with force of arms, did beat and uncivilly use the wife of a certain person, only because he had *baptized* her. But, to the shame and reproach of his prosecutors, the cause at next assizes was cast out of court as a malicious prosecution. Great, indeed, was the opposition of the bishop and clergy against the baptists in Lincolnshire. They were exposed to public contempt; on which account they invited one Mr. Robert Wright, who had renounced their sentiments, to a friendly conference. Though the bishop was greatly moved by this bold adventure of the baptists, only an angry paper was sent them, drawn up by Mr. William Silvertou, the bishop's chaplain, who stigmatized them "erroneous, antick baptists." To this paper Mr. Grantham replied, promising Mr. Silvertou either to hear and discuss his arguments in a free audience, if he would fix a convenient time and place; or reply to him, if he would defend his sentiments from the press. But Mr. Silvertou thought

proper to decline the proposal; and here the affair ended.*

Upon his majesty's declaration of indulgence, in 1671, granting liberty to the dissenters to meet and worship God according to the light of their consciences, without restraint or disturbance, provided their teachers were licensed, their doors set open, and they refrained from all sedition; Mr. Grantham and another person were appointed by the baptists in Lincolnshire to wait upon the king with their humble address to his majesty. In this address, after offering praise to Almighty God, with thanks to his majesty for his late indulgence, they set forth wherein they thought his royal declaration infringed upon that liberty which they deemed the birthright of all christians: they beseeched him to leave them to the light of scripture, in all the exercises of christian worship; and they signified that they should continue in this practice till they should obtain his permission, assuring his majesty that no less liberty than the scriptures expressed would satisfy the church of God. They then concluded with thanks to his majesty for all his lenity; praying that God would magnify his grace in his princely soul, that, while he reigned here on earth, he might excel in all true honour; and, after this life, enjoy a crown of immortality, and a throne of glory in the kingdom of heaven.

It does not appear what effect this bold address produced upon the mind of the king. Mr. Grantham and his brethren had many enemies, who endeavoured to oppress them to the uttermost. He therefore wrote a vindication of them, in a piece that was never published, entitled, "The Baptists' Complaint against the Persecuting Priests;" in the introduction to which he thus expressed himself: "Although we acknowledge ourselves sundry ways obliged to honour many of the learned of the church of England; yet, seeing some of them are so evidently of a persecuting spirit as that they daily seek our utter ruin, both by persecuting us themselves, and by stirring up those that are in authority to trouble us, by imprisonment and seizure of our goods, we are therefore constrained to exhibit this our just complaint; and the rather, because we have faithfully endeavoured to obtain peace and brotherly concord with them, both by our friendly deportment and by proposing, in a more public manner, such things in our 'Friendly

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. ii. p. 241—244.

Epistle to the Bishops and Ministers of the Church of England,' as also in our 'Apology for the baptized Believers,' as do, we trust, sufficiently evidence that there is nothing more dear to us than *truth*, and *peace* with all that call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

He further observes, in the name of himself and his brethren: "We have borne the unkind usage of many of our countrymen, and of persecuting priests in particular, for more than *thirty* years. For, in the time of Cromwell's usurpation, they did then hale us before the judgement-seats, because we could not worship God after the will of their lord protector; for so they styled him in their articles against us. We had then our goods taken away, and never restored to this day." In the enumeration of their multiplied sufferings, he says, "We have sustained the imprisonment of not less than one hundred persons. We have borne the trial of no less than *three hundred* levies, of sixty, forty, twenty, or ten pounds. Indictments at the assizes and sessions, for two-pence per week and twenty pounds per month, we have had not less than a *thousand*. Presentments and excommunications in the commissary courts we have had some *hundreds*, with many other vexations not here inserted."

Mr. Grantham, who bore his share in these oppressions, greatly encouraged and comforted his brethren under all their sufferings. He seems to have been an eminent person in his day, but it does not appear when he died. In addition to the article already mentioned, he was author of "Christianismus Primitivus;" also, "Sigh for Peace; or, the Cause of Division discovered;" and "The Pædobaptists Apology for the baptized Churches."* He is classed among the principal advocates for the practice of *laying on of hands* upon persons newly baptized; and he united with his brethren in publishing a treatise in defence of it, entitled, "A Search for Schism."†

THOMAS LAMB was a native of Colchester; and, during the reign of Charles I., a zealous and popular preacher among the baptists. At the instigation of Archbishop Laud, he was brought from Colchester to London, and prosecuted for nonconformity to the established church, and for preaching to a separate congregation. Being brought

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 75—90.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 292.

before the star-chamber, he was commanded to confess that he had administered the Lord's supper; which, if he had done, he would have been banished from his country: but, without giving a positive answer, he pleaded that a subject of England was under no obligation to bear witness against himself. He was, therefore, sent to prison, where he remained a long time. During his confinement, his wife often went to the star-chamber, and, in behalf of herself and eight children, earnestly solicited the archbishop to procure the liberty of her husband, which it was in his power to do; but the relentless prelate, instead of listening to her tender supplications, called to the people about him to take away that "troublesome woman!" Mr. Lamb was often in bonds for his nonconformity, and was confined in almost all the jails in and about London; always returning to his delightful work of preaching as soon as he had regained his liberty. He was of so courageous a resolution as often to say, "That the man was not fit to preach who would not preach for *God's* sake, though he were sure to die for it as soon as he had done."*

A minister of the same name was made vicar of South Benfleet in Essex, July 23, 1641; but it does not appear how long he held the benefice, nor whether he was the same person.† Not long after this period, Mr. Lamb was chosen pastor of a baptist church in Bell-alley, Coleman-street, London,‡ but did not confine his labours wholly to his own particular charge. He visited various parts of the kingdom to confirm and strengthen the brethren, and plant churches agreeably to his own sentiments. However, in the year 1645, he was brought into fresh troubles; for, upon the publication of the ordinance of parliament against unordained preachers, in that year, the lord mayor sent his officers to the baptist meeting in Coleman-street, upon an information that certain laymen preached there. On their arrival, they found two ministers engaged, Mr. Lamb the elder, and a young man, a teacher in the church, whom Edwards calls "a weaver." The congregation was so greatly provoked, by being thus disturbed in the midst of public worship, that some of them treated the officers with very rough language, calling them "persecutors," and "persecuting rogues." But Mr. Lamb treated them with greater civility, and having passed his word for their

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 54, 55.

† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 48.

‡ Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 124—126.

appearance before the lord mayor at six o'clock, they were suffered to proceed in their worship. Appearing at the appointed time, the lord mayor asked them by what authority they took upon themselves to preach; and told them they had transgressed an ordinance of parliament. The young man being interrogated, gave several whimsical answers, apparently the offspring of enthusiasm, and deserving of censure. Mr. Lamb was more rational in his replies: he said, "he was called and appointed to the office of preaching by as reformed a church as any in the world!" alluding to the words of the ordinance. He also acknowledged his rejection of the baptism of infants as invalid. After examination, the lord mayor bound them over to answer for their conduct before a committee of parliament; and, upon their appearance before the committee, they were sent to prison, where they continued a short time, and then, by the intercession of friends, they were released.*

Mr. Lamb was no sooner delivered out of prison than he went on preaching as usual, and, as formerly, made his excursions to distant places in the country. On one of these journies, he had a narrow escape from the violence of his enemies. Having to baptize a woman in Oldford river, a place then much frequented for the purpose, the husband of the woman, a bitter enemy to the baptists, carried a great stone under his coat, designing, as he afterwards confessed, to have thrown it at Mr. Lamb, while he stood in the river. But he was so much affected with the prayer at the commencement of the service, that he dropt the stone, fell into tears, and was himself the next person baptized.† Mr. Lamb was made chaplain to a regiment in Cromwell's army; and many other persons of the same stamp being appointed to similar situations, the sectarian principles, as they were called, made rapid progress among the soldiers.

During this period, a spirit for public disputation, especially upon points of religion, very much prevailed among all parties; and the most important doctrines of the gospel were frequently risked upon the strength or weakness of the parties engaged. A dispute of this nature, in which Mr. Lamb was engaged, took place at the Spital, on the day of public thanksgiving for the taking of Dartmouth by the parliament's forces. It respected the immortality and

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 124—127. Second edit.—Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 225, 226. † Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 55.

immateriality of the human soul. A very curious account of this meeting is preserved by Mr. Edwards; and as it will serve for a specimen of the manner in which public disputes were then conducted, as well as afford some amusement to the reader, it shall be inserted. The lord mayor, it appears, had private notice of the meeting, and sent his officers to prevent it. Upon their arrival, they acquainted Mr. Lamb with their errand. He told them he would go up and acquaint the brethren; which he did, standing in a desk above the people, at one end of the room, and one Batty, a teacher in the same church, at the other. Mr. Lamb told them that the lord mayor had sent to forbid their meeting, or rather to request them not to dispute on that day. Batty then stood up and said, "That Mr. Mayor was a limb of antichrist, and a persecutor of the brethren; and he questioned what power or authority he had to forbid them: he was sure the parliament gave him no such power, but gave them liberty to use their consciences; and, for his part, he durst undertake to make it good to Master Mayor, calling my Lord Mayor," says Edwards, "in a most base and scornful manner, *Master Mayor*." Overton, the moderator on Batty's side, next stood up and said, "Brother Lamb, had Paul done well, if he had desisted from preaching in the name of Jesus, when commanded by the high-priest to forbear?" To this Mr. Lamb answered in the negative. Upon which Overton replied, in a most scornful manner, "Nor ought we to obey Master Mayor." "And thus did these men argue the power of my Lord Mayor for an hour's space, till they came to state the question and fall to their dispute. The question was, *That God made man, and every part of man, of the dust of the earth; and therefore man, and every part of man, must return to the dust again*, which Batty could not prove; nor could Lamb tell well how to answer: but they both ran off from scripture to scripture, never clearing any one thing to the people. When they had rambled a long time, so that neither of them could tell what to say, then another stood up and said, 'Brother Lamb, or Brother Batty, leave this point to the consideration of the brethren, and take up some other.' After these two had spent four or five hours in this confusion, they sat down and rested; and then stood up one Mellish, a cobbler, and Lawson, a schoolmaster, both anabaptists, and to work they went. Lawson calls to Mellish, and saith to him, 'Brother Mellish, speak either categorically or hypothetically.' Mellish answered

Lawson, that he spake now to him in an unknown tongue, and prayed him to explain himself. Lawson told Mellish that he was not fit to dispute, if he knew not the meaning of these words. Mellish replied, that if he should stand up and tell the people that the moon was made of green cheese, he did not question but some would be of his mind.*

Mr. Lamb lived till after the restoration, and was one of the ministers who, on the part of the baptists, signed a renunciation of Venner's insurrection.† It is probable that he continued preaching at his meeting-house in Bell-alley till the time of his death. He died, it is said, about the year 1672.‡ Mr. Edwards, speaking of him and his church, says, "This man, who was a soap-boiler, and his church are very erroneous, strange doctrines being vented there continually, both in preaching and discoursing, and strange things are done by them, both in their church-meetings and out of them. Many used to resort thither, and all preach universal redemption. Lamb preaches universal grace and the arminian tenets."§ Mr. Bailie says, that Mr. Lamb's congregation was by far the largest and most fruitful of the seven baptist congregations in London, but that it was pestered with the gangrene of arminianism; then, in the very next page, charges him with preaching the various opinions of the antinomians.|| These writers, who were equally indignant against all who presumed to oppose the impositions of the national church, wrote under the influence of a spirit of bigotry, or they received very incorrect information.

There are, at least, three publications extant by Mr. Lamb, from which his real sentiments may be collected with much greater accuracy than from any party-historian whatever. The first is a small octavo pamphlet, entitled, "The Fountain of Free Grace opened." The second is a larger pamphlet, in quarto, entitled, "A Treatise of particular Predestination, wherein are answered three Letters; the first tending to disprove particular Predestination: the second to show the contradiction between Christ's dying for all, and God's election of some: the third to prove, that the soul doth not come from the parent, and consequently that there is no original sin," 1642. The title of Mr. Lamb's third

* Edwards's Gangræna, part ii. p. 14, 15.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 358.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 55.

§ Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 124. Second edit.

|| Bailie's Anabaptism, p. 94, 95.

piece, published in 1656, and dedicated to the lord protector, was, “Absolute Freedom from Sin, by Christ’s Death for the World, as the Object of Faith, in Opposition to conditional, set forth by Mr. John Goodwin, in his book entitled, ‘Redemption Redeemed;’ and the final Perseverance of the Saints proceeding from Election, by the Grace of God alone, maintained and sweetly reconciled with the aforesaid Doctrine. And the great Question, of God’s eternal Decree of reprobating the unbelieving World, cleared from that Odium cast upon it by Mr. Goodwin.”* From these publications, it is evident how grossly both Edwards and Bailie have misrepresented the fact, in stating that Mr. Lamb maintained and taught either the arminian or antinomian tenets. On the contrary, it is extremely obvious, that, upon the disputed points, he was a strict Calvinist.

During the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, one Mr. Thomas Lamb was pastor of a baptist church which met in Lothbury, London, having one Mr. William Allen to his colleague in the pastoral office. After the restoration, the two pastors conformed to the church of England, and wrote with great zeal against separation. Notwithstanding the improbability of there being two persons of the same name, both preachers among the baptists at the same time, and in the same neighbourhood, it is evident that this Mr. Lamb was a different person from the former.† Our author had a son called Isaac, who was a zealous and useful preacher among the baptists, but, like his father, he endured the cruel persecution of his enemies.‡

OLIVER BOWLES, B. D.—This venerable divine was fellow of Queen’s college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. He was a man of great piety, an excellent scholar, and a celebrated tutor. The famous Dr. Preston was one of his pupils.§ Upon his removal from the university, he became rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire, about the beginning of the year 1607, where he continued upwards of fifty years. He was chosen one of the assembly of divines; when he constantly attended, and was very useful in that learned company. The assembly having petitioned the parliament for a fast, previous to its entering upon business, Mr. Bowles and Mr. Matthew

* Crosby’s Baptists, vol. iii. p. 55, 56.

† Sylvester’s Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 180. iii. 180. Appen. p. 51.

‡ Crosby’s Baptists, vol. iii. p. 101—103.

§ Clark’s Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 76.

Newcomen were appointed to preach before both houses and the assembly, and both sermons were ordered to be published. Mr. Bowles's sermon is entitled, "Zeale for God's House Quickened; or, a Sermon preached before the Assembly of Lords, Commons, and Divines, at their solemn Fast, July 7, 1643, in Abbey Church, Westminster: expressing the Eminency of Zeale required in Church-Reformers," 1643. Mr. Bowles was author of a work entitled, "De Pastore Evangelico," 1649. Dr. Calamy denominates this an excellent book. It was published by his son, and dedicated to the Earl of Manchester. He adds, that it was "a book not suffered to creep out in the time of the rampant episcopacy, not for any evil there is in it, but because some men do not care to be put upon too much work.*

Though Mr. Bowles survived the restoration many years, he does not appear either to have conformed or to have been ejected; but, on account of his great age, and for several other reasons, there is the strongest probability to suppose that he gave over preaching about the year 1659 or 1660.† He calmly resigned his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer, September 5, 1674, supposed to be upwards of ninety years of age. He had twelve sons. His son Edward, a celebrated divine, was an ejected nonconformist in 1662.‡ The excellent Mr. Timothy Cruso was favoured with the friendship and counsel of Mr. Bowles. He attended him during his last illness, and received the following affectionate advice from him the day before his death:—"Have a care of yourself, Timothy, in this evil world; and be not so entangled with the vanities of it as to lose the substance for the shadow. Seeing you design yourself for the work and office of the ministry, I would advise you never to trouble your hearers with useless or contending notions; but rather preach all in practicals, that you may set them upon doing, and more advance a holy life. I would not any longer live that idle and unserviceable life which I have lately done; and therefore if God have some work for me yet to do here, he will continue me yet here: but if not, I am sure there is better work for me in heaven, whereby I shall act for his praise and glory more." When I took my last leave of him, says Mr. Cruso, he said, "Farewell, Timothy; and if I see thee not any more in this world, (as indeed he did not,) I hope I shall in the next, which is

* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 779.

† Theolog. and Bib. Mag. vol. iv. p. 207.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 455.

better!" and so I hope also, replied Mr. Cruso. "Only remember," continued Mr. Bowles, "to keep a good conscience, and walk closely with God." These last words he twice repeated with considerable emphasis, that it might make a deeper impression upon his mind.*

JOHN FISK, A. M.—This worthy minister was born in St. James's parish, Suffolk, in the year 1601, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. His ancestors were eminent for zeal in the cause of Christ, several of whom were sorely persecuted in the sanguinary days of Queen Mary.† He was the eldest of four children, all of whom afterwards went to New England. He was blessed with pious parents, who devoted him to the Lord from a child; and after finishing his academical pursuits at Cambridge, he entered into the ministry. But the persecution of all who could not conform, being at that time extremely hot, he was presently silenced for nonconformity. He afterwards practised physic; but at length removed to New England, where he had an opportunity of preaching without the impositions and oppressions of men. He took shipping in disguise, with the excellent Mr. John Allin, to avoid the fury of their persecutors. Having passed the land's end, they made themselves known, and entertained the passengers with two sermons every day, besides other devotional exercises. Indeed, the whole voyage was so much devoted to the exercises of religion, that when one of the passengers

* Theolog. and Bib. Mag. vol. iv. p. 138, 139.

† Among these ancestors there were six brothers, three of whom were papists, and three were protestants; but the papists disowned their brethren. Two of the protestant brothers were sorely persecuted, of whom the following anecdotes are related;—One of them being in the utmost danger, and the pursuivant having great respect for him, sent him private information of his coming to apprehend him; upon which the good man immediately called his family together for prayer, and then hastened to hide himself in a ditch, together with his pious wife with a sucking child at the breast. Here they were upon the point of being discovered. For the pursuivant was near at hand, and, by leaping into the ditch, a thorn in the hedge so deeply marked the child's face, that it never wore out; at which the child began to cry aloud, when the mother presently clapt it to the breast, whereby it immediately became quiet, and so they remained undiscovered.—Another of these brethren, at the same time, to avoid burning, hid himself many months in a pile of wood; then, for half a year, in a cellar, where he was diligently employed in his wonted manufactory, by candle light, so as to remain in like manner undiscovered. But his numerous hardships shortened his days, put an end to his life, and added to the number of those whose blood cried aloud for vengeance.—*Mather's Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 141.

was examined about diverting himself with the hook and line on the Lord's day, he protested, saying, "I do not know which is the Lord's day. I think every day is a sabbath day; for you do nothing but preach and pray all the week long."*

Mr. Fisk married a lady of piety and of a good fortune, several hundred pounds of which was denied her, through the displeasure of her father, upon accompanying her husband to New England. On their arrival, in the year 1637, he preached for several years at Salem, and became tutor to a number of gentlemen's sons. In the month of October, 1644, he was chosen pastor of the church at Wenham, where he abode twelve years. He was content with a small salary, while he spent a considerable estate in promoting the welfare of the new colony. About the year 1656, he removed, with the greater part of the church, to Chelmsford; where he spent the remainder of his days. There his greatest trial was the loss of his pious wife; who, having so extensive a knowledge of the scriptures, served him, says our author, *instead of a concordance*. Mr. Fisk, upon his death-bed, said to his children, "You have the sure mercies of David. Study to emulate one another, and provoke one another to love." He died January 4, 1676, aged fifty-five years. He was a most able, faithful, and useful preacher.† He published "The Olive Plant Watered."

THOMAS PARKER, A. M.—This excellent divine, the son of Mr. Robert Parker, the famous old puritan, was born in the year 1595, and admitted into Magdalen college, Oxford, before his father's exile. His father being driven out of the land for nonconformity, he removed to Ireland, where he pursued his studies under the famous Dr. Usher. Thence he went to Leyden in Holland, where he enjoyed the assistance of the learned Dr. Ames. His labours were indefatigable, and his progress answerable to his exertions. Before the age of twenty-two he received the degree of master of arts with universal admiration and applause. He was greatly beloved and admired by the renowned Mac-covius. Afterwards he returned to England to pursue his theological studies; and he settled at Newbury in Berkshire, where, for some time, he preached and kept a school. Here he appears to have been assistant to the celebrated

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. p. 142.

† Ibid. p. 142, 143.

Dr. Twisse. Being, however, dissatisfied with the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of the ruling prelates, he removed to New England, with a number of christians from Wiltshire, in the year 1634. He went in the same ship with Mr. James Noyes, another puritan minister, with whom the greatest intimacy and affection subsisted as long as they lived.

Mr. Parker, and about one hundred of his friends, upon their arrival in the new plantation, sat down at Ipswich. In this situation they continued about a year, then removed to Quafcacunquen, which they now called Newbury. The beautiful river, on whose banks they settled, was, in honour to their revered pastor, called Parker's river: tradition says, "because he was the first who ascended it in a boat."* Mr. Parker was chosen pastor of the church, and Mr. Noyes teacher. There Mr. Parker, by the holiness and humility of his life, for many years, gave his people a lively commentary of his doctrine. But, by his incessant application to study, he became blind several years before his death; yet, even then, he taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The loss of both his eyes was certainly very painful; yet he bore the cross with becoming submission to the will of God, and would sometimes pleasantly say, "Well, they will be restored shortly, in the day of the resurrection." He departed to the world of light in the month of April, 1677, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the fifty-second of his ministry. He was exceedingly charitable, a hard student, an excellent preacher, and one of the best scholars and divines of the age. He considered the sabbath as beginning on the Saturday evening, yet kept the sabbath evening as his people did. When he was asked why he adopted a practice different from his opinion, he replied, "Because I dare not depart from the footsteps of the flock for my own private opinion." When he kept a school he refused any reward, saying, "he lived for the sake of the church; therefore he was unwilling to receive any scholars, besides those who were designed for the ministry." His whole life was employed in prayer, study, preaching, and teaching school.† He published "Meditations on the Prophecy of Daniel;" and "De Tractatione Peccatoris;" and left behind him many volumes of manuscripts.

* Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 43, 44.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 143, 144.—Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 46.

PETER HOBART, A. M.—This pious person was born at Higham in Norfolk, in the year 1604, and received his education at Cambridge, where he discovered much gravity, sobriety, and hatred of all vice. By his pious parents he was dedicated to the Lord from his earliest infancy. After he had finished his studies at the university, he taught school, and preached occasionally for a conformist minister, at whose house he lodged. This minister being requested to give his opinion of young Hobart, said, "I do highly approve of his abilities. He will be an able preacher; but I fear he will be *too precise*." He was afterwards exceedingly harassed and persecuted from one place to another, on account of his nonconformity; yet the good providence of God took care of him and his family, and they never suffered want. His last place of abode was Haverhil in Suffolk, where his labours were rendered a blessing to many souls. The arbitrary proceedings of the prelates became, at length, so intolerant, that he resolved to retire to New England, where he should be free from all episcopal molestation, obtain a settled place of abode, and be constantly employed in the work of the Lord. Accordingly, in the year 1635, he embarked with his wife and four children; and, after a long and sickly voyage, arrived at Charlestown, where he found his parents, brethren, and sisters, got safe before him. He received invitations from several churches, but settled, with his friends, upon a new plantation, which he called Higham. There he gathered a church, and continued its able and useful pastor many years.

Mr. Hobart was a hard student, and always studied *standing*, which practice he recommended to others. He was a man of exemplary piety, and loved good people of all persuasions. He used pleasantly to say, that those who were furiously hot about church discipline, and cold about the life and power of godliness, were all *church* and no *Christ*. He was pastor of the church at Higham about forty-three years; after which, old age and its infirmities coming upon him, he was obliged, during the last year, to resign his charge. A few weeks before his death, having assisted at the ordination of his successor, he exclaimed, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;" and, soon after, he resigned his soul into the hands of God, on January 20, 1678, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.*

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 153—155.

SAMUEL WHITING, A. M.—This worthy divine was born at Boston in Lincolnshire, November 20, 1597, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. He was awakened to a serious concern for his soul by attending upon the ministry of the excellent Dr. Sibbs and Dr. Preston. After he had finished his studies at the university, he became domestic chaplain to Sir Nathaniel Bacon and Sir Roger Townsend, in whose families, by his wise and serious instructions, the interests of religion were greatly promoted. He was next chosen colleague in the ministry with Mr. Price of Lynn in Norfolk, where he continued three years. During this period he was interrupted by the Bishop of Norwich, and prosecuted in the high commission court, where, for the single sin of nonconformity, he expected to lose a considerable estate; but, happily for him, while the cause was pending, King James died, and so for the present the prosecution was dropped. The Earl of Lincoln interceding for him, the bishop promised to molest him no more, if he would remove out of his diocese.*

Mr. Whiting afterwards settled at Shirbick, near Boston, where he remained for some time unmolested, the Lord blessing his labours. In this situation he was among his old friends, and near Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tuckney, by whom he was highly esteemed. He found, however, that there was no continued rest under the government of persecuting ecclesiastics. He was again prosecuted and silenced for rejecting the traditions of the popish fathers. He considered the imposition of human rites and ceremonies in divine worship as involving the very spirit and conduct of the church of Rome. The gospel he thought was insecure, while such rites and ceremonies were imposed; therefore concluded that the parade of human ceremonies, and the preaching of the word of God, had a direct tendency to drive each other out of the church. Having no prospect of being ever restored to his ministry, he resolved to withdraw from the cruel oppressions, when he found an asylum in New England. On leaving his native country, and expecting never to return, he sold all his estates, saying, "I am going to sacrifice unto the Lord in the wilderness, and will not leave a hoof behind." He embarked in the beginning of April, 1636, and arrived in New England towards the end of May, being so sick during the whole voyage that he could preach only one sermon. Upon his safe arrival he made

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 156, 157.

the following pious reflection: "We have left our friends who were near and dear unto us; but if we can get nearer to God, he will be unto us more than all. In him there is a fulness of all the sweetest relations. We may find in God whatsoever we have forsaken, whether fathers, or mothers, or brethren, or sisters, or friends, who have been near and dear to our souls."*

He had no sooner arrived in the new colony than he was chosen pastor of the church at Lynn, where he spent the remainder of his days. The following year Mr. Thomas Cobbet, another puritan minister, going to New England, became his colleague in the pastoral office. They lived together in mutual love and attachment twenty years, until Mr. Cobbet removed to Ipswich. Towards the close of life, Mr. Whiting's youngest son became his assistant; and during the last twenty years he was much afflicted with the stone in the bladder, which he bore with exemplary patience. Though he enjoyed scarcely one day of perfect ease through the whole of this period, he was never hindered one day from attending upon his public ministerial exercises. He died December 11, 1679, aged eighty-two years. He was a person of exemplary meekness, holiness, and peace; a hard student, and an excellent scholar, especially in Latin and Hebrew.† He was author of "A Discourse on the last Judgment," 1664; and "Sermons on the Prayer of Abraham."

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT was minister at some place in Lincolnshire, where he was instrumental in the conversion of many souls, and highly esteemed among serious christians, but was silenced for his nonconformity. After he was silenced, he lived privately, for some time, near Lincoln, but, on account of the oppressions of the times, was obliged to remove from one place to another.‡ Finding no rest for the sole of his foot, he withdrew from the scenes of persecution, and retired to New England. We do not, indeed, find in what particular year he crossed the Atlantic, but it is certain he was among some of the first settlers in the new colony. In the year 1629, part of the present state of New Hampshire in New England was purchased of the Indians, when a deed was obtained from them by Mr. Wheelwright and others from Massachusetts. Before the year 1637,

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 157, 158. † Ibid. p. 158—160.

‡ Life of Mr. Hansard Knollys, p. 11. Edit. 1692.

Mr. Wheelwright changed his religious sentiments, and appears to have become too much tinged with antinomianism. Never were any communities, it is said, in more alarming danger than the churches of Massachusetts about this time; and seldom have any measures, to allay a public frenzy, been more successful than those now adopted. The cause of these evils was as singular as the effects were alarming. "Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church at Boston, a woman of ready wit and a bold spirit, had adopted two remarkable opinions:—1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in those who are justified.—2. That sanctification is no evidence of justification. From these two sentiments spread numerous branches: as, that our union with the Holy Ghost is such, that we are dead to every spiritual action, having no gifts nor graces more than hypocrites, nor sanctification, but the Holy Ghost himself, &c. Mr. Wheelwright, who was her brother, joined with her."

The news of these things soon spread abroad; and the ministers who attended the general court in October, 1636, made it an object of their attention to converse with Mr. Wheelwright and others, who had adopted these opinions, when they appeared to discover an accommodating spirit. Soon after, certain of the members of the church at Boston, who adopted the new opinions, publicly moved that Mr. Wheelwright should be called to be their teacher. This fanned the flame of opposition. The new opinions still rapidly spreading, the general court, in December, called together the ministers of the churches to advise with them respecting the existing divisions. As their passions grew warmer by constant disputation, they became more sanguine in their belief, bold in their expressions, and multiplied in their novelties. On public occasions it was now said, that the Holy Ghost dwelt in believers, as he is in heaven; that a man is justified before he believes; that the letter of scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works; that the covenant of grace was the *spirit* of the scripture, which was known only to believers; and that the ground of all religion was an assurance by immediate revelation.

These, and many other things, being so complete a jumble of nonsense and impiety, as appears almost too tedious to be read, were accounted of the very first importance; and all the congregation of Boston, except four or five, espoused most of these new opinions. At the next election it was agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring these dissensions to an issue. Previous to this, a general

fast was appointed to be kept in all the churches; the occasion of which, beside other things, was, "the dissensions in the churches."* On the day of public fasting, Mr. Cotton, it is said, preached a very healing sermon from Isa. lviii. 4.; but Mr. Wheelwright, the other preacher at Boston,† filled his sermon with bitter invectives against the magistrates and ministers of the country, telling the people, "that they walked in such a way of salvation as was no better than a covenant of works." Under his third use, he said, "The second sort of people that are to be condemned, are all such as do set themselves against the Lord Jesus Christ: such are the greatest enemies to the state that can be. If they can have their wills, you will see what a lamentable state both church and commonwealth will be in: then we shall have need of mourning. The Lord cannot endure those that are enemies to himself, and kingdom, and people, and his church." He compared them to Jews, Herods, Philistines, and exhorted such as were under a covenant of grace to combat them as their greatest enemies. The above fast was held January 19, 1637.

March 9th following, being the next court-day, Mr. Wheelwright was brought before the magistrates, who, after hearing what he could say in defence of his sermon, condemned it as *sedition*, and *tending to disturb the public peace*. They endeavoured to convince him of his offence, but without effect; and allowed him till the next session to consider whether he would make his submission or abide the sentence of the court. In the mean time, nearly all the church of Boston presented a petition to the court, declaring, "That Mr. Wheelwright had not been guilty of any sedition; that his doctrine was not seditious, being no other than the expressions of scripture; that it had produced no seditious effects, for his followers had not drawn their swords, nor endeavoured to rescue their innocent brother: they desired the court, therefore, to consider the danger of meddling with the prophets of God, and to remember, that even the Apostle Paul himself had been called 'a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition, and the ringleader of a sect.'" This petition was presented in the court presently after Mr. Wheelwright's censure, signed by above sixty hands, some of whom were members of the court; but it was rejected by the

* Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 61, 142.

† Mr. Wheelwright was preacher to a branch of the Boston church, which assembled at Braintree, a place near Boston.—Backus's Hist. of New Eng. Bap. vol. i. p. 81.

majority, and the chief petitioners were severely punished for it the next session.*

In the above petition two things were requested: "That as free men they might be present in cases of judicature, and that the court would declare, whether they might deal in cases of conscience before the church." The members of the court considered this as a reflection upon them, and replied, that their proceedings had been always open. Mr. Wheelwright was accused of calling those by the name of antichrist, who believed sanctification to be an evidence of justification, and of stirring up the people with bitterness and vehemence. He endeavoured to justify himself; but the court adjudged him guilty of sedition and contempt. Many pamphlets were published on both sides of the question. Mr. Wheelwright published a "Treatise in Defence of his Sermon," to which the ministers answered, and Mr. Cotton replied. Mr. Wheelwright appeared before the court to hear his sentence; but they gave him respite till the next session, in August, that he might have time, it is said, for cool reflection. But he appeared bold and confident; and to the court he said, that, if he had been guilty of sedition, he ought to die; that he should retract nothing, but should appeal to the king; adding, that he had been guilty neither of sedition nor contempt; that he had delivered nothing but the truth of Christ, and the application of his doctrine was made by others, and not by himself." At length, in October, 1637, the court sentenced him to be disfranchised, to be banished from the colony, and to be taken into immediate custody, unless he would give security for his departure. He was, therefore, banished, with several others, and he continued in a state of banishment seven years.†

Mr. Wheelwright afterwards growing wiser, renounced his errors, begged pardon of God and the country, was restored to his people, and lived many years a useful minister of Christ, at Hampton, in New Hampshire. "He was literally a wandering star. At Boston, at Quincy, at Exeter, at Salisbury, and at Wells, difficulties pursued him." From this last place he wrote to the government of Massachusetts, whence he had been banished, a very humble confession, which was accepted, and he had the liberty to return. In

* Backus's Hist. of New Eng. Bap. vol. i. p. 81.—Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 169, 170.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 87, 143—145.—Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 174. Mrs. Hutchinson, his sister, was sent into banishment about the same time, and was afterwards murdered by the Indians.—*Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 75.

this confession, he said, "It is the grief of my soul, that I used such vehement and censorious speeches. I repent me that I did adhere to persons of corrupt judgments, to the countenancing and encouraging of them in any of their errors or evil practices." The order of the court for taking off the sentence of his banishment, and receiving him as a member of the commonwealth, is dated Boston, May 29, 1644.* His difficulties taught him wisdom. After his confession and restoration he lived nearly forty years "a valued servant of the church;"† and he died about the year 1680, being an old man and full of years.

ROGER WILLIAMS.—This remarkable person was born in Wales, in the year 1599, and educated in the university of Oxford. He became a subject of divine grace at ten or twelve years of age. In early youth he attracted the attention, and obtained the patronage, of Lord Chief Justice Coke; who, seeing him at some place of public worship, was struck with the attentive behaviour of one so young, and his taking notes of the sermon. When the service was over, he sent for young Williams, and desired to see his notes, and, finding them very judiciously taken, took him under his patronage, and sent him to Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he entered into the ministerial office, and was some years minister in the established church. He afterwards joined the puritans, and became a zealous nonconformist; but the intolerable oppressions of Bishop Laud forced him from his native country, when he fled to New England.‡ Mr. Neal says he was a rigid Brownist, precise, uncharitable, and of most turbulent and boisterous passions.§ But Mr. Hubbard, who lived in those times, denominates him "a godly and zealous preacher."||

Mr. Williams arrived in New England February 5, 1631, and was immediately called by the church at Salem to be assistant to Mr. Samuel Skelton. His settlement was, however, opposed by the magistrates, "because he refused to communicate with the church at Boston, unless they would make a public declaration of their repentance, for having held communion with the church of England when in their native country; and because he declared it as his opinion,

* Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 154.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 101.

‡ MS. Account.

§ Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 140, 141.

|| Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 53, 508.

that the civil magistrate might not punish any branch of the first table." In consequence of this, he was called by the church of Plymouth to assist Mr. Ralph Smith; where, says Governor Bradford, "he was freely entertained, according to our poor ability, and exercised his gifts among us; and, after some time, was admitted a member of the church, and his teaching well approved; for the benefit whereof I still bless God; and am thankful to him even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs." He continued assistant to Mr. Smith two or three years; but finding some of the leading members of the church to be of different sentiments from himself, and having received an invitation to succeed Mr. Skelton as pastor of the church at Salem, he requested his dismissal to that church. After some demur, his request was granted. He preached at Salem, it is said, all the time of Mr. Skelton's sickness, and insinuated himself so far into the affections of the people, by his vehement manner of delivery, that he was chosen pastor after the other's death.* His request was granted by the particular persuasion of Mr. Brewster, the venerable elder, who signified his fears "that Mr. Williams would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smyth had done at Amsterdam." Those who adhered to him were also dismissed and removed to the church at Salem. Though his settlement was still opposed by the magistrates, he became their pastor, and laboured among them about two years. We are, indeed, informed, "That in one year's time he filled that place with the principles of rigid separation, tending to anabaptism."†

Mr. Williams never withheld his opinions, but openly and publicly declared whatever appeared to him to be the truth. This exposed him to the censure of his enemies, and involved him in troubles even soon after his settlement at Salem. At length, July 8, 1635, he was summoned before the general court, and was charged with maintaining, "That it is not lawful for godly men to have communion in family prayer with such as they judge unregenerate; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray; that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table, only in cases of disturbance to the civil peace; that he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; that a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meals; that there ought to be an unlimited toleration of all religions; that to punish a man for following the dictates of his conscience is persecution;

* Neal's New Eng. vol. i. p. 141.

† Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 54—57.

and that the patent which was granted by King Charles was invalid, and an instrument of injustice, being injurious to the natives, the king of England having no power to dispose of their lands to his own subjects.”*

In the month of October following he appeared again before the court, and received the sentence of banishment for his dangerous opinions, as they are called; the ministers, as well as the magistrates, approving of the sentence. The sentence of the court was as follows: “Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates; has also written letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without retraction. It is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction, within six weeks now next ensuing, which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the court.”†

Having received the barbarous sentence, he left his house, his wife, and his children at Salem, in the depth of a most severe winter, and was driven among the wild Indians, where, for fourteen weeks, as he himself observes, “he knew not what bread or bed did mean.” But he found more favour among those blind pagans than among the protestants of New England. They allowed him to settle among them, and ever after treated him with kindness and respect. He there laid the foundation of the colony of PROVIDENCE and RHODE-ISLAND, and is supposed to have been the founder of the first free government the world ever knew, at least since the rise of antichrist; effectually securing to all subjects FREE AND FULL LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. The principle of his government was adopted by fourteen out of the seventeen United States, at the time of the American revolution. The grand principle of this government was, “That no man, or company of men, ought to be molested by the ruling powers, on account of their religion, or for any opinion received or practised in any matter of that nature; accounting it no small part of their happiness that they may therein be left to their own liberty.” Whether Mr. Williams, indeed, espoused all those sentiments with

* Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 68.—Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 86.

† Ibid. p. 156.

which he was charged, we do not attempt to determine; but he appears to have been the first of our countrymen who thoroughly understood the grounds of civil and religious liberty. The famous Mr. John Cotton, and the rest of the ministers of New England, were so far concerned in his prosecution and banishment as to shew, that while they made loud outcries against popery, they themselves retained and cherished the very worst part of it, even its intolerant and persecuting spirit. This will be a reproach to them, even to the latest posterity.* Mr. Williams called the place to which he was banished PROVIDENCE, "from a sense of God's merciful providence to him in his distress; and though, for a considerable time, he suffered much fatigue and want, he provided a refuge for persons persecuted for conscience's sake."†

About the year 1639 he embraced the sentiments of the baptists; and being in want of one to administer the ordinance of baptism, "he was baptized by one of his community, then Mr. Williams baptized him and the rest of the society." This appears to have been the first baptist church in America.‡ In the year 1644 Mr. Williams came to England, with the view of procuring a charter; and though, upon his arrival, he found the nation deeply involved in civil war, he succeeded in obtaining it of the parliament, under the name of "The INCORPORATION OF PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS IN THE NARRAGANSET-BAY, IN NEW ENGLAND, with full power and authority to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they shall find most suitable to their state and condition."

While Mr. Williams was in London to procure this charter, he published a book, called, "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience," 1644. This work appeared to Mr. Cotton of dangerous tendency, therefore he published an answer to it, entitled, "The Bloody Tenet washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb," 1647. Mr. Williams replied to this in a work entitled, "The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody, by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it White in the Blood of the Lamb," 1652. The grand principle for which he contended was, "That persons may, with less sin, be forced to marry whom

* MS. Account.—Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 69, 70, 112.—Mather's New England, b. vii. p. 7—9.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 87.

‡ Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 106.

they cannot love, than to worship where they cannot believe:" and he denied "that Christ had appointed the civil sword as a remedy against false teachers." Mr. Cotton affirmed, and endeavoured to prove, the contrary sentiment. He maintained that the civil sword was appointed as the remedy in this case; and that it was matter of perpetual equity to put to death any apostate seducing idolater, or heretic, who sought to draw the souls of the people from the Lord their God. Mr. Williams clearly saw the result of these principles, and in his work he addressed a letter to Governor Endicot, in which he said, "By your principles and conscience, such as you count heretics, blasphemers, and seducers, must be put to death. You cannot be faithful to your principles and conscience without it." About four years after this Endicot put to death four persons, and pleaded conscience for the propriety of his conduct.*

Mr. Williams, in pleading the cause of religious liberty, asks Mr. Cotton, "If Jesus Christ have left a power with the civil governors of this world, for establishing, governing, and reforming his church, what is become of his care and love, his wisdom and faithfulness; seeing in all ages, since he left the world, he hath generally left her destitute of such qualified princes and governors, and in the course of his providence furnished her with those whom he knew would be as fit as *wolves* to protect and feed his *sheep*?"† The publication of his book in England gave great offence to the presbyterians, who exclaimed against it as full of heresy and blasphemy. But his principles having been tried, and found to be the soundest policy, both England and America should unite in erecting a monument to perpetuate the name of Roger Williams, as the first *governor* who ever pleaded that liberty of conscience was the birthright of man, and granted it to those who in opinion differed from himself, when he had the power of withholding it.

His practice, also, was founded on the generous principles of the gospel. He was "not overcome of evil, but overcame evil with good;" and, in their wars with the Indians, he was exceedingly useful to those by whom he had been persecuted. He was at the same time particularly zealous and laborious in promoting the conversion of the Indians, an account of whose manners, customs, and languages he afterwards published. He was so universally beloved and revered, that he was sometimes chosen governor of the colony: he, never-

* Ivimey's Hist. of Baptists, p. 218, 219.

† Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 189.

theless, continued pastor of the baptist church to the end of his days. This enlightened legislator died in the year 1683, aged eighty-four years.* In addition to the pieces mentioned above, he was the author of a work entitled, "The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's; or, a Discourse touching the Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, humbly presented to such pious and honourable Hands whom the present Debate thereof concerns," 1652. Also, "George Fox digged out of his Burrows;" written against the quakers.

JOHN SHERMAN.—This excellent divine was born at Dedham in Essex, December 26, 1613, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. By the pious instructions of his worthy parents, and the excellent preaching of Mr. John Rogers, he was led to "remember his Creator in the days of his youth." He was much admired for his youthful piety, ingenuity, and industry. At Cambridge he made great progress in the various departments of useful literature; but, being required to subscribe, in order to his taking the degrees, he scrupulously refused. His arguments against subscription were to him so powerful, that, after consulting Mr. Rogers, Dr. Preston, and other eminent divines, who commended his objections, he left the university under the reproachful name of a college puritan. Those objections which he had against the established church, its subscription and its ceremonies, by which he was induced to leave the university, soon occasioned his removal out of the kingdom. When he found that he could not enjoy the peaceable exercise of his ministry in his native country without defiling his conscience, he embarked for New England, with several other ministers, in the year 1634. There he hoped to employ his talent for the glory of God and the good of souls, and to enjoy rest from the oppressive measures of the prelates.

Mr. Sherman, upon his arrival in America, preached at various places with universal applause. Having preached before an assembly of ministers, Mr. Hooker pleasantly said to his reverend brethren, "Brethren, we must look to ourselves and to our ministry; for this young divine will outdo us all." He settled at Newhaven; where, for about two or three years, he suspended the exercise of his ministry. During this period, he was so highly esteemed in the colony, that

* Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 106—531.

he was chosen one of the magistrates, and he served the public with exemplary discretion and fidelity. At the expiration of that period he resumed his ministry, and continued a most zealous and faithful preacher the remainder of his days. He was invited to various places; and, upon the death of Mr. Philips of Watertown, he became his successor in the pastoral office. There he lived near Cambridge; he became fellow of Harvard college, and performed many valuable offices for that society. For upwards of thirty years the students attended upon his lectures. He experienced the happiness of growing in grace, and enjoyed the vigorous exercise of his mental powers, even to old age. "Such keenness of wit," says Dr. Mather, "such soundness of judgment, such fulness of matter, and such vigour of language, were rarely seen in a man of his years." This was, indeed, manifest in his last sermon, from Eph. ii. 8. *By grace are ye saved*. He was soon after attacked by a malignant fever, and died triumphing in the Lord, August 8, 1685, aged seventy-two years. He was a strict observer of the sabbath, a constant preacher, a wise counsellor, a great divine, and an excellent mathematician and astronomer. He was a great reader, and possessed so strong a memory, that his own mind, it is said, became his library. In his public ministry, he was judicious, industrious, faithful; and so fine an orator, that he was called the *golden-mouthed* preacher. His wisdom, discretion, and meekness were conspicuously manifest in the orderly and pious government of his large family. He was twice married. By the first wife he had six children, and by the second he had *twenty*.*

THOMAS COBBET was born at Newbury in Berkshire, in the year 1608, and educated in the university of Oxford. Having finished his academical studies, he returned to Newbury, and became a pupil under the celebrated Dr. Twisse. He first settled in the ministry at a small place in Lincolnshire; but here he felt the vengeance of the ecclesiastical governors. On account of his nonconformity, he was tossed for some time in the storm of persecution, and at length driven to New England. He went in the same ship with Mr. John Davenport, in the year 1637. He found New England a comfortable asylum, and a secure retreat from the storm. Upon his arrival, he was cordially received by his old friend, Mr. Whiting of Lynn, and was chosen his

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 162—165.

colleague in the pastoral office. About the year 1657, upon the removal of Mr. Norton to Boston, he was chosen pastor of the church at Ipswich. In this situation he continued, in the faithful and laborious discharge of his numerous pastoral duties, to the end of his days. He died in the beginning of the year 1686, aged seventy-nine years.*

Soon after Mr. Cobbet undertook the pastoral charge at Ipswich, the people of the town voted him to receive one hundred pounds, for the purpose of buying or building himself a house; and, to raise the money, all the inhabitants were taxed. This being a new thing in the colony, several persons refused to pay the money required, and accordingly were prosecuted for it.† But religion is a voluntary thing. The pecuniary aids requisite to its support ought, in like manner, to be altogether voluntary. All impositions and compulsions from the predominant party, is a direct violation of the laws of equity, an infringement upon the rights of christians, and enters into the very spirit of antichrist. Mr. Cobbet, however, was an eminent preacher, a man much devoted to God in prayer, and the excellent author of many books, the titles of some of which we have been able to collect.

HIS WORKS.—1. A Vindication of the Covenant of Children of Church Members, 1643.—2. A Vindication of Children's Church-membership and Right to Baptism, 1645.—3. The Civil Magistrate's Power in Matters of Religion, 1653.—4. A Discourse on Prayer, 1657.—5. The Honour due from Children to their Parents.

JOHN ELLIOT.—This renowned servant of Christ was born in the year 1604, and educated at Cambridge. Upon his removal from the university, he became assistant to the venerable Mr. Hooker, in his school at Chelmsford. While in this situation, he was awakened to a sense of his sins, and brought to experience a work of grace on his heart. We give the account of it in his own words: "To this place I was called," says he, "through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul. For here the Lord said unto my dead soul, live! and, through the grace of Christ, I do live, and shall live for ever. When I came to this blessed family, I then saw, and never before, the power of godliness in its lively vigour and efficacy."

Having continued for some time in the office of school-master, he resolved to devote himself to the Lord in the

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 166.

† Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 310.

ministry of the gospel; but he was at a loss for an opportunity. He had imbibed the principles of nonconformity, and therefore could not enter upon any stated charge on the terms required of the clergy. The ruling prelates of the Laudian faction were at this time stopping the mouths of all the learned and useful ministers in the nation, who could not in conscience observe their popish and superstitious impositions. It appeared to young Elliot, that a conformity to these impositions, in the worship of God, was a direct violation of the second commandment. His conscience not permitting him to observe the unwarrantable ceremonies, he was not suffered to preach in any part of England. Great numbers of people were driven out of the nation by the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of the bishops; among whom was Mr. Elliot, who, in the year 1631, fled to New England. On his arrival in the new colony, he joined himself to Mr. Wilson's church at Boston, where he preached occasionally for some time. But, the year following, several of his old acquaintance following him to New England, he settled with them at Roxbury, and was chosen pastor of the church, in which office he continued among them almost *sixty* years.

Mr. Elliot was a man of distinguished eminence. His piety was most exemplary. He lived under the habitual influence of a praying heart. He knew, by happy experience, the utility of private prayer, and was ever urgent in promoting it among others. When he was informed of any important public news, he would say, "Brethren, let us turn all this into prayer." When he paid a visit to his intimate friends, he used to say, "Come, let us not have a visit without prayer. Let us pray down the blessing of heaven on your family before we go." And whenever he was in the company of ministers, he said, "Brethren, the Lord Jesus takes notice of what is said and done among his ministers. Come, let us pray before we part." He had an exceedingly high value for his Bible, was a close student of that sacred volume, and a constant and useful preacher. He lived, in a great measure, as if he were in heaven while upon the earth.*

Mr. Elliot was most exemplary in the duty of mortification. It could never be said, that he sought great things for himself. This world, and all things in it, were to him just what they ought to be to a dying man. He looked upon them all as mere trifles. He always rose early in the morning,

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 175, 176.

and was ever abstemious in eating and drinking. When the countenance of a minister at any time appeared to indicate too much indulgence, he thus addressed him: "Study mortification, brother; study mortification!" These pointed reproofs came from him with a becoming majesty and solemnity, and rarely gave offence.

His liberality was as a star of the first magnitude in the constellation of his excellent virtues. His bounty to public and private charities far exceeded his annual income. The poor esteemed him as their common father; and every object of distress found him to be a brother and a friend. He was constantly zealous in promoting family religion. But the loss of his wife made no common impression on his mind. They lived together, in the enjoyment of great happiness, upwards of half a century; but, a few years before his death, he followed her remains to the grave with great lamentation and many tears. They were usually called *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*. Their family was a Bethel. They brought up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. They commanded their children, and their household after them, that they should keep the way of the Lord."

Mr. Elliot was a considerable scholar, especially in his knowledge of the Hebrew. He was eminently qualified for the ministerial work. He took great care to distribute to all their portion in due season. It was food, not froth, with which he fed the souls of the people. His method of preaching was very plain, but remarkably powerful. His sermons contained much of Christ; and he constantly laboured to bring sinners to the Saviour. To young preachers he frequently said, "Pray let there be much of Christ in your ministry." And having heard a sermon which greatly savoured of Christ, he would say, "Blessed be God, that we have Christ so much and so well preached in poor New England." He was a great friend to sermons well studied, always commending those which discovered close thought and much reading. Yet he wished to perceive something more in a sermon than mere human study. His frequent complaint was, "It is a sad thing, when a sermon wants that one thing, *the Spirit of God*."

In his views of church discipline, Mr. Elliot was a thorough puritan, but peaceable in his separation from all usurpations over men's consciences. He was a modest and humble nonconformist to the unwarrantable inventions and impositions of men; and was deeply afflicted to see that

the work of reformation was opposed, particularly by the bishops, in the church of England. It was a settled principle with him, that, in promoting the reformation of churches, every thing ought to be reduced to the primitive and apostolic institution. He was persuaded that a church, according to the New Testament, "is a congregation of professed believers, with officers of divine appointment, agreeing to meet together for the celebration of divine ordinances, and their mutual edification." After the closest examination, it was his settled opinion, "that no approved writers, for the space of two hundred years after Christ, make any mention of any other organized, professing christian church, than that only which is congregational." He could not conceive how a church could arise from any other formal cause than the voluntary consent and confederation of the several parties concerned, by first giving themselves to the Lord, and then to one another.

This great man could not be satisfied with his regular ministerial exercises among his own people: his soul longed for the conversion of the wild Indians. After much consideration, and earnest prayer for the direction and blessing of God, he entered upon the arduous work. His design was no sooner made known than several favourable circumstances concurred to afford him encouragement. The enterprize was, indeed, laborious; but all the good people in the country rejoiced in his undertaking, and neighbouring ministers kindly supplied his pulpit while he laboured abroad. Also the Lord inclined great numbers of religious persons in England to make liberal contributions for its encouragement and support. Oliver Cromwell warmly espoused the cause, and commanded collections to be made in all the parishes throughout England for this important object. The sum collected was very considerable. For, in addition to other stock, lands were purchased to the amount of seven or eight hundred pounds a year; and a corporation was appointed to employ the rents for promoting the conversion of the Indians.*

Mr. Elliot's first business was to obtain a correct acquaintance with the Indian language, a work of immense difficulty, on account of the excessive length of the words, and the little affinity with any other language. Many of the words are so prodigiously long, that one would think, says Dr. Mather, they had been growing in length ever since the confusion of

* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 290.

Babel.* But Mr. Elliot's zeal surmounted all these difficulties. He hired a native Indian, who understood English, to assist him; and after some time, by his own indefatigable pains and industry, he became a complete master of the language. He afterwards reduced it to a method, and published a grammar, entitled, "The Indian Grammar." At the end of this laborious production he thus wrote: "Prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing." In addition to this grammar, he compiled two catechisms in the Indian language; and translated into that language Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," "The Practice of Piety," and the whole Bible. The translation of the Bible, a work of immense labour, says our author, he wrote with one pen. It was printed at Cambridge in New England, and was the first Bible that was ever printed in America.†

When he was properly furnished for the work, he entered upon it in the year 1646. Having called together a number of the Indians, at a fixed time and place, he paid them a visit, accompanied by several of his friends. After offering up fervent prayers to God, he preached to them about a quarter of an hour, from Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10. *That by prophesying to the wind, the wind came, and the dry bones lived.* He introduced into his sermon a short account of the principal articles of the christian faith, and applied the whole to the Indians before him. Having finished his discourse, he inquired whether they understood; when they said they understood all. He then desired, as was his usual method afterwards, that they would ask him whatever questions they pleased. These questions generally referred to the sermon they had heard, and discovered what advantage they had derived.

It is almost incredible what hardships he endured in the prosecution of this great work; how many wearisome days and nights went over his head; how many tiresome journies he travelled; and how many terrible dangers he encountered. Some idea of the trials he endured, and of the supports he experienced, may be gathered from the following extract of his letter to Governor Winslow:—"I have not been dry, "night nor day," says he, "from the third day of the week "to the sixth, but so travelled; and at night pull off my "boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so

* The two following words may serve as a specimen of their length. Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonash, signifies, *Our lusts.* Kummogkod-onattoottummooetiteaonganunnonash, signifies, *Our question.*—*Mather's New England*, b. iii. p. 193.

† Ibid. p. 197.

“continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered those words: *Endure hardness, as the good soldier of Jesus Christ.*”*

These labours of love were not in vain, but crowned with abundant success. The natives, who felt the impression of the word of God on their hearts, were soon distinguished by the name of *Praying Indians*. Those who had wandered continually from place to place soon became inclined to a fixed life. Instead of living like wild beasts in a wilderness, they formed small settlements and built themselves little towns. They also formed for themselves a civil government, in which Mr. Elliot assisted them, taking the word of God for his model. Of these little settlements Natick was the principal. So early as the year 1648, this laborious servant of Christ could see the happy fruit of his ministry; and, said he, “I could find at least twenty men and women with whom I durst freely join in church fellowship.”† In the year 1651 the first Indian church was formed. The natives, having abandoned polygamy, fornication, drunkenness, and sabbath-breaking, confessed their sins with tears, and professed their faith in Jesus Christ. And giving satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God, they and their children were baptized. They were then solemnly united into a church covenant, and Mr. Elliot administered to them the Lord’s supper.‡ For many years he had the unspeakable felicity of seeing the abundant fruit of his holy and arduous labours. He was so much engaged in the work of converting these wild pagans, that he was usually styled, the APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.§

As this eminent man of God approached towards his end, his conversation became still more holy, savoury, and divine. He was desirous of doing something for the Lord to the very last. When he looked upon his talents as too far gone for any further usefulness to the English, he desired to be employed in catechizing the negroes. At the very close of life he undertook to teach a poor blind boy the knowledge of the scriptures. He discovered much concern for the poor Indians to the very last. “There is a cloud,” said he, “a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant it may live when I am dead. It is a work about which I have been

* Mather’s New England, b. iii. p. 196.

† Thorowgood’s Jews in America, p. 121. Edit. 1650.

‡ Mather’s New England, b. iii. p. 197.

§ For a full account of Mr. Elliot’s zeal, labours, and success, together with others who were inspired by his example to prosecute the same work, see Mather’s *Hist. of New England*, b. iii. p. 190—206.

doing much and long. What was the word I spoke last? I recall that word, *my doings*. Alas! they have been poor and small, and lean doings; and I will be the man who will cast the first stone at them."

Mr. Elliot often told his friends that he should shortly go to heaven, and that he would carry much good news with him. He said, he would carry tidings to the old founders of New England, who were gone to glory, that church-work was still carried on in the country: that the number of churches was continually increasing: and that the churches were still as large as ever by the daily addition of those who should be saved. As the hour of his departure approached, the coming of the Lord Jesus was the principal subject of his serious contemplation. While he was thus retreating from the world, he used to say, "Come, Lord, I have been a great while ready for thy coming." He said to his friends, "Pray, pray, pray;" and, before his departure, he said to Mr. Walter, his successor, "Brother, thou art welcome to my very soul. Retire to thy study to pray for me, and give me leave to be gone." He then exclaimed, *welcome joy*, and so departed, in the year 1690, and in the eighty-sixth of his age. He had six children, all apparently converted to God, four of whom were preachers of the gospel.

Mr. Elliot was remarkable for resignation in all circumstances to the will of God. Having been one day out to sea in a boat, the boat was upset by a larger vessel, when he immediately sunk, without the most distant expectation of rising any more. In this situation he was perfectly collective and resigned to his heavenly Father's will. He could say within himself, "The will of the Lord be done." His life, however, was spared. But the following circumstance, as closely connected with it, was rather remarkable. Many profane persons were exceedingly enraged against him for labouring among the Indians; and one of this description hearing of his narrow escape, anxiously and profanely wished he had been drowned. But within a few days that very man was drowned in the very place where Mr. Elliot found deliverance.

He possessed the happy talent of raising profitable observations from common occurrences, with such a mixture of pleasantry and gravity, as rendered his company exceedingly desirable. Being once on a visit at the house of a merchant, and finding only books of business on the table, and all his books of devotion on the shelf, he thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "here is earth on the table, and heaven on the shelf;

pray do not sit so much at the table as to forget the shelf. Let not earth by any means thrust heaven out of your mind."

Mr. Elliot was an avowed enemy to all contention, and a great composer of differences. His advice was often sought in difficult cases; and when any minister complained of such cases among his people, he used to say, "Brother, compass them. Brother, learn the meaning of those three little words: *bear; forbear; forgive.*"*

He was a man of great piety, uncommon zeal in the cause of Christ, and almost unbounded charity. When he was quite sunk with age and hard labour, being asked how he did, he replied, "Alas! I have lost almost every thing; my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but, I thank God, my charity holds out still: I find that rather grows than fails."

He lived till he was quite worn out, and used pleasantly to say, "My old acquaintance are gone to heaven so long before me, that I am afraid they will think I am gone the wrong way, because I stay so long behind."† In addition to the articles already mentioned, he was author of "The Harmony of the Gospels, in the Holy History of Jesus Christ;" and "The Divine Management of Gospel Churches."

HANSERD KNOLLYS.—This pious and venerable divine was born at Cawkwell in Lincolnshire, in the year 1598, and educated in the university of Cambridge. He had the privilege of pious parents, who were careful to have him instructed betimes in the principles of religion and good literature. His behaviour at the university, where he became a graduate, was particularly exemplary. He divided his time between study, conversation, and religious duties; and though he had been long noticed for his pious disposition, he attributed his conversion to the sermons which he there heard. It was at Cambridge, most probably, that he received his first tincture of puritanism; as he conversed chiefly with persons of that persuasion. Having finished his studies at the university, he was chosen master of the free-school at Gainsborough in his native county.

June 29, 1629, Mr. Knollys was ordained deacon, and the day following presbyter, by the Bishop of Peterborough; soon

* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 190—206.

† Neal's Hist. of New England, vol. ii. p. 471.

after which the Bishop of Lincoln presented him to the vicarage of Humberstone in his own county. He was indefatigably laborious, and preached mostly three times on the Lord's day, and not unfrequently four times; but he did not hold his living above two or three years. For, scrupling the lawfulness of using the surplice, the cross in baptism, and the admission of persons of profane character to the Lord's supper, he resigned it into the hands of the bishop; but, through his lordship's connivance, he continued to preach for two or three years longer in different churches. When he resigned the benefice of Humberstone, the bishop offered him a better living; but he resisted the temptation, and modestly refused to accept it. About the year 1636 he left the church entirely, renounced his episcopal ordination, and joined himself to the puritans. This exposed him to numerous difficulties and hardships. He was driven out of Lincolnshire, and, at length, out of the kingdom, for his nonconformity. Upon his going to Boston, probably with the view of being sheltered from the storm, he was apprehended by virtue of a warrant from the high commission, and, for some time, put under confinement. But, by his serious discourse, he so terrified the conscience of his keeper, that he set open the prison doors, and suffered him to depart. Having thus escaped the snare of his persecutors, he removed with his family to London; but, being still harassed by the high commission, he resolved to escape the violence of his enemies, and to depart into a foreign land. After suffering numerous hardships, being persecuted from one place to another, he took shipping in the river Thames, and, after many difficulties during the voyage, at length safely arrived at Boston in New England. When he went abroad he had only *six farthings* of his money left, only his wife had saved five pounds unknown to him, which she then gave him.

Mr. Knollys continued in America about five years, at the expiration of which period he returned to England upon the invitation of his aged father, and arrived in London, December 24, 1641. The dreadful massacre which during that year deluged Ireland with blood, was succeeded the following year by the civil wars which burst forth between the king and the parliament. Mr. Knollys, not long after his arrival, was again reduced to great poverty, and, after paying for his lodgings, had only *six-pence* left; but having many friends, he met with unexpected kindness and relief. For his better support, he took under his care a few scholars, whom he continued to instruct in his own house upon Great Tower-hill,

London, till he was chosen master of the free-school in St. Mary-Axe. There, in the space of one year, he had no less than one hundred and fifty-six scholars. But he quitted the benefits arising from this employment to go into the parliament's army; where he preached freely to the soldiers, till he perceived that the commanders sought their own glory and advantage, more than the cause of God and his people, breaking their vows and solemn engagements. Upon this he left the army and returned to London.

After the abolition of episcopacy, Mr. Knollys preached for some time in the parish churches with great approbation. But the presbyterians obtaining the ascendancy, and abusing their power, too much in imitation of their predecessors, proscribed all who did not fall in with their peculiar sentiments. Mr. Knollys, who had some years before embraced the leading opinions of the baptists, then a rising sect in England, propagated them with great zeal, freedom, and success. He engaged, about this time, in a public disputation with Mr. Kiffin and the learned Mr. Henry Jessey, on the subject of baptism, which continued several weeks.* One of the most considerable of his converts was Mr. Jessey, to whom he administered the ordinance of baptism by immersion.† But the publicity with which he declared his sentiments, at length awakened the jealousy and incurred the displeasure of those in power.

Mr. Knollys, having been earnestly and repeatedly requested to preach one Lord's day at Bow-church, Cheapside, took occasion in his sermon to speak against the practice of infant baptism. This giving offence to some of the auditory, a complaint was immediately lodged against him to the parliament; and, by a warrant from the committee of plundered ministers, he was apprehended by the keeper of Ely-house, who refused bail, and kept him several days in prison. He was afterwards brought before the committee, in the presence of about thirty divines, and examined by Mr. White the chairman; to whom he gave such satisfactory answers, that he was discharged without blame, or paying fees; when the jailer was sharply reprov'd for refusing him bail, and threatened to be turned out of his place.

Not long after this, Mr. Knollys went into Suffolk, and preached at several places as opportunity offered, at the request of his friends. But, being accounted an "antinomian"

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 311.

† Mr. Jessey was afterwards silenced and imprisoned for nonconformity at the restoration.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 129—134.

and an "anabaptist," his sentiments were deemed seditious and factious, and the virulence of the mob was instigated against him by the high-constable. At one time he was stoned out of the pulpit; and at another time the doors of the church were shut against him and his hearers; upon which he preached in the church-yard. But this was a crime of too great magnitude to be connived at or excused. He was, therefore, taken into custody, and prosecuted at the petty-sessions of the county; then sent a prisoner to London, with articles of complaint against him to the parliament. On his examination he proved, by witnesses of good reputation, that he had neither sowed sedition nor raised tumult; and that all the disorders which had happened were owing to the malignity and violence of his opposers, who had acted contrary to law and common civility. He also produced copies of the sermons he had preached, and afterwards printed them. Indeed, his answers on this occasion were so perfectly satisfactory, that, on the report of the committee of the house of commons, he was not only discharged, but a vote passed that he should have liberty to preach in any part of Suffolk, when the minister of the place did not himself officiate. And, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Ipswich, the house ordered, January 17, 1648, that Mr. Knollys and Mr. Kiffin should go there to preach.* In addition to all the trouble which the above business gave Mr. Knollys, it cost him no less than *sixty* pounds.

This persecuted servant of Christ, finding how much offence was taken at his preaching in the church, and to what painful and expensive troubles it exposed him, set up a separate meeting in Great St. Helen's, London; where the people flocked to hear him, and he had commonly a thousand hearers. This, however, gave greater offence to his presbyterian brethren than his former method; and the landlord was prevailed upon to give him notice to remove from the place. After this he had a large meeting-house in Finsbury-fields; and still continuing to preach, he was summoned before a committee of divines, in Queen's-court, Westminster. Being brought to examination, Mr. Leigh, the chairman, asked him, why he presumed to preach without holy orders. To whom he replied, that, though he had renounced his episcopal ordination, he was ordained in a church of God, according to the order of the gospel; and then explained the manner of ordination among the baptists. At last, when he was com-

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 363.

manded to preach no more, he told them, that he would preach the gospel, both publicly and from house to house; saying, "It is more equal to obey Christ who commandeth me, than men who forbid me;" and so went his way, and ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ and him crucified. The displeasure of the presbyterians against Mr. Knollys, at this time, seems to have been occasioned chiefly by a letter which he wrote to a friend in Norwich, containing some sharp but just reflections on the proceedings of the London ministers against toleration. This letter, by some means, came into the hands of the Suffolk committee, who sent it up to London, where it was published.* It is dated London, the 13th of the 11th month, called January, 1645, and addressed "to his beloved brother, Mr. John Dutton in Norwich," of which the following is a copy:†

"Beloved Brother, I salute you in the Lord.

"Your letter I received the last day of the week, and upon the first day I did salute the brethren in your name, who re-salute you, and pray for you. The city presbyterians have sent a letter to the synod, dated from Zion college, against any toleration; and they are fasting and praying at Zion college this day about further contrivings against God's poor innocent ones; but God will doubtless answer them according to the idol of their own hearts. To-morrow there is a fast kept by both houses and the synod at Westminster. They say it is to seek God about the establishing of worship according to their covenant. They have first vowed, now they make inquiry. God will certainly take the crafty in their own snare, and make the wisdom of the wise foolishness; for he chooseth the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and weak things to confound the mighty. My wife and family remember their love to you. Salute the brethren that are with you. Farewell:

"Your brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,
"HANSERD KNOLLYS."

When Mr. Knollys quitted the army, he returned to his employment of teaching school, from whence he derived the principal means of his support. The allowance he received from the church, on account of the poverty of its members, was only trifling: "but," says he, "I coveted no man's silver or gold, but chose rather to labour, knowing it is more blessed to give than to receive." He, accordingly, gave

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 231.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 48.

liberally, out of his own earnings, to the poor of the church. Notwithstanding his constant avocations, he did not neglect the charge of his flock, but preached constantly two or three times a week, and visited his people from house to house, especially those who were sick. In the year 1644 he subscribed the confession of faith published by the seven baptist churches in London.* Afterwards, in the year 1651, the sectaries labouring under severe persecution, he united with them in their "Humble Proposal," addressed "To the right honourable the committee of parliament, for receiving such proposals as shall be tendered to their consideration by persons fearing God, in order to the propagating of the gospel." It contains many excellent hints, tending to promote unity, concord, and the toleration of all worthy subjects.† In the "Declaration" published by the baptists, in the year 1654, fourteen of those who subscribed it are said to have walked with Mr. Knollys.‡

The life of this good man was one continued scene of trouble and vexation. Upon the rising of Venner, immediately after the restoration, in 1660, Mr. Knollys, with many other innocent persons, was dragged from his own dwelling-house, and committed to Newgate. There he suffered eighteen weeks' imprisonment, till released by an act of grace upon the king's coronation. At that time four hundred persons were confined in the same prison, for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The rebellion of Venner occasioned a royal proclamation, prohibiting *anabaptists* and other *sectaries* from worshipping God in public, excepting at their parish churches. This unnatural edict was the signal for persecution, and only the forerunner of those cruel laws which afterwards disgraced the reigns of Charles and James the second. Mr. Knollys, as may be supposed, was often obliged to shift his abode. After removing into different parts of England and Wales, he went over to Holland, from thence to Germany, and back again to Rotterdam; from whence he returned to London. These frequent revolutions occasioned a great variation in his circumstances. Sometimes he was worth several hundred pounds; at other times, he had no house to dwell in, no food to eat, nor any money to lay out. But these sudden changes tended very much to the exercise and confirmation of his graces, and furnished him with frequent instances of the goodness of Divine providence.

* Featley's Dippers Dipt. p. 177.

† Grey's Examination, vol. iii. Appen. p. 144.

‡ Declaration, p. 22.

During his absence on the continent Colonel Legge, lieutenant of the ordnance, commenced a suit in chancery against him, to obtain possession of his house and ground, which he had left in charge with a friend, and which was alleged to be the property of the king. But the law not favouring his majesty's pretensions, the colonel sent a party of soldiers, and took violent possession of the premises, which had cost Mr. Knollys upwards of *seven hundred* pounds. He had, also, *two hundred* pounds lodged with the weaver's company, which was in the same manner given to the king, without the formality of the owner's consent. Much larger sums belonging to other persons shared the same fate. When a great monarch descends to such paltry and dishonourable methods of replenishing his empty coffers, he quits the dignity of his station, and becomes at once an object both of terror and contempt.

Mr. Knollys, upon his return from Holland, betook himself to his former employment of teaching school, by which he was enabled, through the blessing of God, to repair his losses, and to provide things honest and convenient for his family. For this service he was admirably qualified, being an excellent linguist, and having adopted an excellent method of instruction. So that when the times would permit him to follow this employ, he never wanted sufficient encouragement; and many persons eminent for piety and learning were educated under him. While he was employed in the education of youth, he was by no means negligent of that work which was the great labour of his life: but he continued in the faithful discharge of the pastoral office to his gathered congregation, in various places, till his death; at which time his meeting-house was in Broken-wharf, Thames-street. He also preached a morning lecture every Lord's day at Pinner's-hall. The bigotry and malice of men, indeed, occasioned frequent interruptions in his work. By virtue of the conventicle act, commencing May 10, 1670, he was apprehended at a meeting in George-yard, and committed by the lord mayor to the Compter, Bishopsgate. But having favour in the eyes of the keeper, he was permitted to preach to the prisoners. Not long after, at the sessions in the Old Bailey, he was set at liberty. The good man was no sooner delivered from these troubles than he was called to endure heavy bodily affliction; and afterwards some domestic trials, first by the loss of his wife, who died April 13, 1671, and then by the death of his only son.

Towards the close of life, this venerable servant of the

Lord recorded the following reflections, which are worthy of preservation : —“ My wilderness, sea, city, and prison mercies,” says he, “ afford me very many and strong consolations. The spiritual sights of the glory of God, the divine sweetness of the spiritual and providential presence of my Lord Jesus Christ, and the joys and comforts of the holy and eternal Spirit, communicated to my soul, together with suitable and seasonable scriptures of truth, have so often, and so powerfully revived, refreshed, and strengthened my heart in the days of my pilgrimage, trials, and sufferings, that the sense, yea, the life and sweetness thereof, abides still upon my heart, and hath engaged my soul to live by faith, to walk humbly, and to desire and endeavour to excel in holiness to God’s glory and the example of others. Though, I confess, many of the Lord’s ministers, and some of the Lord’s people, have excelled and outshined me, with whom he hath not been at so much cost nor pains as he hath been with me. I am a very unprofitable servant ; yet by grace I am what I am.”

The life of this holy and venerable person was prolonged to a good old age ; and he came to his grave like a shock of corn that is gathered in its season. During his last illness, which was of short continuance, he discovered extraordinary patience and resignation to the Divine will, longing to be dissolved and to be with Christ, not so much to be freed from pain and trouble as from sin. He kept his bed a few days only, and departed in a transport of joy, September 19, 1691, aged ninety-three years ; when his remains were interred in Bunhill-fields. Mr. Thomas Harrison preached his funeral sermon at Pinner’s-hall, which was afterwards published ; and Mr. Benjamin Keach published an elegy upon his death.

About two years previous to the death of this venerable divine, liberty was afforded to all denominations of dissenters, when the baptists took immediate steps to improve their privileges and promote the prosperity of their churches. To convene a general meeting for this purpose, a circular letter, signed by some of the London ministers, was sent to the different churches. That which was sent to the church at Luppitt in Devonshire, dated London, July 22, 1689, was signed by Mr. Knollys and several of his brethren. He also took an active part in several other transactions relative to the churches of his own denomination.* Therefore,

* Crosby’s Baptists, vol. iii. p. 93, 94, iv. 295, 296.—Ivimey’s Hist. of Baptists, p. 478—480, 488—502.

though he lived in evil times, and endured many persecutions, and other tribulations, he lived to see better days.

Mr. Knollys was favoured with an extraordinary measure of bodily strength, which fitted him the better for his great labours in the ministry, and enabled him to bear with resolution his numerous sufferings in the cause of Christ and a good conscience. He was very diligent and laborious in his work, both before and after his separation from the established church. While a conformist, he commonly preached three or four times on the Lord's day: at Halton, at seven in the morning; at Humberstone, at nine; at Scartho, at eleven; and at Humberstone again, at three in the afternoon. In addition to this, he preached every holiday, and at every funeral, as well of the poor as the rich. Nor was he less diligent in his beloved work after he became a nonconformist. For upwards of forty years successively he preached three or four times every week, whilst he enjoyed health and liberty; and when he was in prison it was his usual practice to preach every day. He possessed an excellent gift in prayer, and has recorded several remarkable answers to his petitions, particularly during the time of the great plague. The success of his ministry, after he became a baptist, was very great; but he seems to think that his labours were without any fruit while he continued in the church. How far this statement might proceed from prejudice, we will not pretend to ascertain; but the manner in which it is recorded appears to savour too much of it. He seems at first to have carried his separating principles to the same rigorous extent as the Brownists, who, not wholly unlike their episcopal brethren, were too free in their uncharitable censures. Indeed, bigotry, even in good men, appears to have been the prevailing evil of those times.

Mr. Knollys continued in his work as long as he had strength to perform it. He often entered the pulpit when he could scarcely stand, and when his voice could with difficulty be heard. Such an affection he had for his work, that he was unwilling to leave it. He bore his sufferings with the greatest courage and cheerfulness; took up his cross and followed the Lord daily; and behaved with great meekness towards his enemies. Through the whole of his life he exhibited a bright example of christian piety. He did not confine his affections to christians of his own party, but loved the image of God wherever he saw it. And so circumspect was he in the whole of his behaviour, as even to command the reverence and esteem of those who were

enemies to his principles.* Dr. Mather, speaking of other excellent men, makes honourable mention of him as a person of a most pious and worthy character.† Though our excellent historian, Mr. Neal, appears to cast some reflections upon him, he does not seem to have deserved them.‡ Granger uncandidly and unjustly insinuates, “that he was strongly tinctured with quakerism.”§

HIS WORKS.—1. Christ exalted; a lost Sinner sought and saved by Christ; God’s People an holy People; being the Sum of divers Sermons preached in Suffolk, 1646.—2. The Shining of a Flaming Fire in Zion; an Answer to Mr. Saltmarsh, his thirteen Exceptions against the Grounds of New Baptism, in his Book, entitled, *The Smoke of the Temple*, 1646.||—3. A Preface to Mr. Collier’s book, entitled, *The Exaltation of Christ*, 1647.—4. The Parable of the Kingdom of Heaven Expounded, Matt. xxv. 1—3., 1664.—5. Grammatica Latinæ, Græcæ & Hebraicæ, cumpendium; rhetoricæ ad umbratio; item radices Græcæ & Hebraicæ, omnes quæ in sacra Scriptura veteris & novi Testamenti occurrent, 1665.—6. An Exposition of the whole Book of the Revelations, 1668.—7. An Essay of sacred Rhetoric, used by the Holy Spirit in the Scripture of Truth, 1675.—8. Last Legacy to the Church, 1692.—9. Some Account of his Life, to the year 1670, continued by Mr. Kiffin, 1692.—10. The World that now is, and that which is to come.—11. A Defence of Singing the Praises of God.—12. Preface to Mr. Keach’s Instructions for Children.

JOHN WARD, A. M.—This excellent person was the son of Mr. Nathaniel Ward, and grandson of old Mr. John Ward of Haverhil in Suffolk, where he was born, November 5, 1606. He possessed the spirit of his forefathers, being a pious, learned, and conscientious nonconformist. Refusing to aspire after worldly emolument, he was content with a mean and obscure situation in the county of Suffolk. Though he used to say, “as there is no place like the sea for fishing, so the more hearers a minister has, the greater reason there is to hope that some will be caught in the gospel net;” yet, on account of his uncommon modesty and humility, he preferred entering upon his ministry where he should be least exposed to public notice. He was so extremely

* Life of Mr. Knollys, by himself. Edit. 1692.—Crosby’s Baptists, vol. i. p. 226—232, 334—344.—Harrison’s Fun. Ser. for Mr. Knollys.

† Mather’s Hist of New Eng. b. iii. p. 7.

‡ Neal’s Puritans, vol. iii. p. 151.

§ Granger’s Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 338.

|| The author last mentioned observes on these two books of controversy; “If the reader should have patience to peruse these two very singular pieces, he will most probably be of opinion, that there is much more smoke than fire in them both.”—*Ibid.*

diffident of his own opinion, that he would never undertake any thing important relative to the church without previously consulting some judicious friend. And he used to say, "I had rather always follow advice, though it sometimes mislead me, than ever act without it, though I may do well with my own opinion." In the year 1633 he became rector of Hadley in the above county;* but was obliged to resign it on account of his nonconformity. The dowery of his wife was a parsonage worth two hundred pounds a year, in case he could have conformed to the church of England. But a living of two hundred pounds a year was too weak an argument to convince his understanding and conscience of the lawfulness of conformity. As he could not, with a good conscience, continue in the church without manifold interruptions, he retired, in the year 1639, to New England, as an asylum from the rage of persecution. After his arrival, in 1641, he became pastor of the church at Haverhil; where he continued to watch over the flock of Christ, and to labour for the salvation of souls, during the period of fifty-two years. He preached his last sermon after he had entered upon the eighty-eighth year of his age; and being soon after seized with a paralytic affection, he died December 27, 1693. He was a person of quick apprehension, clear understanding, strong memory, and facetious conversation. He was a good scholar, an excellent physician, and a celebrated divine. His wife was a person of most exemplary piety, with whom he lived, in the greatest harmony and affection, upwards of forty years; during which period, he used to say, "she never gave him one offensive word."†

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 291.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 167, 168.

ADDENDA:

CONTAINING A SKETCH OF THOSE PURITAN DIVINES
OF WHOM NO FURTHER INFORMATION COULD BE
OBTAINED.

MR. ALLEN was an eminent puritan divine, and among the first sufferers for nonconformity in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the year 1564 he was convened before the high commission at Lambeth, when he was sequestered and deprived for refusing subscription. He afterwards obtained absolution, and was again restored to his ministry.*

MR. BROKLESBY was vicar of some church in the city of London, but prosecuted for nonconformity. He was accused of having asserted, 1. "That it was not lawful for women to baptize.—2. That, in the ministration of sacred things, he was above the queen.—3. That, the Virgin Mary was begotten and conceived in sin.—4. That the purifying of women, according to the usage of the church, was superstitious.—And, 5. That the ecclesiastical ceremonies were the abominable rags of popery." Though it does not appear what sentence was inflicted upon him for these assertions; yet, April 3, 1565, he was deprived of his ministry for not wearing the surplice, and was the first who was thus punished for this significant crime.†

MR. EVANS was one of the ministers belonging to the congregation of separatists in London, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and, as a punishment for his

* Strype's Grindal, p. 98.

† MS. Register, p. 10.—MS. Remarks, p. 170.

nonconformity, he was sent by the high commission into Scotland. He did not, however, continue long in the north, but, in May, 1568, returned to his native country. Because he could not, with a good conscience, conform to the ecclesiastical establishment, he kept private assemblies, with others of his brethren, as he had done before. But, by the recommendation of Archbishop Grindal, he was convened before her majesty's council for keeping conventicles; though it does not appear what punishment was inflicted upon him. Mr. Evans is said to have been "a man of more simplicity than the rest of his brethren."*

MR. FITS was one of the pastors of the separate congregation noticed in the above article. This church having assembled in private places for some time, was discovered, December 19, 1567, at Plumbers'-hall, when the members were committed to prison, and kept under confinement nearly two years. As the name of Mr. Fits is not in the list of those released from prison, he became pastor to these people, most probably, some time after this period.† One of the elders of this separate church was Mr. John Bolton, who afterwards revolted from his brethren and recanted at Paul's cross; for which he was reprov'd and excluded by the rest of the church.‡ His recantation was occasioned by the flattery and threatenings of the bishops. But finding afterwards that they slighted him, and considering how he had sinned against his own conscience, the terrors of the Almighty fell upon him, and, like Judas, he hanged himself.§

HUGH BOOTHE, A. M. was educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, where he discovered his zeal for nonconformity. This presently awakened the attention of the ruling ecclesiastics; and, February 1, 1572, he was convened before the heads of colleges; but it does not appear whether he was released, or some heavy punishment inflicted upon him. Mr. John Studley, A. M. of the same college, was convened at the same time, and for the same offence; but this is all we know of him.||

* Strype's Grindal, p. 121, 122.

† See Art. Hawkins.

‡ Ainsworth's Counterpoyson, p. 38.

§ Cotton's Churches, p. 4.

|| Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 392.

THOMAS GRESHOP, A. M. was educated in All-Souls college, Oxford; a nonconformist of great learning and piety in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and a most loyal subject under her majesty's government. In the days of Edward VI. he went as chaplain in the army of Lord Gray of Wilton, in his expedition against the Scotch rebels.* He translated into English, "A Treatise concerning a Declaration of the Pope's usurped Primacy;" written in Greek, above 800 years ago, by Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica.

JAMES ROSIER was vicar of Winston in Norfolk, but a zealous nonconformist to the ecclesiastical ceremonies, particularly in refusing to wear the surplice. Though he was willing to conform in all points as far as the word of God allowed, he was, in the year 1573, suspended from his ministerial exercise.†

DR. PENNY was a puritan minister of considerable eminence and popularity in London. In 1565 he was appointed by the lord mayor to be one of the preachers at the Spital the following Easter; which no sooner came to the ears of Archbishop Parker than he put a stop to it, on account of his nonconformity. He is, nevertheless, included in the list of peaceable nonconformists, who are said to have been gently treated, and were favoured with a license, or a connivance, to preach and hold ecclesiastical preferments. He afterwards gave up the ministry and turned physician, most probably on account of the oppressions of the times. He was living in the year 1573.‡ One Thomas Penny united with several others in addressing a letter, in 1577, to the celebrated Mr. Cartwright, in which they declare their firmness in the cause of nonconformity; but whether this was the same person we cannot learn.§

MR. SPARROW was a puritan divine of considerable eminence; but in the year 1573 was apprehended and carried first before the council, then the high commission. Being examined about Mr. Cartwright's opinions, and not answering to the satisfaction of his spiritual inquisitors, he was

* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 373. (8.)

† Strype's Parker, p. 452.

‡ Ibid. p. 213, 243, 414.

§ See Art. Gawton.

cast into prison, and threatened with banishment, if he would not conform.*

MR. WALSH was preacher at Little Waldingfield in Essex, but, in 1573, was obliged to leave the place for non-conformity.† He afterwards preached in Suffolk, where he was esteemed a holy and painful divine, a great light in his time, and famous for his ministerial labours, his fervent zeal, and abundant charity. Mr. Samuel Crook, another worthy puritan, married his eldest daughter.‡

MR. FULWER was a puritan minister in London, but treated with great cruelty by the ruling prelates. He was a man of most exemplary piety, and greatly esteemed by his brethren, but cast into prison for nonconformity. Towards the close of the year 1573, he was, with several of his brethren, confined in the Compter; but how long he remained we have not been able to learn.§

MR. LOWTH was some time minister at Carlisle, but, in 1574, was prosecuted in the high commission of York for nonconformity. Having compared the severe proceedings of Archbishop Grindal and other commissioners to the Spanish inquisition, he was charged with slander. But the principal crime alleged against him was, that, though he had laboured in the ministry about sixteen years, he had never been ordained according to the practice of the church of England. After receiving the ecclesiastical censure, he made suit to the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury for pardon; which, said Grindal, was *intolerant*. Grindal, therefore, wrote to his brother of Canterbury, and prayed him, if it were in his power, to stay Mr. Lowth's pardon.|| This, as might be expected, Archbishop Parker promised to do with all faithfulness.¶

JOHN BROWN was chaplain to the Duchess of Suffolk, but, in 1573, was convened before the council; and being

* Strype's Parker, p. 412, 413.

+ Ibid. p. 452.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 205.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 441, 442.

|| Strype's Grindal, p. 185, 186.

¶ Strype's Parker, p. 480, 481.

examined upon certain articles, he was suspended from his ministry.* The year following, he was concerned in Undertree's sham plot. Though Undertree had written many letters in his name, yet, when the case was brought under examination, the whole was proved to be a forgery, and Mr. Brown's innocence was proved and announced in open court.† He wrote certain letters, with ten questions proposed and answered, addressed to his brethren in the ministry, copies of which are still preserved.‡ One John Brown, B. D. was made canon of Windsor in the time of Queen Mary, and canon of Westminster in 1565, which he resigned, or was deprived of, in 1572; and died in 1584; but whether this was the same person it is difficult to ascertain.§

DAVID THICKPENNY was curate of Brighthelmstone in Sussex, a man of good learning, and much beloved by his parishioners; but, in 1575, he was suspended by the Bishop of Chichester for nonconformity. He was charged, indeed, with the novel doctrines of the Family of Love; but, upon his examination, the charge was proved to be false. Although his innocence was fully proved, and his suspension taken off by Archbishop Grindal, he was soon after brought into fresh troubles for the same cause.||

EDWARD CHAPMAN was educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, where he maintained, in a public disputation, that Christ, at his death, did not descend locally into hell. He also observed, that for ministers to hold two or more livings was unlawful; by which he gave great offence to the ruling ecclesiastics.¶ He had a prebend in the church of Norwich, and was minister at Bedford; but, in 1573, was deprived by the Bishop of Lincoln. Having received his lordship's sentence, he made complaint to the court, which occasioned the bishop some trouble.** In the year 1577, Mr. Chapman, and several of his brethren, fell into the hands of Bishop Aylmer, who recommended, as a just punishment for their nonconformity, that they should be sent into the most barbarous parts of the kingdom, where

* Strype's Parker, p. 412, 413.

† Ibid. p. 466.

‡ MS. Register, p. 310, 665.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 694, 722.

|| Strype's Grindal, p. 197—199.

¶ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 583.

** Strype's Parker, p. 449.

they might be profitably employed in reclaiming the people from ignorance and popery. This he recommended, not because he liked them, but because he wished to get rid of them.*

RALPH LEVER, A. M. was educated in King's college, Cambridge, and afterwards archdeacon of Northumberland, but he resigned this preferment in 1573, when he was succeeded by Mr. Francis Bunney.† In 1577 he succeeded his brother, the celebrated Mr. Thomas Lever, as master of Sherborn hospital, near Durham. He was one of the canons in the church of Durham, and deeply concerned in drawing up the articles against Mr. Whittingham, whom he most probably succeeded in the office of dean.‡ He is, notwithstanding this, denominated a puritan. His assertions concerning the canon law, the English papists, and the ecclesiastical affairs of this realm, are still preserved.§ One of the same name was rector of Snatterton in Norfolk, in 1588, where his remains were interred, June 3, 1605; but whether this was the same person is perhaps doubtful.||

WILLIAM DREWET was committed to Newgate by the bishops, in 1580, for not consenting, it is said, to the traditions and filthy ceremonies of antichrist. He was of opinion, that men could not worship God in spirit and in truth, so long as they maintained human traditions, worldly ordinances, and popish ceremonies. How long he remained in prison we are not able to learn.¶

JOHN NASH, a zealous puritan minister, was committed prisoner to the Marshalsea for nonconformity. From the prison he wrote a bold letter, dated January, 1580, to the bishops and clergy in convocation. In this letter, a copy of which is still preserved, he styles himself *The Lord's Prisoner*, and boldly exposes the manifold errors and corruptions of the established church.**

* Strype's Aylmer, p. 55, 56.

† Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 356, 671.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 275.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 319. ii. 514.

|| Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 285.

¶ MS. Register, p. 289.

** Ibid. p. 291—293.

MR. EVANS, a worthy and conscientious minister, was presented by the Earl of Warwick to the vicarage of Warwick; but Dr. Whitgift, then bishop of Worcester, refused his allowance. When the worthy earl sent him to his grace, requesting that he might be admitted with a favourable subscription, the bishop said, "O, I know you, Mr. Evans, to be worthy of a better place than Warwick. I would very gladly gratify my lord; but there is a Lord in heaven whom I fear; and, therefore, I cannot admit you without subscription." Though the good man offered to subscribe in all points as far as the law required, the bishop would not admit him, unless he would enter into bonds to observe all things in the Book of Common Prayer. Upon this, Mr. Evans boldly addressed him, saying, "Will the law then permit you thus to play the tyrant, bishop? I shall see a premunire upon you one day for these pranks."*

RICHARD PROWD was a puritan minister of Burton-upon-Dunmore. In the year 1580 he wrote a very affecting letter to Lord Burleigh, giving a melancholy account of the state of religion, produced by the suppression of the religious exercises; and by forbidding ministers and others meeting together, to pray for the preservation of the protestant religion in so dangerous a crisis as the present, when there was a prospect of the queen's marriage with a papist. He expressed his doubts to his lordship whether he dealt so plainly with her majesty as the importance and his knowledge of these things required, and warmly urged him to interpose in the present alarming crisis. But it does not appear what effect this letter produced.†

JOHN HOOKE was minister at Wroxall in Warwickshire, but was suspended in 1583 for nonconformity. This was doubtless for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. He continued a long time under the ecclesiastical sentence, and whether he was ever restored is rather doubtful. His annual stipend was only 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*‡

* MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 328. (8.)

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 600. Appen. p. 22.

‡ MS. Register, p. 744.

JOSEPH NICHOLLS was minister in Kent, a laborious and faithful servant of Christ, endowed with great piety and rich ministerial accomplishments. In 1583 he was suspended for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles, when he united with his brethren, the ministers of Kent, in addressing the archbishop for relief.* He is styled "the ringleader of the puritans."†

JOHN HARRISON was vicar of Histon in Cambridgeshire, and a conscientious nonconformist. For refusing subscription to Whitgift's articles he was twice warned, by virtue of his canonical obedience, to subscribe, but he still refused. In the end, when sentence should have been inflicted upon him, the commission was called in; and so he continued vicar of Histon, without observing the order of the Book of Common Prayer.‡

WILLIAM FLEMING was rector of Beccles in Suffolk, but because he could not, with a good conscience, subscribe to Whitgift's articles, he endured frequent molestation in the ecclesiastical courts, and at length, July 23, 1584, was suspended and deprived by Bishop Scambler. This is attested by Richard Skinner, the bishop's register.§

JAMES GOSWELL was a puritan minister of considerable eminence, most probably at Bolton in Lancashire, who corresponded with the venerable Mr. Anthony Gilby, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. Two of his letters we have seen; and though they are without date, they were evidently written about the year 1584. In the latter, written from Bolton, he says, "I have no news to write out of this county. Here are great store of Jesuits, seminaries, masses, and plenty of whoredom. The first sort our sheriff courseth pretty well. Other good news is, that the Bishop of Canterbury has not yet, God be thanked, stung us with his articles, which in the south parts have so great power, that, by report, they have quenched the Lord's lights nearly to the number of *two hundred*."||

* See Art. Dudley Fenner.

† MS. Register, p. 389.—Strype's Whitgift, p. 140.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xii. p. 211. § MS. Register, p. 585, 586.

|| Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 436, 437.

JOHN HOPKINS was the puritanical vicar of Nasing in Essex, to which he was preferred in 1570, but was afterwards persecuted for nonconformity. About the year 1584 he was deprived of his benefice, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles.*

THOMAS FARRAR, minister of Langham in Essex, was charged with rebellion against the ecclesiastical laws, and suspended by Bishop's Aylmer's chancellor for not wearing the surplice. On receiving the ecclesiastical censure, he procured a letter from certain respectable persons, addressed to the bishop himself, soliciting his favour and the removal of the sentence. This letter he carried to his lordship at Fulham, November 14, 1586; when, after demanding his reasons for not wearing the surplice, he said to Mr. Farrar, "that except he and his companions would be conformable, he and his brethren the bishops, in *good faith*, would, in one quarter of a year, turn them all out of the church;" and dismissed him without relieving him from his suspension.†

JOHN OXENBRIDGE, B. D. was minister at Southam in Warwickshire, and afterwards at Coventry, where he was celebrated for his great learning, piety, and usefulness. In 1576 he was convened before the high commission for nonconformity; but it does not appear what punishment was inflicted upon him.‡ About the year 1583 he was again called before his ecclesiastical judges, and suspended from his ministry. He was one of the heads of the associations; he subscribed the "Book of Discipline;" and ended his days among his friends at Coventry.§

MR. HARSNET was a learned and pious divine of Pembroke-hall, Oxford, but was persecuted for nonconformity. In the year 1586 he was convened before the Bishop of Oxford, and cast into prison for refusing to wear the surplice; but how long he remained under confinement we cannot learn.||

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 432.

† MS. Register, p. 800, 805.

‡ Strype's Grindal, p. 215.

§ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 161.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

|| MS. Register, p. 801.

NICHOLAS WILLIAMSON was minister of Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire, but was suspended in the year 1586 for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. He continued a long time under the sentence; and whether he was ever restored is uncertain.*

MR. GIBSON was rector of Ridlington in Rutlandshire, but often convened before the Bishop of Peterborough, and, about the year 1586, deprived of his living for refusing subscription to Whitgift's articles. Being driven from his flock and his benefice, he went to London, and entered a suit against the bishop; but with what success we have not been able to learn. Indeed, he had not much prospect of success in contending with one of the persecuting prelates. Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Wilbloud, two other ministers in the same county, were at the same time both suspended, when their livings were sequestered, and they were threatened with deprivation. But, laying their case before Sir Thomas Cecil, their worthy patron, he went himself to the archbishop, and procured an order to the bishop for their restoration.†

MR. HORROCKS, a worthy divine of puritan principles, was vicar of Kildwick in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In the year 1587 he was convened before the high commission of York, committed prisoner to the castle, and, having continued there for some time, was enjoined a public recantation, for the singular crime of suffering Mr. John Wilson, another puritan minister, to preach in his pulpit, though it was his native place.‡

SAMPSON SHEFFIELD, A. M. of Christ's college, Cambridge, was one of the preachers to the university. Having delivered a sermon, in the year 1587, containing certain erroneous and scandalous positions, as they are called, he was convened before his ecclesiastical judges, though it does not appear what punishment was inflicted upon him. These positions were the following:—"That it is unlawful for a minister of the gospel to be a civil magistrate.—That in the present troubles about conformity, brethren conspire against

* MS. Register, p. 203.

† Ibid. p. 714.

‡ Ibid. p. 787.

brethren.—And he denounced a woe against him who had lately put out some lights that were used to shine in Cambridge.”*

RICHARD GARDINER was a puritan divine of considerable repute in the university of Cambridge; who, in 1583, united with other learned divines in warmly requesting Mr. Cartwright to answer the Rhemist Translation of the New Testament. In 1587 he often met with the nonconformists at their private assemblies in London, Cambridge, and other places.† It does not appear whether he was any relation to Mr. John Gardiner, another puritan divine.

MR. KENDAL was a learned and peaceable divine, of a holy life and conversation, and one of the public readers in the university of Oxford; but he could not in conscience subscribe and observe the ceremonies, yet he refrained from speaking against them. He was, therefore, suspended by Archbishop Whitgift. The lord treasurer interceded with the archbishop for his restoration, in a letter dated April 21, 1590, in which he speaks of Mr. Kendal in terms of the highest commendation, and earnestly prays his grace to restore him to his ministerial exercise, at least till he was found guilty of disturbing the peace of the church. “But,” our author adds, “I do not find what success he had with the archbishop.”‡

EZEKIEL CULVERWELL, educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, was some time rector of Stambridge in Essex,§ and afterwards vicar of Felsted in the same county. When in the latter situation he was prosecuted for nonconformity. In the year 1583 he was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for not wearing the surplice.|| He was a man of great piety and excellent ministerial abilities, and instrumental in the conversion of the celebrated Dr. William Gouge, when a boy at school. His sister was the doctor’s mother.¶ He is classed

* Strype’s Annals, vol. iii. p. 489, 490.

† MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 419. (1 | 3.)

‡ Strype’s Whitgift, p. 342.

§ Newcourt’s Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 542.

|| MS. Register, p. 584.

¶ Clark’s Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 234.

among the learned writers of Emanuel college;* and was author of "A Treatise of Faith," 1633; also, "A ready Way to Remember the Scriptures," 1637.

MR. BERNHERE was fellow in the university of Cambridge, where he received his education. He, like many of his puritanical brethren, scrupled the episcopal ordination of the national church, and went abroad, when he was ordained in one of the foreign reformed churches. About the year 1590, his claim to his fellowship was disputed in the university, because he was not a minister according to the church of England; but it does not appear whether he suffered deprivation. Upon his appearance before the governing ecclesiastics, Mr. Alvey very zealously defended his cause, and boldly maintained, that he was as good a minister as any there present.†

GEORGE NEWTON was the puritan minister at Barnwell in Northamptonshire. He never wore the surplice, nor used the cross in baptism, nor allowed the use of the ring in marriage, nor would he permit the oldest of his parishioners to come to the Lord's supper till they had passed his examination. Mr. Newton having spoken in a public discourse on the afflictions of the righteous, observed, that the proceedings of the bishops in the suspension of worthy ministers were *tyrannical*; for which he was accused to those in authority. When he appeared before his superiors, and was required to explain his meaning, he said that he meant this of *antichristian* bishops.‡

JOHN ALLISON was fellow in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards minister at the place mentioned in the last article, but was suspended in 1583, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's articles. He afterwards served the cure of Horningsheath in Suffolk, where he was again suspended by Dr. Legg; and it is added, that, although he was in neither case absolved, he still continued to preach.§

* Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xii. p. 210.

‡ Ibid. p. 211.

§ Ibid.

WILLIAM BOURNE was fellow in the above university; but, upon his entrance into the ministerial office, he scrupled subscription to Whitgift's articles. He sought to be ordained by the Bishop of Chester, but without success, because he could not in conscience subscribe. He then waited upon his lordship of Peterborough, and was in like manner repelled. At last he made application to the Bishop of St. Asaph, when it seems he gained admittance without subscribing to what he did not believe. The following persons, all fellows in the university of Cambridge, were nonconformable to the orders of the church: Mr. Thomas Bindes, Mr. James Crowther, Mr. William Peachy, Mr. John Cupper, and Mr. Sparke.*

WILLIAM SMYTHURST was beneficed at Sherrington in Buckinghamshire; but was convened before the high commission, and deprived of his living on account of his nonconformity. This was about the year 1595, when the Earl of Essex, his great friend, repeatedly applied to the lord keeper for his restoration, but apparently without the least success. In one of these applications, he affirms, that Mr. Smythurst had by various methods been molested, and wrongfully pursued, by the governing ecclesiastics.†

MR. ADERSTER, the puritanical minister of Gosberton in Lincolnshire, was tried in the year 1596, at the public assizes before Judge Anderson, who treated him with great cruelty. He had some years before been a great sufferer in the high commission at Lambeth, by silencing, deprivation, and other ecclesiastical censures, but was afterwards pardoned and restored. Being accused of the same things before Anderson, he was treated worse than a dog; and the good man could not obtain his release without entering into bonds and suffering other grievances.‡

MR. B. BRIDGER was a poor persecuted nonconformist minister; who, March 31, 1603, presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining of the tyrannical proceedings of the ruling ecclesiastics, and praying for a redress of his grievances; which was no sooner read than he was immediately sent a prisoner to the Tower. Being pressed

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xii. p. 211.

† Ibid. vol. xv. p. 179.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 266, 267.

at his examination to confess whether any other persons were concerned in this petition, he refused to answer; lest, as he said, he should bring others into trouble as well as himself. His petition is entered in the commons' journal.*

THOMAS NEWHOUSE, B. D. was educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, and chosen fellow of the house. He afterwards became minister of St. Andrew's church, Norwich, where he proved himself to be a learned and pious divine. Being, it is supposed, in some trouble for nonconformity, he sent his "Theses about Things Indifferent," to Bishop Jegon, his diocesan, in 1606. He was author of a volume of Sermons, published in 1614.† One T. N. wrote an "Account of Church Discipline," and an "Answer to the Archbishop's twenty-one Articles," copies of which are still preserved. This was probably the same person.‡

THOMAS EDMUNDS, B. D. was a puritan minister of distinguished eminence, and a person of great moderation. He was a member of the presbytery erected at Wandsworth in 1573;§ and about the same time he was cast into prison, it is said, "for the testimony of the truth."|| Afterwards he subscribed the "Book of Discipline." Being convened before the high commission and the star-chamber, in 1590, he took the oath *ex officio*, and discovered the associations.¶ In the year 1585 he became rector of Alhallows, Bread-street, London, which he kept to the end of his days. He died at a very great age, towards the close of the year 1610. Mr. Richard Stock, another worthy puritan, was his assistant while he lived, and his successor when he died.**

STEPHEN GOUGHE, A. B. of Magdalen college, Oxford, but afterwards the puritanical rector of Stanmer in Essex. According to Wood, "he was a good logician, and an excellent disputant, but a very severe puritan." He was eminent for training up several famous scholars, among

* MS. Remarks, p. 551.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 657. (10.)

‡ MS. Register, p. 423, 447.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.

|| Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 442.

¶ Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 77.

** Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 246.—Clark's Lives annexed to Martyr. p. 62.

whom was Dr. Robert Harris, another puritan divine, and some time president of Trinity college, Oxford. Mr. Goughe was living in 1610.*

ROBERT CLEAVER was minister at Drayton in Oxfordshire, but silenced by Archbishop Bancroft for nonconformity. In the year 1571, Mr. Thomas Merburie of Christ's college, Cambridge, left a legacy in his last will and testament "to that grave and learned man, Mr. Cleaver."† He was a most pious, excellent, and useful preacher. Mr. Clark styles him "a godly minister, a bright shining star, and a very able textman."‡ He died about the year 1613.§ He was author of "An Exposition on the last chapter of Proverbs." Mr. Cleaver and Mr. Dod were joint authors of "An Exposition on the ten Commandments," for which they were usually called *decalogists*. They also published "The Patrimony of Christian Children," containing a defence of infant-baptism, with some strictures on the sentiments of the baptists.

ROBERT MANDEVILL, A. M. was born in Cumberland, in the year 1578, and educated first in Queen's college, then at Edmund's-hall, Oxford. In the year 1607, he was elected vicar of Abby Holm in his native county. Although he met with great opposition in this place, yet, by his zealous and frequent preaching, his exemplary and pious life, he was successful in propagating the gospel. He shewed himself a zealous enemy to popery and all profaneness. He dissuaded his parishioners from keeping markets on the Lord's day, and from the observation of profane sports. According to Wood, "he was accounted a great man, a hard student, a laborious preacher, a zealous and religious puritan." He died at Abby Holm in 1618, aged forty years. He was author of "Timothy's Task, being two Sermons preached in two synodical Assemblies at Carlisle," 1619; and "Theological Discourses."¶

JOHN WILKINSON, denominated an ancient and stout separatist,¶ was a great sufferer for nonconformity. He was

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 888. ii. 171.

† Baker's *MS. Collec.* vol. iii. p. 314.

‡ Clark's *Lives annexed to Martyr.* p. 318, 319.

§ Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 457.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 375. ¶ Jessop's *Errors of Anabaptism*, p. 77. Edit. 1623.

author of a work entitled, "An Exposition of the xiii. chap. of the Revelations of Jesus Christ," 1619. This came out after his death, in which the publisher observes, that it was the author's desire and purpose to have published a work upon the whole of Revelation, but was prevented through the malice of the prelates, who several times spoiled him of his goods, and kept him many years in prison. A minister of the same name was A. M. and rector of Babcary in Somersetshire, in the year 1587; but whether he was the same person it is difficult to say.*

JOHN MORTON was one of Mr. John Smyth's disciples at Amsterdam, from whom he received baptism by immersion. He afterwards came to England, was a zealous preacher of the sentiments of the general baptists, and a sufferer in the cause of nonconformity. He was contemporary with Mr. Helwisse, and a popular preacher in the city of London.† He is supposed to have been the author of a book entitled, "Truth's Champion," a work in high repute among those of his own persuasion.‡

MR. HUBBARD was a learned divine, and episcopally ordained, but afterwards he separated from the church of England. A congregation of separatists having been formed in Southwark, London, in the year 1621, he was chosen to the office of pastor. The pastor and members of this church resolving afterwards upon a removal, most probably on account of the oppressions of persecution, accompanied him to Ireland, where he died. Having lost their pastor, they returned to their native country, and settled in the vicinity of London, choosing the famous Mr. John Canne for their pastor.§

JOHN YATES, B. D. was fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards minister of St. Andrew's in the city of Norwich.|| About the year 1625, Dr. Montague having published his *Appello ad Cæsarem*, declaring himself in favour of arminianism, and making dangerous advances towards popery, Mr. Yates answered it in a work entitled,

* Wood's *Atbenæ*, vol. i. p. 816.

† Bailie's *Anabaptism*, p. 93.

‡ Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 276—278.

§ *Ibid.* p. 163, 164.

|| Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 442.

Ibis ad Cæsarem, which he performed in a learned manner.* He was a divine of puritan principles, and is classed among the learned writers and fellows of Emanuel college.† He was author of “The Saints’ Sufferings and the Sinners’ Sorrows,” 1631.

JOHN FREWEN was the puritanical rector of Nordan in Sussex, a learned divine, and a constant preacher. He died towards the close of the year 1627, when his remains were interred in his own church.‡ He was father to Accepted Frewen, archbishop of York. The son was at first inclined to puritanism, but, upon his introduction to the court, and obtaining some preferment, it soon wore off. He afterwards expended £20,000 in repairing and beautifying the cathedral of Lichfield, part of which was at his own charge, the rest was raised by contribution.§ Mr. Frewen was author of “Fruitful Instructions and necessary Doctrine, to Edifie in the Fear of God,” 1587.—“Fruitful Instructions for the general cause of Reformation, against the Slanders of the Pope and League,” 1589.—“Certain choice Grounds and Principles of our Christian Religion, with their several Expositions, by way of questions and answers,” 1621.

FRANCIS BRIGHT was a minister of puritan principles, trained up under the excellent Mr. John Davenport. In the year 1629 he accompanied Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton to New England; and upon his arrival settled with several of his friends at Charlestown.||

MR. UDNEY was lecturer on a Lord’s day afternoon at Ashford in Kent, enjoying a benefice in the neighbourhood. Ashford is said to have been the most factious town (the most addicted to nonconformity) in all Kent; and that Mr. Udney was invited there by factious persons, such as were registered in the high commission for holding conventicles. He had, however, the king’s recommendation to the place; but is charged with having always preached con-

* Fuller’s Church Hist. b. xi. p. 121. † Fuller’s Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

‡ Wood’s Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 663, 664.

§ Le Neve’s Lives, vol. i. part i. p. 236.

|| Prince’s Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 183, 184.—Morse and Parish’s Hist. p. 36.

trary to his majesty's instructions, and with holding a benefice near the place, at which, for the space of ten years, he had never constantly resided.* Therefore, about the year 1629, by the particular instigation of Bishop Laud, he was suspended for nonconformity; but Archbishop Abbot presently restored him to his ministry, and inhibited the archdeacon from his jurisdiction; which, says our author, exposed all who acted in it to scorn and contempt.†

SAMUEL BLACKLOCK was preacher to a baptist congregation in London. A number of pious persons about the metropolis having espoused the sentiments of the baptists, could not be satisfied that any person in England was suitable to administer the ordinance of baptism; but hearing that some in the Netherlands baptized by immersion, they agreed to send over one Mr. Richard Blount, who understood the Dutch language, to receive baptism at their hands. He accordingly went, carrying letters of recommendation with him, and was kindly received both by the church there, and by Mr. John Batte their teacher. On his return, he baptized Mr. Blacklock the minister, and these two baptized the rest of the company, to the number of fifty-three. The generality of English baptists, however, accounted all this as needless trouble, and as founded on the old popish doctrine, that an uninterrupted succession is requisite to the proper administration of the sacraments.‡

MR. BRADSTREET, born of a wealthy family in Suffolk, was one of the first fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and highly esteemed by persons distinguished for learning. In the year 1603 he appears to have been minister at Hobling in Lincolnshire, but was always a nonconformist to the church of England. He was afterwards preacher to the English congregation at Middleburg, where he was most probably driven by the severity of persecution. He was living about the year 1630. The first planters of New England had the highest respect for him, and used to style him, "The venerable Mordecai of his country." He was father to the celebrated Simon Bradstreet, governor of New England, who died in 1697, aged ninety-four years.§

* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

† Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 201.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 102, 103.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. ii. p. 19.

MR. CROWDER, vicar of Vell in Surrey, was a pious man, and a frequent preacher, but endured cruel persecution. About the year 1631 he was committed close prisoner to Newgate for sixteen weeks, and then deprived of his living by the high commission, without any articles, witness, or other proof brought against him. It was, indeed, pretended that he had spoken some treasonable words in the pulpit; but the truth was, he preached twice on a Lord's day too near the court, which at that time was not conformable to the oppressive measures of the ruling prelates.*

SAMUEL SKELTON was a pious and zealous minister in Lincolnshire, but much harassed and persecuted for non-conformity. In the year 1629 he accompanied Mr. Higginson and others to New England. Arriving in the Massachusetts bay, they settled at Naumkeak, which they called Salem, where their first work was the formation of a christian church. Having on this occasion appointed a day of solemn fasting and prayer, Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher.† Mr. Skelton survived his colleague, and, after enduring many painful hardships, entered into the joy of his Lord, August 2, 1634.‡ He was a man endowed with a strong faith, a most heavenly conversation, and was well furnished with ministerial abilities.§

HUMPHREY BARNET was minister at Uppington in Shropshire, where he and Mr. Wright of Wellington were accounted the first puritans in the county, for no other reason than their sedulous preaching and their sober and pious lives, though at that time they were both conformable to the established church. He was a celebrated preacher, and much admired by the country people, who flocked to hear him twice every Lord's day, a practice then not very common. When the Book of Sports came forth, instead of reading it, he preached against it; for which he was cited to appear before the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and forced to leave the diocese. Being driven from the people of his charge, he removed into Lancashire, where he closed his labours and sufferings, probably about the year 1634.|| Mr. Joshua Barnet, silenced in 1662, was his son.¶

* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 161.

† Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 183, 189.

‡ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 76.

|| Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 726.

¶ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 150.

§ Hist. of New Eng. p. 22.

MR. BRODET was a zealous puritan minister, but shamefully persecuted by the intolerant prelates. For preaching against profane sports on the Lord's day, and some other instances of nonconformity, he, together with many others, was, about the year 1634, prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, subjected to heavy fines, and suspended or degraded from his ministry.*

RICHARD DENTON, a pious and learned man, was born in Yorkshire, and afterwards preacher at Halifax in that county. Having laboured at this place for some time, and with good success, the storm of persecution which drove multitudes out of the kingdom, forced him to New England; where first at Wethersfield, then at Stamford, "his doctrine dropt as the rain, his speech distilled as the dew, as the small rain on the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass." He was a little man, but he had a great soul, and a well-accomplished mind; and, though he had but one eye, he had a deep insight into those things which eye hath not seen.†

JOHN VINCENT was born in the west of England, and died in the rich living of Sedgfield, in the county of Durham. It is observed of this excellent man, that he was so harassed and tossed about for his nonconformity, that, though he had many children, no two of them were born in the same county. He was living in the year 1634.‡ Mr. Thomas and Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, both ejected nonconformists, were his sons.§

JOHN TRASK was born in Somersetshire, and afterwards removed to London, where he discovered his zeal for nonconformity. He opposed the observance of the first day of the week, maintaining the obligation of the fourth commandment, and the necessity of keeping the seventh day as the sabbath of the Lord. For these opinions, he was, about the year 1655, convened before the tribunal of the star-chamber, and sentenced to be set in the pillory at Westminster, and to be whipt from thence to the Fleet, where he was ordered to

* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 175.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 95.

‡ Calamy's Contin. vol. i. p. 30.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 155, 304.

remain a prisoner. It is said, that about three years after he wrote a recantation of his schismatical errors.*

ADAM BLACKMAN was a pious and useful preacher, first in Leicestershire, then in Derbyshire. But having endured the severity of persecution in his native country, he went to New England, and settled first at Guildford, then at Stratford in the new colony. Many pious friends accompanied him from England, who said to him, "Entreat us not to leave you, or to return from following after you. For whither you go, we will go; and your God shall be our God." He was a man of great holiness, a plain and profitable preacher, and a most worthy divine. He went to New England probably about the year 1636.†

THOMAS WARREN was a puritan minister, and some time curate at St. Lawrence's church, Ipswich. On account of his nonconformity, he was admonished by Bishop Wren's chancellor to observe the good orders of the church, and to certify his obedience on a future court-day: but, to avoid suspension, he gave up his curacy and left the place. It is observed, that he had no license to preach in the diocese of Norwich, nor had he produced his orders. He is charged with neglecting all the orders of the church and the rules of divine service, and with having quoted many dangerous passages in the pulpit, tending to the disparagement of the state and disquiet of the people. He was, therefore, cited to appear before the bishop; but, having left the town and removed into Bedfordshire, he heard no more of it.‡

WILLIAM HERRINGTON was some time curate at St. Nicholas's church, Ipswich, where he met with similar usage as Mr. Warren, mentioned in the preceding article. He was admonished by his diocesan's chancellor to observe the good orders of the church, and to certify his obedience on a future court-day: but, to avoid further trouble, he resigned his curacy. It is insinuated, that he and Mr. Warren, after they were admonished, raised a great clamour, and deserted their cures: and it is added, that they refused to observe the orders

* Paget's Heresiography, p. 161, 184. Edit. 1662.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 94.

‡ Wren's Parentalia, p. 96, 97.

of the church only through fear of losing the means of their support, and not from any dislike to them.* This, however, is exceedingly improbable. They were certainly in greater danger of losing their cures and support by refusing the ecclesiastical orders, than by a universal conformity.

NICHOLAS BEARD was a puritanical curate in one of the churches in Ipswich, but suspended by the intolerant proceedings of Bishop Wren. The principal cause for which he was thus censured was his refusal to produce his letters of orders and his license to serve the cure. This tyrannical prelate, it is said, was not hasty to restore him, because he had some years before overheard him inveigh very bitterly in his sermon against the state, and against a noble earl and great officer of the realm. His lordship was also informed, that Mr. Beard was of a very turbulent spirit, and was suspected of having been the secret promoter of a riot committed by a dangerous concourse of mean people against the bishop himself.† Had he been suspected of so atrocious a crime, he ought to have been tried in a court of justice; and, if proved guilty by a regular course of law, to have been punished according to his deserts. But guilty or not guilty, his lordship, without waiting the formality of law, was determined to stop his mouth.

WILLIAM GREEN was curate of Bromholm, but, about the year 1636, was suspended by Bishop Wren for nonconformity. It is said that many defects were found in him, particularly his refusal to wear the clerical habit. This was certainly his greatest defect. Afterwards, however, upon his submission, he was absolved, and only his license to preach taken from him, for being illiterate and formerly a man of trade.‡

WILLIAM POWELL was minister in the diocese of Norwich, and suspended or deprived by the arbitrary proceedings of Bishop Wren. It is said he was treated thus "for many defects against the canons, and had absolution soon after granted to his proctor, without coming for it himself." Mr.

* Wren's Parentalia, p. 96.

† Ibid. p. 94.

‡ Ibid. p. 96.

Richard Raymund, another puritan minister, experienced similar treatment, on account of his nonconformity.*

WILLIAM KENT was minister in the city of Norwich, and suspended for his nonconformity. It is observed, "that Bishop Wren's chancellor suspended him about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and absolved him before three in the afternoon of the same day, without receiving any fee for his admission." He died soon after his troubles. Messrs. Hudson, Brown, Mott, Ward, and many others, were among the great sufferers from Bishop Wren's intolerant proceedings.†

MR. DAVENISH, minister of Bridgwater in Somersetshire, was suspended by Bishop Pierce of Bath and Wells, about the year 1636, for preaching a lecture in his own church on a market day, though it had continued ever since the time of Queen Elizabeth; and he refused to absolve him till after he had faithfully promised to preach it no more. When his lordship absolved him upon this promise, he said, *Go thy way; sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.* This tyrannical prelate put down all the lectures in his diocese as factious and nurseries of puritanism, and said, I THANK GOD, I HAVE NOT ONE LECTURE LEFT IN MY DIOCESE, hating the very name.‡ He enjoined Mr. Humphrey Blake, churchwarden of Bridgwater, to do penance, because he had not presented Mr. Davenish for expounding the church catechism on the Lord's day afternoon, and using a short prayer before he entered upon that exercise. "This," said his lordship, "was against his orders and commands."§

MR. BARRET was rector of Barwick in Somersetshire, but prosecuted by Bishop Pierce for refusing to observe his oppressive injunctions. This divine, and many others, instructed their parishioners in the principles of religion by catechizing them on a Lord's day afternoon; for which they were sharply reprov'd by this prelate, and threatened to be severely punished if they persisted in the practice. His

* Wren's Parentalia, p. 94.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. iii. p. 353.

† Ibid. p. 94, 95.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. iii. p. 353.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 377.

§ Impeachment of Bp. Pierce, p. 3, 4.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 378.

lordship said, "That this was catechizing sermon-wise, and AS BAD AS PREACHING." He also charged them, "That they should not ask any other questions, nor receive any other answers from the people, than those contained in the Book of Common Prayer." Those who refused to obey his lordship were convened before him, and punished for their disobedience; among whom was Mr. Barret, who, as the reward of his transgression, was commanded to do penance.*

MR. SALISBURY was a pious and zealous divine, and an avowed enemy to popery and arminianism. In the warmth of his zeal for the welfare of Zion, in his sermon on Matt. xxiv. 6., he made use of the following expressions:—"How many thousands have made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, renounced our true church, stept aside to arminianism, and from thence, being the widest gate open to Rome, relapsed to popery! Thus are we scattered in our Jacob, and divided in our Israel. The Low Countries not long since, if not still, sighed as deeply, and mourned as strongly, finding themselves overgrown with arminianism. And what a faction is likely to be in our deplorable England, between popery and arminianism together, except God be more merciful, and our state more vigilant and mindful! We shall see sooner than tell, and feel sooner than see."—For only using these expressions, the good man was convened before Archbishop Laud, and endured other troubles.†

MR. JEFFRYES was some time preacher in the diocese of Bristol, but driven from his place by the oppressions of the times. Archbishop Laud gives the following account of him:—"In the diocese of Bristol, in 1638, the bishop found out one Jeffryes, who commonly administered the blessed sacrament of the Eucharist, being either not in holy orders at all, or at least not a priest. As soon as he was discovered he slipt out of the diocese; and the bishop thinks, that he now serves in a peculiar under the dean and chapter of Wells." The archbishop then adds, "I will send thither to know the certainty, and see the abuse punished, if I can light upon the person."‡

* Impeachment, p. 4.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 378.

† Ibid. p. 362.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 555.

HENRY PAGE was the pious vicar of Ledbury in Herefordshire, who, in the year 1638, was complained of to Archbishop Laud, and prosecuted in the high commission for refusing to read the Book of Sports. But that which proved an aggravation of his crime, was his uttering the following opprobrious and disgraceful expressions, as they were called: "Is it not as lawful to pluck at a cart-rope on the sabbath day, as at a bell-rope? Is it not as lawful for a weaver to shoot his shuttle on the sabbath-day, as for a man to shoot his bow? And is it not as lawful for a woman to spin at her wheel, or for a man to go to his plough, as for a man to dance that devilish dance?"*

RALPH SMITH was a minister of puritan principles, who, in the year 1629, to escape the severities of persecution, fled to New England. He accompanied Mr. Higginson and the first planters of the Massachusetts colony.+ He settled for a short time at Natasco, but was afterwards chosen pastor of the church at Plymouth, to which office he was separated by fasting and prayer, with the imposition of hands from the elders of the church. He was a grave man, of a good understanding, and much beloved by his people. For the space of two years he had Mr. Roger Williams for his assistant.‡ He was living as pastor of this church in the year 1638.§

EPHRAIM HEWET was minister of Wroxhall in Warwickshire, but persecuted for nonconformity. Archbishop Laud, in the account of his province in 1638, says, "He hath taken upon him to keep fasts in his parish, by his own appointment, and hath contemned the decent ceremonies commanded by the church. My lord the Bishop of Worcester proceeds against him, and intends either to reform or punish him."||

DR. JENNINGSON, the pious lecturer at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was much persecuted for nonconformity. In the year 1639, by the instigation of Archbishop Laud, he was

* Pryne's Cant. Doome, p. 149, 150.

+ Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 183.

‡ Ibid. p. 188, 189.—Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 115, 141.

§ Morton's Memorial, p. 108.

|| Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 554.

questioned in the high commission at York. The articles of his examination, together with the doctor's answers, were sent to Lambeth, for the archbishop's consideration. This was going the sure way to work. And the good man was so cruelly harassed in the various ecclesiastical courts, that he was obliged to quit the place, and the kingdom too; when, to avoid the fury of his tyrannical persecutors, he fled to New England.*

JOHN JEMMET, lecturer at Berwick-upon-Tweed, was barbarously handled for his nonconformity. The outstretched arm and tyrannical oppressions of Archbishop Laud, were carried so far north. For, in December, 1639, he caused the Bishop of Durham to apprehend him by a pursuivant, to silence him from preaching any more at Berwick, and to banish him from the town, without any article or witness ever being examined against him.†

JOHN STOUGHTON, D. D. was fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. He is classed among the learned writers and fellows of that college, and is denominated a pious and learned divine.‡ He was rector of St. Mary's church, Aldermanbury, London; where he succeeded the excellent Dr. Thomas Taylor. Here, for the space of seven years, he was a laborious, orthodox, and useful preacher; but having occasionally touched upon the popish and arminian innovations, he was, by the instigation of Laud, prosecuted in the high commission.§ He died in the year 1639, when he was succeeded by Mr. Edmund Calamy, the ejected nonconformist.|| He was author of "Choice Sermons," 1640.—"Heavenly Conversation, and the Natural Man's Condition," 1640.—"A Form of Sound Words, with the Righteous Man's Plea to true Happiness."

MR. BURCHELL was minister at St. Martin's, Micklegate, York, where he was much esteemed by persons of piety. Previous to the civil wars, when the nonconformists were

* MS. Remarks, p. 901.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 382.

† Ibid.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.—Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 330.

§ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 362.

|| Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 77.

severely persecuted, he was a zealous puritan, and kept conventicles in the house of Dr. Scott, dean of York, though unknown to him. The doctor being much addicted to cards and other games, had not the least concern about puritanism. But Mrs. Scott, the dean's wife, being much inclined to conventicles, her house was chosen not only as the most convenient place, but the most secret and secure in those perilous times. Lady Bethell, with other persons of quality, and those in meaner circumstances, united in these private religious exercises.*

THOMAS SCOTT was a zealous puritan minister in the diocese of Norwich, but suspended for nonconformity. He was under the ecclesiastical censure, said Bishop Wren, when he first entered personally into the diocese; and, with all tender and respectful usage, he absolved him for three months, then for six months, and, at the expiration of that period, for eight or nine months longer. During this period, Mr. Scott sent his lordship several letters, expressing his grateful acknowledgments of these favours. After all, it seems extremely doubtful whether he was ever fully restored to his ministry. He died in the year 1640.† There were two ministers of the same name, who lived about this time; but it is difficult to say whether either of them was this Mr. Scott.‡

WILLIAM MADSTARD was a pious minister at Bridgnorth in Shropshire, where, towards the close of life, he had the celebrated Mr. Richard Baxter for his assistant. He was a nonconformist, particularly in refusing to wear the surplice and the use of the cross in baptism; but a man of an exemplary christian character. Mr. Baxter denominates him "a worthy pastor, a grave and severe divine, very honest and conscientious, and an excellent preacher;" but adds, "he was deeply afflicted with a dead-hearted, unprofitable people." He died, together with his wife, of a malignant fever, in the month of July, 1641, at an advanced age. Mr. Baxter preached his funeral sermon.§

* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1640. p. 12.

† Wren's Parentalia, p. 94.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 846.—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 367.

§ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 15, 20.

MR. COOPER was the pious rector of Alton in Hampshire. In the year 1634 he was suspended by Dr. Rone and Sir John Lamb, visitors to Archbishop Laud, for refusing to read the Book of Sports; and he continued under the cruel sentence about seven years. In 1641, his case being laid before the house of commons, it was resolved, "That his suspension was illegal; that the sentence should be taken off; that he should be restored to his living; and that Dr. Rone and Sir John Lamb ought to make him reparations for the damages he had sustained."*

EDMUND SMALL was minister at Holm in Lincolnshire, but persecuted in the high commission and deprived of his benefice. In the year 1641, having remained a long time under the ecclesiastical censure, his case was laid before the house of commons; and, after due examination, it was resolved, "That the sentence of his deprivation was illegal; and that he should be restored to his living."†

MR. SMITH was suspended by Sir John Lamb; and having remained a long time under the sentence, his case, in the year 1641, was laid before the house of commons. After due examination, the house resolved, "That he had been illegally suspended; and that Sir John Lamb ought to give him reparation and satisfaction for his damages sustained by that suspension."‡

JOHN SPENCER was an unordained and popular preacher in the city of London; for which he was brought into trouble, with several others, in the year 1641. It is said that one Robinson, a clerk in the custom-house; John Spencer, a horse-courser; Adam Banks, a stocking seller; John Durant, and one Greene, being complained of for their lay-preaching, were summoned to appear before the house of commons. On their appearance, the speaker reprimanded and threatened them, saying, "That the house had a general distaste to their proceedings; and that, if they should offend in like manner in future, the house would take care that they were severely punished."§ It does not, however, appear whether Mr. Spencer and his brethren obeyed this order. He is

* Nalson's Collection, vol. ii. p. 454.

† Ibid. p. 446.

‡ Ibid. p. 319.

§ Ibid. p. 265, 270.

classed among the zealous sectaries; and Edwards says, he was formerly Lord Brook's coachman, and an early preacher.*

HANNIBAL GAMMON, A. M. was born in the city of London, in 1585, and educated in Broadgates-hall, Oxford. He was afterwards beneficed at Maugan in Cornwall, where he became a very popular preacher. On the commencement of the civil war he espoused the cause of the parliament, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines. Wood says, "he was much followed by the puritanical party for his edifying and practical preaching."† He was author of "An Assize Sermon," 1621.—"A Sermon at Lady Roberts's Funeral," 1627.—"Praise of a Godly Woman, a Wedding Sermon," 1627.—"God's Smiting to Amendment, an Assize Sermon," 1629.

MR. WAINWRIGHT was a beneficed minister in the county of Suffolk; but he resigned his living, worth two hundred pounds a year, on account of his nonconformity. He would not hold his benefit any longer, because he deemed it anti-christian; and after he had given it up, he said, "I have ever since asked God forgiveness for holding it." According to my author, he boasted that he had pulled down the bishops, and that he would do the same by the presbyterians.‡

JOHN SIMS was a minister of the baptist persuasion, who preached at Hampton. In a journey to Taunton he was prevailed upon to preach in the parish church of Middlesoy. This gave so much offence to the dominant party, that he was seized by virtue of the act against unordained ministers; and the letters which he was to deliver to some pious friends were taken from him. These, with his examination, were sent to London, by way of complaint against him, and printed. The charges specified in the examination were, his preaching when unordained, and denying infant-baptism. He acknowledged the latter, and pleaded against the former, that, "as Peter was called to preach, so was he."§

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 49.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 26.

‡ Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 81.

§ Ibid. p. 50.—Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 232, 233.

JOHN FOXCROFT, A. M. was educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, and afterwards minister at Gotham in Nottinghamshire; where, according to Wood, he continued a puritanical preacher several years. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he joined the parliament, was molested by the royal party, and chosen one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended. Removing to London, he became a frequent preacher in the city; and he preached sometimes before the parliament. One of his sermons is entitled, "The Good of a Good Government, and Well-grounded Peace, being a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, on Isa. xxxii. 1, 2."—1646.*

RALPH MARSDEN was a pious minister of puritan principles at West Kirby in Cheshire, where he was succeeded by Mr. John Murcot, another puritan, who married his daughter.† He died minister of Great Neston in the same county, January 30, 1648. He had four sons in the ministry; Samuel, Jeremiah, Gamaliel, and Josiah, all silenced nonconformists at the restoration.‡

NICHOLAS DARTON, A. B. was born in Cornwall, in 1603, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford. Having entered into holy orders, he became minister of Killesby in Northamptonshire. He was always accounted a puritan; so that, on the commencement of the civil war, he joined the presbyterians, and espoused the cause of the parliament.§ He published "The true and absolute Bishop, with the Converts Return unto him," 1641.—"Ecclesia Anglicana; or, a clear and protestant Manifesto, as an evangelical Key sent to the Governor of Oxford, for the opening of the Church-doors there, that are shut up without prayers or preaching," 1649.—And "Several Sermons."

HENRY ROBOROUGH was chosen one of the scribes to the assembly of divines, and, about the same time, appointed rector of St. Leonard's, East-cheap, London, which he held to his death.|| He was one of the committee of divines appointed to examine and ordain candidates for the ministry;¶

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 827. + Ibid. vol. ii. p. 112.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 340. iii. 421, 436, 475.

§ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 68. || Ibid. p. 116.

¶ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 140.

and he united with his brethren, the London ministers, in their declaration against the king's death.* The profits of printing the Directory being given to him and Mr. Byfield, the other scribe to the assembly, they are said to have sold the copy-right for several hundred pounds.† Mr. Roborough died in the year 1650, and was succeeded in his living by Mr. Matthew Barker, one of the silenced nonconformists in 1662.‡

ABRAHAM PEIRSON was born in Yorkshire, where he probably laboured in the ministry, but was driven by the severity of the times to New England. On his arrival, about the year 1640, he was invited to be first pastor of the church at Southampton on Long Island, where he continued about eight years. He then removed, with part of the church, to Brainford, where he probably continued the rest of his days. He left behind him the character of a pious and prudent man, and a true child of Abraham.§

HOWEL VAUGHAN was a pious minister, of the baptist denomination, in Wales. A baptist church having been formed at Olchon, about the year 1633, which is said to have been the first separate church in Wales, Mr. Vaughan, being one of its members, was chosen to the pastoral office. His name was Vaughan, but wrote by some Ychan, or Fychan, which is the Welsh spelling of Vaughan.|| He attended the associations of ministers in the Principality; and his name is among those who signed the minutes of the association at Abergavenny, in the year 1653.¶

ROBERT MATON, A. M. was born at Tudworth in Wiltshire, in the year 1597, and educated at Wadham college, Oxford. Having entered upon the ministerial work, he was probably beneficed in his native county. He was a zealous millenarian; and upon the commencement of the civil wars, the press being open, he published his sentiments to the world in the following articles:—"Israel's Redemption; or, a Prophetical History of our Saviour's Kingdom on Earth," 1642.—"A Discourse of Gog and Magog, or the Battle of

* Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 743. † Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 922.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 146.

§ Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 95.

|| Thomas's MS. Materials, p. 11. ¶ Thomas's MS. Hist. p. 45.

the Great Day of God Almighty," 1642.—"A Comment on the twentieth chapter of Revelation," 1652.—"Israel's Redemption Redeemed; or, the Jews general and miraculous Conversion to the Faith of the Gospel, and Return to their own Land, and our Saviour's Personal Reign on Earth, proved from the Old and New Testament," 1646.—This he republished with additions, entitled, "A Treatise of the Fifth Monarchy; or, Christ's Personal Reign on Earth a Thousand Years with his Saints," 1655.*

PETER PRUDDEN was born in the year 1600, and afterwards preached in Herefordshire and on the borders of Wales, where God marvellously blessed his pious labours. But he was driven from his station by persecution, when he fled to New England, and was accompanied by many worthy persons. Upon their arrival, they settled for a short time at New-Haven, then removed to Milford, where he was chosen pastor of the church, and lived many years an example of piety, gravity, and christian zeal. He died about the year 1656, aged fifty-six years. He had a remarkable talent for softening and composing exasperated spirits, and for healing contentions.†

ROBERT BOOTH was a minister of puritan principles, and ornamented with a most excellent character. He was first curate at Sowerby in Yorkshire, then vicar of Halifax, where his remains were interred, July 28, 1657. "He was a man of that worth and excellency in learning and divinity, that he deserved the title of an Apollos, and seemed, like Jeremiah and the baptist, to be separated from the womb to the ministerial office; so temperate and healthful, so industrious and indefatigable in the labours of his study, and so divinely contemplative in the exercises of his mind, that he approved himself to be made up of virtue, being a stranger to all things but the service of heaven. When he spoke to his congregation from the pulpit, it was with that power of truth, and elegance of style, that he charmed his hearers into love and admiration."‡ Mr. Ely Bentley, his assistant and successor at Halifax, was ejected in 1662.§

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 123.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 93, 94.

‡ Watson's Hist. of Halifax, p. 461. Edit. 1775.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 436.

WALTER ROSEWELL, A. M. was a worthy puritan minister, first in Friday-street, London, then at Chatham in Kent, where he died in the year 1658. One of his name, and probably the same person, was severely persecuted by Bishop Pierce.* He was a man of considerable eminence. Mr. Thomas Case preached his funeral sermon, and afterwards published it, entitled, "Elijah's Abatement; or, Corruption in the Saints, on James iii. 17,"—1658; but this we have not seen. Mr. Rosewell was cousin to Mr. Thomas Rosewell, the nonconformist minister who was tried for high treason before Judge Jefferies; and who in early life derived great advantages from his pious and grave instructions.†

THOMAS BALL, A. M. was born in Shropshire, in the year 1590, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge, under the celebrated Dr. Preston. He afterwards became fellow of Emanuel college in the same university, then minister of the gospel at Northampton, where he died, and his remains were interred, June 21, 1659, aged sixty-nine years. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. John Howes, rector of Abbington near that place, who gave high commendations of his departed friend. This sermon was published, entitled, "Real Comforts, extracted from moral and spiritual Principles, presented in a Sermon preached at the Funeral of that reverend Divine, Mr. Thomas Ball, with a narrative of his Life and Death," 1660; which, however, we have never seen. Mr. Ball was author of several books, among which were, "The Life of Dr. John Preston," and "Pastorum propugnaculum; or, the Pulpit's Patronage against the force of unordained Usurpation and Innovation, in four Parts," 1656.‡

STANLEY GOWER was a puritan divine of considerable eminence, chosen one of the assembly at Westminster, and he constantly attended during the session. He was minister at Brampton-Bryon; but on his removal to London, he preached in Ludgate-street, and was one of the preachers to the parliament. He was appointed one of the committee for the examination and approbation of ministers who petitioned for sequestered livings; and one to examine and ordain candidates

* Impeachment of Bp. Pierce, p. 8.

† Life of Rosewell prefixed to his Trial, p. 8. Edit. 1718.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 861.

for the ministry.* He united with his brethren, the London ministers, in their declaration against the king's death.† He was living in 1660, was then minister at Dorchester, and is denominated a zealous and eminent presbyterian.‡ He wrote the life of Mr. Richard Rothwell, published in Clark's "Lives annexed to his Martyrologie." One of his sermons has this singular title, "Things Now-a-doing: or, the Churches Travaile of the Child of Reformation Now-a-bearing, in a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, July 31, 1644."

HENRY FLINT was a most holy and worthy minister, driven from his native country by the tyrannical oppressions of Archbishop Laud. In the year 1635 he fled to New England, where he was chosen teacher to the church at Braintree, of which Mr. William Thompson was pastor. There he closed his life and his labours, April 27, 1668.§ He was a man of great piety, gravity, and integrity, and eminently qualified for the ministerial work.||

JAMES SICKLEMORE was minister of the church at Singleton, near the city of Chichester, and a person famous for his great learning and piety. About the year 1640, he espoused the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, and became a zealous assertor of his opinions. Previous to this, being concerned for the instruction of the rising generation, he usually catechized the young people of his parish, and explained to them the questions and answers contained in the church catechism. On one of these occasions, as he was discoursing on the promises of godfathers and godmothers in the name of the infants at their baptism, one of his catechumens asked him, "what warrant there was from the holy scriptures for what he had been speaking?" Feeling himself at a loss to give a direct answer, he warmly insisted on the general voice of the christian church. Upon further examination, he renounced infant-baptism altogether, and refused to baptize the children of his parishioners. He was also opposed to the maintenance of ministers by tithes; and

* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 89, 140.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 185.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 122.

|| Morton's Memorial, p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 491.

therefore he gave away the greatest part of his income to the poor and needy. Though after the change of his sentiments he continued in his parish, he frequently preached at other places, particularly at Seamore and Portsmouth; at both of which places he was instrumental, under God, of making and baptizing many disciples. This practice he continued to the end of his days. Though it does not appear when he died, he laid the foundation of the two baptist congregations at Portsmouth and Chichester.*

Crosby's Baptists, vol. iv. p. 245—247.

APPENDIX :

Containing a correct List of the principal Authorities referred to in the Work, with the particular edition of each. The Works in Folio are the following :

- Prynne's Breviate of the Life of Laud, 1644.
——— Canterburies Doome, 1646.
Fuller's Church History of Britain, 1655.
——— History of the University of Cambridge, 1655.
Leigh's Treatise of Religion and Learning, 1656.
Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, 1658.
Fuller's History of the Worthies of England, 1662.
Lloyd's Memoires of Excellent Personages, 1668.
Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud, 1668.
——— History of the Presbyterians, 1670.
Mede's Works, with his Life prefixed, 1672.
Wood's Historia et Antiquitatis Univer. Oxon. 1674.
Foulis's Wicked Plots of our Pretended Saints, 1674.
Heylin's History of the Reformation in England, 1674.
Clark's Martyrologie, with Lives annexed, 1677.
Heylin's Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts, 1681.
D'Ewes's Journals of Parliaments, 1682.
Whitlocke's Memorials of English Affairs, 1682.
Nalson's Collection of Affairs of State, ii. vols. 1682, 1683.
Clark's Lives of Eminent Persons, last vol. 1683.
Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs, iii. vols. 1684.
Rushworth's Historical Collections, v. vols. 1659—1692.
Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ii. vols. 1691, 1692.
Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, 1694.
Sylvester's Life of Baxter, 1696.
Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Abp. Laud, ii. vols. 1695, 1700.
Prince's Worthies of Devon, 1701.
Mather's History of New England, 1702.
Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, iii. vols. 1704.
Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. ii. and iii. 1706.
Newcourt's Repertorium Ecclesiasticum, ii. vols. 1708.
Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal, 1710.
——— Parker, 1711.
Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. 1714.
Walker's Attempt at the Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714.
Burnet's History of the Reformation, iii. vols. 1681, 1715.
Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, 1718.
Echard's History of England, vol. ii. 1718.
Stow's Survey of London and Westminster, ii. vols. 1720.
Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, iii. vols. 1721.
Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. 1724.
Winwood's Memorials of State Affairs, ii. vols. 1727.

- Strype's Annals of the Reformation, iv. vols. 1709—1731.
 Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, vii. vols. 1732.
 Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ii. vols. 1732.
 Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, 1740.
 Rapin's History of England, vol. ii. 1743.
 Kennet's Historical Register and Chronicle, 1744.
 Blomefield's History of Norfolk, vol. i. and ii. 1739, 1745.
 Wren's Parentalia, 1750.
 Warner's History of England, vol. ii. 1759.
 Biographia Britannica, vii. vols. 1747—1766.
 Bridges's History of Northamptonshire, ii. vols. 1792.
 Biographia Britannica, v. vols. 1778—1793.

Works in Quarto.

- Parte of a Register, contayning sundrie Memorable Matters, *no date*.
 Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, *no date*.
 Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, 1593.
 ——— Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, 1593.
 Ainsworth's Counterpoyson, 1608.
 Paget's Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists, 1618.
 Ames's Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship,
 1633.
 Huntley's Breviate of the Prelates' intolerable Usurpations, 1637.
 Paget's Defence of Church Government, 1641.
 A Briefe Discourse of the Troubles at Frankeford, 1642.
 Edwards's Antapologia, 1644.
 Bailie's Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, 1645.
 Edwards's Gangræna, iii. parts, 1646.
 Bailie's Anabaptism, 1647.
 Cotton's Way of Congregational Churches, 1648.
 Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 1651.
 Featley's Dippers Dipt: or the Anabaptists Duck'd, 1651.
 Paget's Heresiography, 1654.
 Clark's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, 1654.
 History of New England, from 1628 to 1652; printed 1654.
 Bailie's Vindication of his Dissuasive, 1655.
 Erbery's Testimony left upon Record, 1658.
 Morton's Memorial of New England, 1669.
 Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c. 1675.
 Baxter's Second Plea for the Nonconformists, 1681.
 L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, ii. parts, 1681.

Works in Octavo, &c.

- Lupton's History of Protestant Divines, 1637.
 Heylin's Examen Historicam, 1659.
 Wilkins's Discourse on Preaching, 1678.
 Paule's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, 1699.
 Welwood's Memoirs of Transactions, 1700.
 Barlow's Sum of the Conference at Hampton Court, 1707.

- Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, 1717.
 Neal's History of New England, ii. vols. 1720.
 Thoresby's Vicaria Leodiensis, 1724.
 Oldmixon's Critical History of England, ii. vols. 1726.
 ——— Clarendon and Whitlocke Compared, 1727.
 Calamy's Account and Continuation, iv. vols. 1713, 1727.
 Strype's Life and Acts of Bishop Aylmer, 1728.
 Maddox's Vindication of the Church, against Neal, 1733.
 Neal's Review of Do. 1734.
 An Illustration of Neal, in the Article of Peter Smart, 1736.
 Prince's Chronological History of New England, vol. i. 1736.
 Grey's Examination of Neal, iii. vols. 1736—1739.
 Crosby's History of the English Baptists, iv. vols. 1738—1740.
 Grey's Review of Neal, 1744.
 Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation, 1748.
 Harris's Life of King Charles I. 1758.
 British Biography, vol. iv. and v. 1767, 1768.
 Papers of Massachusetts Bay, 1769.
 Backus's History of New England's Baptists, vol. i. 1777.
 Life of Ainsworth, prefixed to his "Two Treatises," 1789.
 Toplady's Historic Proof, ii. vols. 1793.
 Neal's History of the Puritans, v. vols. 1793—1797.
 Williams's Christian Preacher, 1800.
 Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, iii. vols. 1802, 1803.
 Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. and v. 1803.
 Hume's History of England, vol. v.—vii. 1803, 1804.
 Granger's Biographical History of England, iv. vols. 1804.
 Morse and Parish's History of New England, 1808.
 Churton's Life of Dr. Alexander Nowell, 1809.
 Ivimey's History of the English Baptists, 1811.

The Manuscripts referred to are the following:

- Sloane's MSS. deposited in the British Museum.
 Harleian MSS. deposited in Do.
 Baker's MS. Collection, xxxviii. vols. folio.*
 MS. Register.†

* This invaluable collection was made by the indefatigable and celebrated Mr. Thomas Baker, the first *twenty-three* volumes of which are deposited in the British Museum. They constitute part of the Harleian collection, from No. 7028 to 7050. The remaining *fifteen* volumes are deposited in the university library, Cambridge.

† This invaluable treasure, entitled, "The Second Part of a Register," was collected by Mr. Roger Morrice, who was ejected at the restoration, from Duffield in Derbyshire. Bishop Maddox, with great injustice, warmly censures this MS. as unworthy of credit: but Mr. Strype, who was intimate with the author, gives him a very high character. He styles him "a very careful inquirer into ancient records;" and, says he, "This gentleman was a very diligent collector of ecclesiastical MSS. relating to the latter history of the English church, whereof he left vast heaps behind him, and he favoured me with his correspondence."—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 241.—*Stow's Survey of London*, b. iv. p. 57.—*Maddox's Vindication*, p. 190—192.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 404.

MS. Remarks on History, from the year 1546 to 1640.

MS. Chronology of Eminent Persons, iii. vols.*

Certamina Ecclesiastica Anglicana, &c.†

Thomas's Materials for the History of Churches in Wales.

———— Ecclesiastical History of Wales.

———— History of Churches in Wales.‡

Meen's MS. Collections.§

* This collection, with the two foregoing, being five very large folio volumes, are deposited in Dr. Williams's library, Red-Cross-Street, London.

† This collection, now deposited in the Old College library, Homerton, was made by Mr. John Kingdom, by mistake called John Ridge, and who was ejected after the restoration. There is a Supplement to this MS. by Mr. John Corbet, who was also one of the ejected ministers.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 259. iii. 318.

‡ These three volumes were written by the late Mr. Joshua Thomas of Leominster, father to the present Mr. Timothy Thomas of Islington, who generously favoured the author with the use of them.

§ This collection was made by Mr. Joseph Meen of Biggleswade in Bedfordshire, who very kindly favoured the author with the use of it.

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*** The author regrets that in the former part of this work he has discovered some few inaccuracies in the spelling of proper names; but he trusts that in other respects it will be found correct.

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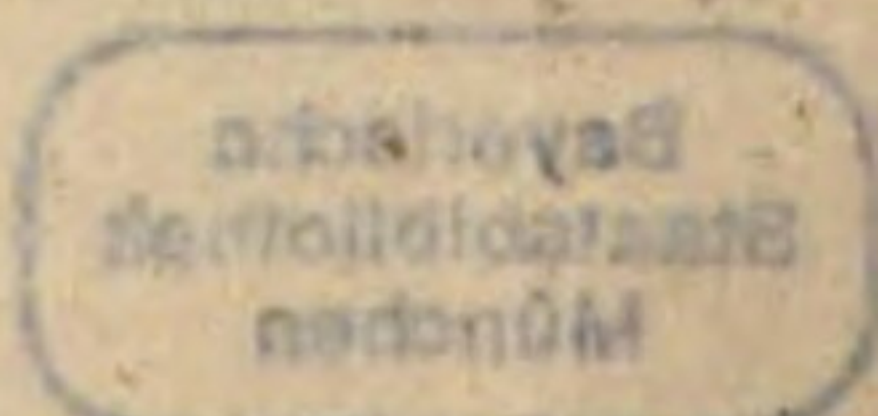
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